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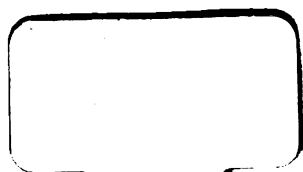
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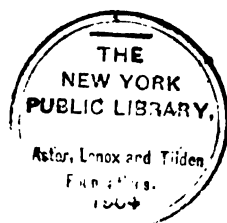
HIS OWN TIME.

revised
BY
SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF MY OWN TIME."

FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1845.



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INTRODUCTION.

INSTRUCTED by experience in the legal dangers and penalties that attend the premature disclosure of historical truth, I do not nourish the intention of permitting these memoirs to see the light till I shall have been removed from the scene. I have done more: I have taken effectual precautions to prevent the possibility of their being published during the life of his present Majesty George the Fourth. In fact, the mention which I made of Count Woronzow, when relating the circumstances connected with the marriage of the Princess Royal to the late Duke of Wirtemberg, in the "*Memoirs of my Own Time*," published in April, 1815, constituted only the ostensible pretext for the *judgment* then pronounced against me. My real offence consisted in the facts or opinions respecting men and measures recorded throughout that work. Garrow, then attorney-general, who was retained by Woronzow, levelled his severest censures, not so much against the particular passage for which I was prosecuted, as against the memoirs themselves, which he depicted in colours the most calculated to produce a rigorous sentence. The court condemned me, for an unintentional fault, to six months' imprisonment, together with a fine of five hundred pounds.

How averse Count Woronzow was that such a *judgment* should be carried into execution, he demonstrated in the most unequivocal manner. On the very same day, the 16th of May, 1816, when I was sent to the King's Bench, he applied in person to Lord Sidmouth, then secretary of state for the home department, to solicit the *immediate remission of my whole sentence*. He repeatedly urged the same request to the Earl of Liverpool, and to Lord Castlereagh. Nor did he stop at the ministers, but twice personally addressed the regent himself on the subject. Finding, nevertheless, that all his efforts were ineffectual, and that ministers treated with neglect every application in my favour, he sent his son-in-law, my friend the Earl of Pembroke, to inform me of the circumstances here related. That nobleman having called on me while I was walking in the marshal's garden, on the *twelfth* of July, expressed in the strongest terms Count Woronzow's concern at the inefficiency of his exertions to procure my liberation from imprisonment, as well as the remission of the fine. He at the same time disclaimed, on the part of the count, his having ever authorized the attorney-general to call for a *vindictive judgment* against me; his only object in the prosecution having been to clear up his diplomatic character, as minister of the Empress Catherine the Second at the British court.

Some days, however, previously to Lord Pembroke's visit, as early as the *sixth* of July, I had received a verbal message from Viscount Sidmouth, delivered by General Manners, first equerry to the king. It informed me that if I would *petition* the regent for my liberation, Lord Sidmouth would lay it before his royal highness; which step would probably be productive of immediate and agreeable results. I instantly replied, that I preferred remaining in confinement until the 16th of the ensuing month of November,

when the period of my detention would expire; and then to pay the fine, rather than submit to present a *petition*. I added, that having only wounded Count Woronzow's feelings, without malice or design of any kind, by the mention of an historical fact, — for which unintentional offence I had made him the most prompt, public, and ample reparation in my power, — I had already acquitted myself towards him; — but that, nevertheless, I was ready to address a respectful *letter* to the regent, requesting him to remit my fine, and to abbreviate my imprisonment. Having received in the course of the same morning, from General Manners, Lord Sidmouth's assent to my proposition, I immediately drew up a short address to his royal highness. General Manners conveyed this letter to its destination, and the regent laid it before the chancellor, Lord Ellenborough, and the cabinet ministers. With their approbation, it was determined to remit my fine, and to liberate my person; but, not till towards the close of August. This resolution was communicated to me verbally from Lord Sidmouth, by General Manners, on Saturday the *thirteenth* of July, the day subsequent to Lord Pembroke's visit; which visit was probably no secret to ministers. Count Woronzow, it is apparent, was determined to prove, that though he had instituted a *prosecution* against me, in order to vindicate his official diplomatic conduct, yet he had made every effort to prevent the *execution* of the *judgment*. The government, however hostile towards me, then judged it proper to interpose by shortening the period of my detention.

An event which took place in the month of August retarded during a few days my liberation. The regent was seized with so violent a disorder while at the Stud-house, Hampton Court, as to render impracticable his removal. On Tuesday, the 20th of August, his life was pronounced to be in the most imminent danger. He recovered, nevertheless, with surprising rapidity, and the *remission* arrived from Lord Sidmouth's office on the 30th of the same month. I did not, however, quit my residence before the afternoon of the ensuing day. My confinement, indeed, had been rendered so mild as to leave me little except the name of a prison. I occupied two airy, spacious apartments, situate over the vestibule contiguous to, but not within the inner walls. The Earl of Abingdon, who, as well as myself, had been sent to the King's Bench, for a libel, many years earlier, inhabited them during his detention; and they had been recently occupied by Lord Cochrane. Every possible indulgence and attention was shown me by Mr. Jones, the marshal, and by his subordinate officers, from the moment of my arrival, to the time of my departure.

Never, I believe, did any literary work procure for its author a more numerous list of powerful and inveterate enemies, than were produced by those "Memoirs of my Own Time." The queen, the regent, and the princesses of the royal family, far from being satisfied with a portrait of George the Third, which, if it errs, can only be censured for presenting a too favourable likeness, were incensed at the freedom with which I had commented on the peace of 1763, as well as at the personal disclosures respecting the king himself, scattered throughout the memoirs. As little did the admirers or followers of Pitt approve my picture of that minister, though, in my opinion, rather a flattering resemblance: while Fox's partizans exhibited the most violent resentment at my strictures on his moral, as well as on his political character. The just and impartial likeness of Charles Jenkinson displeased the first lord of the treasury, his son, in the highest degree. Many of Lord North's friends or connexions, insensible to the justice that I had done to that most accomplished and amiable nobleman,

expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at my remarks on his junction with Fox in 1783. I must except, however, from this observation, his two sons-in-law, Lord Sheffield and Lord Glenbervie. The descendants of the Earl of Bute were implacable. From the present Marquis of Lansdown, I was indirectly threatened through a high quarter (the late excellent and regretted Sir Samuel Romilly) with new prosecutions in the court of King's Bench, on account of the unavoidable reflections which I had made on the circumstances attending the resignation of his father, the Earl of Shelburne. Men in official situations, or enjoying salaries from the Crown, were disgracefully selected to compose the article of the "Quarterly Review," which held up the "Memoirs," not to fair and liberal criticism, but to general reprobation, as an imbecile and immoral work: while the "Edinburgh Review," in defiance of history, and substituting impudence to cover ignorance of facts, attacked me in the most virulent language. Such was the combination of assailants which my inflexible regard to truth assembled from the most opposite quarters.

All these clamorous and calumnious efforts were nevertheless far over-balanced, in my estimation, by one testimony to its veracity which I received, and which I may now communicate to the world. The most prejudiced reader will contemplate it with respect. It was given by a gentleman of ancient descent, of high character, and of large property; a near relative of Lord North, who had held a place in George the Third's family, as one of the grooms of his bedchamber, during nearly forty years, from 1775, down to the King's final loss of reason. I allude to the late Sir George Osborn. In a letter which he addressed to me from his residence at Chicksands Priory in Bedfordshire, dated on the 2d of June, 1816, only eighteen days after my commitment to the King's Bench, he thus expressed himself: — "I have your *first* edition here, and have perused it again with much attention. I pledge my name, that I personally know nine parts out of ten of your anecdotes to be perfectly correct. You are imprisoned for giving to future ages a perfect picture of our time, and as interesting as Clarendon." The last letter which I ever received from Sir George Osborn, written from his residence in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, on the 8th of May, 1818, contains still stronger attestations to the accuracy and fidelity of my memoirs. He mentions in particular, with warm approbation, my character of Lord North, as well as my account of the peace of 1783, and of "the coalition;" adding, "Say with Milton,

* *Graiorum laus est suis potuisse placere,
Sic mea temporibus displicuisse meis.*"

This letter may be considered as expressing his dying opinions. He expired on the following 29th of June. I cannot too highly value such recognitions, which outweigh a volume of invective. It required indeed no little manliness of mind, and independence of character, to deliver testimonies so strong under his hand, addressed to a person in my situation.

N. WM. WRAXALL.

Charlton, near Cheltenham,
15th of May, 1825.



POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS

OF MY OWN TIME.

April, 1784.—During the interval of near eight weeks which elapsed between the dissolution of the old parliament, and the time indicated for the convocation of the new assembly, all attention was directed to the general election. The successful exertions of the ministry, principally directed by Robinson, had gradually undermined the majority possessed by Lord North and Fox, till it sunk nearly to an equality; and the sovereign then interposing his prerogative, dissolved the parliament: but the people, and the people only, could sustain Pitt in his elevation. Never since the accession of the house of Hanover did the crown or the treasury make less pecuniary efforts for obtaining favourable returns to the house of commons, than in 1784! The general partiality felt towards government, throughout the country, which sentiment rose to enthusiasm; together with the condemnation which the *coalition* had incurred;—these sentiments supplied the want of every other means. Corruption for once became almost unnecessary; and such was the violence of the popular predilection, that instances occurred in various boroughs, of men being forcibly stopped, detained, and finally returned as members to parliament, who were accidentally passing through the place of election, but whose known political principles constituted a sufficient recommendation.

However productive of national benefit in the aggregate this spirit might be esteemed, yet there occurred partial and individual examples of exclusion, which all moderate persons regretted. It was difficult to see without concern a man of

such integrity as Lord John Cavendish making way, at York, for Viscount Galway. I well knew the latter nobleman, of whom it would be difficult to commemorate anything very meritorious, and who, whenever he rose to address the house, as he sometimes did during long debates, at very late hours, was usually in a state which should have impelled him to silence. His exertions at York in opposing the Cavendish interest, when combined with his affinity to the Rutland family, placed him nevertheless about the person of the king, as comptroller of his majesty's household, decorated with the order of the Bath.

Mr. Coke, whose descent, respectable character, immense landed estates, and agricultural pursuits or occupations, so beneficial in their tendency, had seated him as representative for the county of Norfolk,—a man relative to whom Sheridan many years afterwards observed, speaking in his place, that “Mr. Coke disdained to hide his head within a coronet when offered him,”—yet even he, overborne by the current, made way for Sir John Wodehouse, who has since been elevated by Pitt to the British peerage.

George Byng, whose ardent devotion and indefatigable zeal, which rendered him highly useful to his party, induced Sheridan to exclaim, on hearing of Byng's ill success at Brentford,

“I could have better spared a better man;”

after a desperate contest maintained against Wilkes, for the county of Middlesex, yielded to his more popular antagonist. So strong was the general

enthusiasm, that neither high birth, nor extended property, nor long parliamentary services, nor talents however eminent, could always secure a seat, unless sustained by opinions favourable to administration.

Erskine, who had so recently been brought in by Fox for Portsmouth, disappeared as a member of the house; but being employed in his professional capacity as counsel for Fox on the Westminster election, he soon re-appeared at the bar, where, by the insulting keenness of his observations on the proceedings in Covent Garden, he speedily attracted animadversion.

David Hartley, the "Dinner-bell" of the house, whose interminable speeches were, if possible, still more dreaded for their dulness than for their length; General Conway, so lately placed at the head of the forces; Mr. Foljambe, the heir and representative of Sir George Savile, as member for the county of York,—were all overwhelmed in the common destruction. Pitt became a candidate for the University of Cambridge; and that learned body, conscious that "the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks" had been transferred from the *coalition*, placed him at the head of the poll, giving him Lord Euston as his colleague; thus rejecting both their late representatives, the Hon. John Townsend, and the solicitor-general, Mansfield.

Few men held a higher place in Fox's friendship than the former; a place to which he was well entitled by the elegance of his mind, his various accomplishments, and steady adherence throughout life. Though not endowed with eminent parliamentary talents, he possessed an understanding highly cultivated, set off by the most pleasing manners. If party could ever feel regret, it would have been excited by his exclusion from a seat so honourable in itself as that of the University of Cambridge, to which he had attained by unwearied personal exertions.

Earl Verney and Mr. Thomas Grenville, members for the county of Buckingham, the latter of whom, unlike his two brothers, remained firmly attached to Fox; Sir Charles Bunbury, who had long represented Suffolk; and various

other eminent supporters of the *coalition*, were swept away by the popular effervescence.

Pitt's triumph remained, however, still incomplete while his antagonist continued to represent Westminster; and every effort was made by the court, as well as by the government, to expel Fox from a situation so painfully conspicuous in parliament. All minor election interests were swallowed up in this struggle, which held not only the capital, but the nation in suspense; while it rendered Covent Garden and its vicinity, during successive weeks, a scene of outrage, and even of bloodshed, resembling the Polish dietines.

Three candidates appeared on the hustings, of whom Lord Hood stood foremost, having been selected for his naval services as a proper person to come forward on the occasion. Those services, though not equally resplendent with Lord Rodney's victory over De Grasse, had nevertheless strongly recommended him to general favour; nor were there wanting persons who considered him as Rodney's superior in maritime science and nautical skill.

Sir Cecil Wray had already represented Westminster in the late house of commons, during nearly two years, having succeeded to the vacancy caused in 1782 by Lord Rodney's elevation to the peerage. He united many qualifications, which in ordinary times might have rendered him an eligible representative for that city. Descended from an honourable and ancient stock, raised to the baronetage by James the First, nearly at the period when that order of hereditary knighthood was originally instituted, he possessed likewise a considerable landed estate in the county of Lincoln. His moral character stood unblemished; and if he could boast of no superior ability, yet his conciliating manners acquired him many friends. Unfortunately, as contested elections bring out into daylight every defect, his enemies accused Sir Cecil of parsimony; perhaps more inimical to success in an appeal to popular favour than much graver faults. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice thus excited against him, the poll, which had commenced on the first day of April, inclined during

he greater part of that month in his favour. As late as the 26th he still maintained a small superiority in numbers over Fox, and sanguine persons anticipated with a degree of confidence his final success.

May.—In so critical a state of the contest, when every hour became precious, a new and powerful ally appeared, who soon changed the aspect of affairs, and succeeded in ultimately placing Fox, though not first, yet second on the list of candidates. This auxiliary was no other than the Duchess of Devonshire, one of the most distinguished females of high rank whom the last century produced. Her personal charms constituted her smallest pretension to universal admiration; nor did her beauty consist, like that of the Gunnings, in regularity of features and faultless formation of limbs and shape: it lay in the amenity and graces of her deportment, in her irresistible manners, and the seduction of her society. Her hair was not without a tinge of red; and her face, though pleasing, yet had it not been illuminated by her mind, might have been considered as an ordinary countenance. Descended in the fourth degree lineally from Sarah Jennings, the wife of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, she resembled the portraits of that celebrated woman. In addition to the external advantages which she had received from nature and fortune, she possessed an ardent temper, susceptible of deep as well as strong impressions; a cultivated understanding, illuminated by a taste for poetry and the fine arts; much sensibility, not exempt perhaps from vanity and coquetry. To her mother, the Dowager Countess Spencer, she was attached with more than common filial affection, of which she exhibited pecuniary proofs rarely given by a daughter to her parent. Nor did she display less attachment to her sister Lady Duncannon. Her heart might be considered as the seat of those emotions which sweeten human life, adorn our nature, and diffuse a nameless charm over existence.

Lady Duncannon, however inferior to the duchess in elegance of mind and in personal beauty, equalled her in sisterly love. During the month of July, 1811, a very short time before the decease of

the late Duke of Devonshire, I visited the vault in the principal church of Derby, where repose the remains of the Cavendish family. As I stood contemplating the coffin which contained the ashes of that admired female, the woman who accompanied me pointed out the relics of a *bouquet* which lay upon the lid, nearly collapsed into dust. "That nosegay," said she, "was brought here by the Countess of Besborough, who had designed to place it with her own hands on her sister's coffin. But, overcome by her emotions on approaching the spot, she found herself unable to descend the steps conducting to the vault. In an agony of grief she knelt down on the stones, as nearly over the place occupied by the corpse as I could direct, and there deposited the flowers, enjoining me the performance of an office to which she was unequal. I fulfilled her wishes."

Such as I have here described her, was Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who, for her beauty, accomplishments, and the decided part which she took against the minister of her day, may be aptly compared to Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville, in the French annals, immortalized by La Rochefoucault's passion for her, nor less famous for her opposition to Anne of Austria and Mazarin, during the minority of Louis the Fourteenth. This charming person gave her hand, at seventeen years of age, to William, Duke of Devonshire; a nobleman whose constitutional apathy formed his distinguishing characteristic. His figure was tall and manly, though not animated or graceful; his manners always calm and unruffled. He seemed to be incapable of any strong emotion, and destitute of all energy or activity of mind. As play became indispensable in order to rouse him from this lethargic habit, and to awaken his torpid faculties, he passed his evenings usually at Brookes's, engaged at whist or faro. Yet, beneath so quiet an exterior, he possessed a highly improved understanding; and on all disputes that occasionally arose among the members of the club, relative to passages of the Roman poets or historians, I know that appeal was commonly made to the duke, and his decision or opinion was regarded

as final. Inheriting with his immense fortune the hereditary probity characteristic of the family of Cavendish; if not a superior man, he was an honourable and respectable member of society. Nor did the somnolent tranquillity of his temper by any means render him insensible to the seduction of female charms. The present Duchess Dowager of Devonshire, after having long constituted the object of his avowed attachment, and long maintained the firmest hold of his affections, as Lady Elizabeth Foster, finished by becoming his second wife.

The opposition, if considered as a party, enjoyed at this time some political advantages, which probably never can be again realized in so eminent a degree as they existed in 1784. Three palaces, situate at the west end of the town, the gates of which were constantly thrown open to every parliamentary adherent of the *coalition*, then formed rallying points of union. The first of these structures, Devonshire House, placed on a commanding eminence in Piccadilly, opposite to the Green Park, seemed to look down on the Queen's House, constructed by Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, in a situation much less favoured by nature. In right of his maternal descent from the Boyles, Earls of Burlington, the magnificent mansion of that name, in the same street, at a very inconsiderable distance to the east, constituted likewise a part of the Duke of Devonshire's patrimonial property. It was then occupied by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Portland; who, as the acknowledged leader of the Whigs since the Marquis of Rockingham's decease, could not shut his doors, even had he been so inclined, against his followers. Carlton House itself, newly become the residence of the Prince of Wales, might be considered as the asylum of all Fox's friends; where perpetual entertainments of every description cheered them under the heavy reverse of fortune which they had recently experienced, and held out the prospect of a more prosperous future. Meanwhile, the month of April verging to its close, and almost all the inhabitants of the metropolis who possessed votes for Westminster having been already polled, there remained no resource equal to the emergency, except

by bringing up the voters residing in the outskirts of the town, or in the circumjacent villages.

This task, however irksome it might be to a female of so elevated a class, and little consonant as it seemed even to female delicacy under certain points of view, the Duchess of Devonshire cheerfully undertook in such a cause. Having associated to the execution her sister, Viscountess Duncannon, who participated the duchess's political enthusiasm; these ladies, being previously furnished with lists of out-lying voters, drove to their respective dwellings. Neither entreaties nor promises were spared. In some instances even personal caresses were said to have been permitted, in order to prevail on the surly or inflexible; and there can be no doubt of common mechanics having been conveyed to the hustings, on more than one occasion, by the duchess, in her own coach.

The effect of so powerful an intervention soon manifested itself. During the first days of May, Fox, who a month earlier had fallen above a hundred votes behind Sir Cecil, passed him by at least that number. Conscious, nevertheless, that the least relaxation in their efforts might probably enable the adversary to resume his superiority, and aware of the exertions which government would make to insure the success of their candidate; the duchess, sacrificing her time wholly to the object, never intermitted for a single day her laborious toils. In fact, ministers did not fail to bring forward an opponent of no ordinary description in the person of the Countess of Salisbury, whose husband had been recently appointed to the office of lord chamberlain.

In graces of person and demeanour, no less than in mental attainments, Lady Salisbury yielded to few females of the court of George the Third. But she wanted, nevertheless, two qualities eminently contributing to success in such a struggle, both which met in her political rival. The first of these was youth; the duchess numbering scarcely twenty-six years, while the countess had nearly completed thirty-four.

The Duchess of Devonshire never seemed to be conscious of her rank; Lady Salisbury ceased not for an instant to remember, and to compel others to

recollect it. Nor did the effects fail to correspond with the moral causes thus put into action. Every day augmenting Fox's majority, it appeared that on the 16th of May, to which period the contest was protracted, he stood two hundred and thirty-five votes above Sir Cecil on the books of the poll.

17th May.— Under those circumstances it became unquestionably the duty of the returning officer to declare that Lord Hood and Fox possessed an ostensible plurality of votes. The high bailiff, Corbett, being in the interests of the administration, chose nevertheless rather to violate all the rules laid down for governing elections, and even to leave Westminster wholly unrepresented in parliament, than to return Fox as one of the members. Yielding to the demands for a scrutiny made by the friends of Sir Cecil, Corbett thus contrived to elude and to postpone all decision on the main point; but he could not prevent the popular triumph of "the Man of the People," as he was denominated by his own adherents.

The procession in honour of Fox's election instantly took place. After having carried the successful candidate, elevated in a chair adorned with laurel, through the principal streets at the west end of the town; the gates of Carlton House being thrown open expressly for the purpose, Fox, followed by the populace, passed through the court in front of the palace. The ostrich plumes, which transport us to the field of Cressy, and which during more than four centuries have constituted the crest of the successive heirs apparent to the English throne, were openly borne before the newly-elected member:—an exhibition that inspired many beholders with sentiments such as were felt by numbers among the Roman people, when Antony displayed the deities of Egypt, mingled with the eagles of the republic;

"Interque signa, turpe, militaria,
Sol adspicit canopeum."

Nor were the eminent election services rendered by the Duchess of Devonshire and other distinguished females forgotten, when celebrating so joyful an event; a flag, on which was inscribed "Sacred to Female Patriotism," being waved by

a horseman in the cavalcade. The equipages of the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, drawn each by six horses, attracted less attention than Fox's own carriage; on the box of which, or mounted on the braces and other parts, were seen the Hon. Colonel North, Lord North's eldest son, afterwards Earl of Guildford; Mr. Adam, who, only a few years before, had wounded the member for Westminster in a duel; and various other friends or followers of Lord North, now intermingled with their former adversaries. Burke was not, however, to be found among this motley group. The procession finally terminated at Devonshire House; where, on its entering the great court in front of the edifice, the Prince of Wales, who had already saluted the successful candidate from the garden wall on the side of Berkeley-street, appeared within the balustrade before the mansion, accompanied by the most eminent individuals of both sexes, attached to the *coalition*. Fox then dismissed the assembled mob, with a brief harangue; but their intemperate joy was manifested at night by illuminations, to which succeeded some acts of brutal violence and insult, principally levelled against Lord Temple's house in Pall Mall, who had become obnoxious to the party, from the early and conspicuous share that he had taken in producing a change of ministers.

18th May.— These demonstrations of the exultation inspired by Fox's triumph, appearing, nevertheless, still inadequate to the magnitude and importance of the occasion, the Prince determined to celebrate it by giving an appropriate entertainment at Carlton House. Having selected for that purpose the following morning, when all the rank, beauty, and talents of the opposition party were assembled by invitation on the lawn of his palace, the weather being uncommonly fine, a splendid fête took place, precisely at the time when his majesty was proceeding in state down St. James's Park, in order to open the new parliament. The wall of Carlton gardens, and that barrier only, formed the separation between them. Here, while the younger part of the company were more actively engaged might be contemplated, under the um-

brage of trees, an exhibition such as fancy places in the Elysian Fields, the "*sedes discretas piorum*," where all mortal recollections or enmities are supposed to be obliterated. Lord North, dressed, like every other individual invited, in his new livery of blue and buff, beheld himself surrounded by those very persons who, scarcely fifteen months earlier, affected to regard him as an object of national execration, deserving capital punishment. They now crowded round him, to admire the sallies of his wit, or to applaud the playful charms of his conversation. Lord Derby and Lord Beauchamp, two noblemen long opposed to each other; Colonel North and George Byng, enemies lately the most inveterate; Fitzpatrick and Adam, depositing their animosities at the Prince's feet, or rather at the altar of ambition and of interest, — were here seen to join in perfect harmony.

The scene of festivity became transferred on the same night to Lower Grosvenor-street, where Mrs. Crewe, the lady of Mr. Crewe (then member for the county of Chester, since raised by Fox to the peerage in 1806), gave a splendid entertainment, in commemoration of the victory obtained over ministers in Covent Garden. Though necessarily conducted on a more limited scale than that of the morning, it exhibited not less its own appropriate features, and was composed of nearly the same company. Mrs. Crewe, the intimate friend of Fox, one of the most accomplished and charming women of her time, had exerted herself in securing his election, if not as efficaciously, yet as enthusiastically, as the Duchess of Devonshire. On this occasion the ladies, no less than the men, were all habited in blue and buff. The Prince of Wales was present in that dress. After supper a toast having been given by his royal highness, consisting of the words "True Blue, and Mrs. Crewe," which was received with rapture; she rose, and proposed another health, expressive of her gratitude, and not less laconic, namely, "True Blue, and all of you."

Nor did the exhibitions of party joy terminate here. Under the auspices of the heir-apparent, his residence presented, some days later, a second fête of

the most expensive, magnificent, and varied description; prolonged in defiance of usage, and almost of human nature, from the noon of one day to the following morning. Every production that taste and luxury could assemble, was exhausted; the foreign ministers resident in London assisting at its celebration. A splendid banquet was served up to the ladies; on whom, in the spirit of chivalry, his royal highness and the gentlemen present waited while they were seated at table. It must be owned that on these occasions, for which he seemed peculiarly formed, he appeared to great advantage. Louis the Fourteenth* himself could scarcely have eclipsed the son of George the Third in a ball-room, or when doing the honours of his palace surrounded by the pomp and attributes of luxury and royal state.

While the opposition thus indulged their intemperate joy on the election victory won with so much difficulty, Pitt, more judiciously employed in cementing the foundations of his political elevation, distributed peerages among his adherents. He had early secured the powerful co-operation of the Duke of Northumberland, who, from his vast property, when added to his local and official influence throughout the county of Middlesex, possessed a commanding interest in Westminster.

This nobleman, from the condition of a Yorkshire baronet of the name of Smithson, had, in consequence of his marriage with the heiress of the Percys, been successively raised to the dignities of Earl and Duke of Northumberland. His eldest son, Earl Percy, having formed a matrimonial alliance with Lady Anne Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute, which proved equally unhappy and destitute of issue; the duchess, his mother, turned her eyes toward Lord Algernon, her second and only remaining son, as the best chance for perpetuating the line. Being of a delicate and feeble constitution, he had, by order of his physicians, visited the South of France, in which country he passed the winter of the year 1774 at the city of Aix in Provence. During an excursion which he made to Marseilles, Lord Algernon accidentally met, in private company, the second daughter of Mr. Bur-

rell, a commissioner of excise. Having accompanied her father to the shore of the Mediterranean, where he had repaired in pursuit of health, it was her fortune to make a deep impression on Lord Algernon. The Duchess of Northumberland, sinking under a decayed constitution, which was rapidly conducting her to the grave, and anxious to see her youngest son married, readily consented to their union, which took place in 1775, about eighteen months previous to her own decease. From this contingency may be said to have originated the rapid elevation of the Burrell family; one of the most singular events of our time.

Scarcely three years after Lady Algernon Percy's marriage, the youngest of her sisters bestowed her hand on the Duke of Hamilton; since whose death she has been, a second time, united to the Marquis of Exeter.

In 1779, the late Duke of Northumberland, then Earl Percy, having obtained a divorce from his countess, selected for his second wife Mr. Burrell's sole remaining unmarried daughter.

But the fortune of the family was by no means confined to the females. The only son, a young man (it must be owned, for I knew him well), of the most graceful person and the most engaging manners, having captivated the affections of Lady Elizabeth Bertie, eldest daughter of Peregrine, Duke of Ancaster, she married him. Scarcely had the nuptials taken place, when her brother, the young duke, not yet twenty-three years of age, was carried off by a sudden and violent distemper. The ducal title reverted back to his uncle; but a barony of Edward the Second's creation, early in the fourteenth century, namely, Willoughby of Eresby, descended, together with great part of the Ancaster estates, to Lady Elizabeth Burrell. Nor did this peerage constitute her only dowry; with it she likewise inherited, during her life, the high feudal office of lord great chamberlain of England, which has been ever since executed by her husband or son. Finally, Mr. Burrell himself, after being first knighted, was raised to the rank of a British peer in 1796, by the title of Lord Gwydir.

In no private family, within my re-

membrance, has that prosperous chain of events which we denominate fortune, appeared to be so conspicuously displayed, or so strongly exemplified, as in the case before us. The peerage of the Burrells was not derived from any of the obvious sources that almost exclusively and invariably conduct, among us, to that eminence. It did not flow from favouritism, like the dignities attained by Carr and Villiers under James the First, or by the Earls of Warwick and of Holland in the succeeding reign. As little was it produced by female charms, such as first raised the Churchills in 1685, the Hobarts under George the Second, and the Conyng-hams at a very recent period. Nor did it arise from pre-eminent parliamentary abilities, combined with eloquence; such as enabled Pulteney and Pitt, disdaining all gradations, and trampling on obstacles, to seize at once on earldoms as their birthright. Neither was it the reward of long, patient, supple, laborious, official talents and services, by which, in our time, Jenkinson, Eden, Dundas, and Vansittart were carried up to the house of lords. Mr. Burrell, who was destitute of any profession, could not open to himself the doors of that assembly by legal knowledge, or by resplendent achievements performed on either element, of the land or of the water. Lastly, he possessed no such overwhelming borough interest, or landed property, as could enable him at a propitious juncture, like Sir James Lowther, to dictate his pleasure to ministers and to kings. The patrimonial inheritance of the Burrells was composed of a very small estate situated at Beckenham in Kent. In his figure, address, and advantages of person, accompanied with great elegance of deportment, might be said to consist the foundations of his elevation. But even these qualities or endowments, which effected his marriage with a daughter of the Duke of Ancaster, would not have advanced him beyond the rank of a commoner, if an event the most improbable, namely, the death of his brother-in-law, the young duke, though cast by nature in an athletic mould, had not rendered his wife a peeress in her own right; vesting in her, at the same time, one of the greatest hereditary offices of the English monarchy.

As little did his three sisters owe their elevation to extraordinary beauty, such as triumphed over all competition, and surmounted every obstacle, in the instance of the Gunninge. Never were any women, in fact, less endowed with uncommon attractions of external form, than the three sisters just enumerated. Modest, amiable, virtuous, they were destitute of those fascinating graces which the fugitive of Philippi attempts to describe in their effects, when he asks Lycé,

— “ Quid habes illius, illius
Quæ spirabat amores,
Quæ me surpuerat mihi ?”

I will conclude this digression on the Burrells by adding one fact more, scarcely less remarkable than those already commemorated; namely, that the charms which nature had so sparingly bestowed on the three younger sisters, who married some of the greatest noblemen in Britain, were lavished on the eldest, who gave her hand to Mr. Bennett, a private gentleman. I have rarely seen, and scarcely ever known, a more captivating woman in every point of female attraction.

Sir Hugh Smithson, after having attained in his own person to the dukedom of Northumberland, which no man had reached since John Dudley, under Edward the Sixth, accepted at this time from the minister a barony, with remainder to his youngest son, Lord Algernon Percy. He succeeded to it in 1786, on the duke's demise; and four years later, Pitt raised him to the earldom of Beverley. We have recently beheld the late Duke of Northumberland, treading in the traces of his predecessor, procure in like manner a peerage for his younger son. So exactly is human life, and is history, composed of nearly the same facts, performed under different names, in successive periods. The king, who had held fast the key of the house of lords during eight months that the *coalition* remained in power, now unlocked its doors; four earls, and six barons, being either admitted for the first time into that assembly, or raised to higher gradations of the peerage, previous to the day fixed for the meeting of parliament. Lord de Ferrars of Chartley,

eldest son of Lord Townsend, became Earl of Leicester. He was a man of an improved mind, agreeable manners, licentious life, and entertaining conversation. No individual of eminence in my time was supposed to possess so much heraldic and genealogical information. Descended on both sides from a train of noble ancestors, he inherited, in right of his mother, no less than five baronies of the most ancient date, remounting to the close of the thirteenth century. Having asked his father's permission to be created Earl of Leicester, previous to his acceptance of it, that nobleman replied with his characteristic humour, “ I have no objection to my son's taking any title except one, namely, Viscount ‘Townsend.’” Three years afterwards, in 1787, Lord Townsend regained the precedence that he had lost, Pitt having raised him to the dignity of a marquis. In consequence of Lord de Ferrars's new creation, the Cokes of Holkham in Norfolk, who, after the extinction of the Sydneys, had been elevated to the earldom of Leicester, became excluded from the hope of re-attaining that title, which had been worn by Plantagenets. Fox unquestionably intended to have conferred it on his friend and adherent Mr. Coke, if the *coalition* had remained in office. Lord de Ferrars laid claim to it, in virtue of his descent from Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, the *Cromwell* of the thirteenth century, who had nearly torn the sceptre from the feeble hands of Henry the Third.

Sir James Lowther received at the same time his recompense for having enabled the first minister to enter the political arena, where, in less than three years, he had raised himself to the summit of power. Overleaping the two inferior stages of the peerage, as if beneath his claims, Sir James seated himself at once on the earl's bench, by the title of Lonsdale; an elevation which, it might have been thought, was in itself fully adequate to his pretensions and services. Yet, so indignant was he at finding himself last on the list of newly created earls, — though the three noble individuals who preceded him were already barons of many centuries old, — that he actually attempted to reject the peerage, preferring to remain a commoner

rather than submit to so great a mortification. With that avowed intention he repaired to the house of commons, where, in defiance of all impediments, he would have proceeded up the floor, and placed himself on one of the opposition benches, as member for the county of Cumberland, if Colman and Clementson, the serjeant and deputy serjeant at arms, had not withheld him by main force. Apprised of his determination, and aware of his having already kissed the king's hand at the levee on his being raised to the earldom, though the patent had not yet passed through the necessary forms for its completion; they grasped the hilts of their swords, restrained him from accomplishing his purpose, and at length succeeded in obliging him to seat himself under the gallery, in the part of the house allotted to peers when present at the deliberations of the commons. Means were subsequently devised to allay the irritation of his mind, and to induce his acquiescence in the order of precedence adopted by the crown.

Such indeed were the eccentricities of Lord Lonsdale's conduct, not only on this occasion, but throughout life, as justly to call in question the sanity of his intellect. His fiery and overbearing temper, combining with a fearless disposition, scarcely under the dominion of reason at all times, led him into perpetual quarrels, terminating frequently in duels; for he never declined giving satisfaction, and frequently demanded it of others. Capricious, tyrannical, and sustained by an immense property, chiefly situate in the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland; he expended vast sums in election contests, where he was nevertheless sometimes successfully opposed by Lord Surrey, a man not less tenacious, active, and determined than himself. Lord Lonsdale regularly brought in from five or six up to eight members of parliament, among whom were three Lowthers; and he was known to exercise over his nominees an active superintendence.

When we consider these facts in addition to the merit of having enabled Mr. Pitt to place his foot upon the ladder which conducted him so rapidly to the head of the treasury, we cannot be sur-

prised that Sir James Lowther should have claimed, and exacted, a proportionate remuneration. Fox, who had gladly availed himself of so powerful an auxiliary, in order to overturn Lord North, and who had stationed him in the front ranks during the session of 1782, no sooner beheld his translation to the upper house by the minister, than he made Lord Lonsdale feel the full weight of his displeasure. Early in the session of 1784, alluding to the contested election for Lancaster, — at which place it had been unsuccessfully attempted to bring in a Lowther, and where a scrutiny was demanded, — Fox inveighed in harsh terms against the newly-created earl; whom, without naming, he designated in colours too accurate to be mistaken. "If," exclaimed he, "a scrutiny had been granted, no doubt every stratagem to procrastinate, every artifice to perplex, every invention to harass, would have been adopted. All the exertions that a temper not the mildest when victorious, nor, when vanquished, the most patient, — all that unbounded wealth in its wantonness could have exerted, we should have beheld."

Destitute of issue, male or female, by his marriage into the house of Bute, — a match which was not productive of domestic felicity, — he became attached in the decline of life to a lady whose death overwhelmed him with distress. As some consolation, he constructed a mausoleum for her remains, at Paddington, to which he often repaired; but he found more effectual relief in election pursuits, which occupied him down to the period of his own decease. That event happened not long before the dissolution of parliament in 1802, for which crisis he was preparing all his pecuniary means. Above seven thousand guineas were found in his *cassette*, destined, as was not doubted, for those purposes: a vast sum to collect in gold at a time when, even at the queen's commerce table, guineas were very rarely staked, and when specie could scarcely be procured even by men of the largest fortune.

19th May. — On the first meeting of the house of commons, the most careless observer who had sate in the preceding parliament could not fail to perceive, on surveying the opposition

benches, how vast a diminution had taken place in that ardent, numerous, and devoted phalanx which lately surrounded Fox, and enabled him during so long a time to hold the administration in fetters. Scarcely indeed had their leader himself been able to secure a seat in the new assembly. The uncertain issue of the Westminster election rendering it indispensable to procure his return for some other place before the close of April; Sir Thomas Dundas's exertions — not, however, without difficulty — brought him in as representative for the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Even there he met with an opponent in the person of Mr. Sinclair, since created Sir John Sinclair, and well known by his agricultural labours, who was chosen by the delegates of two out of the five boroughs in which resides the right of election.

The refusal of the high-bailiff to declare Fox one of the members returned for Westminster, though he had on the face of the poll an unquestionable majority, laid him under the necessity of taking his seat for that most remote portion of the British dominions, unless he submitted to remain excluded altogether from the deliberations of parliament. Some, nevertheless, of his most steady adherents, who had surmounted the political tempest, "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*," were beheld near him. At their head might be placed the Earl of Surrey, whom we have since seen during thirty years exhibiting a spectacle new to the house of peers; — namely, a protestant Duke of Norfolk, taking an active part in all the legislative proceedings of that body. Nature, which cast him in her coarsest mould, had not bestowed on him any of the external insignia of high descent. His person, large, muscular, and clumsy, was destitute of grace or dignity, though he possessed much activity. He might indeed have been mistaken for a grazier or a butcher, by his dress and appearance; but intelligence was marked in his features, which were likewise expressive of frankness and sincerity.

At a time when men of every description wore hair-powder and a queue, he had the courage to cut his hair short, and to renounce powder, which he never used except when going

to court. In the session of 1785, he proposed to Pitt to lay a tax on the use of hair-powder, as a substitute for one of the minister's projected taxes on female servants. This hint, though not improved at the time, was adopted by him some years afterwards. Pitt, in reply to Lord Surrey, observed, that "the noble lord, from his rank, and the office which he held (deputy earl-marshal of England), might dispense, as he did, with powder; but there were many individuals whose situation compelled them to go powdered. Indeed, few gentlemen permitted their servants to appear before them unpowdered."

Courtenay, a man who despised all aid of dress, in the course of the same debate remarked, that he was very disinterested in his opposition to the tax on maid-servants; "for," added he, "as I have seven children, the '*jus septem liberorum*' will exempt me from paying it; and I shall be as little affected by the tax on hair-powder, if it should take place, as the noble lord who proposed it."

Strong natural sense supplied in Lord Surrey the neglect of education; and he displayed a sort of rude eloquence, whenever he arose to address the house, analogous to his formation of mind and body. In his youth, — for at the time of which I speak he had attained his thirty-eighth year, — he led a most licentious life, having frequently passed the whole night in excesses of every kind, and even lain down, when intoxicated, occasionally to sleep in the streets, or on a block of wood. At the "Beef-steak Club," where I have dined with him, he seemed to be in his proper element. But few individuals of that society could sustain a contest with such an antagonist, when the cloth was removed. In cleanliness he was negligent to so great a degree, that he rarely made use of water for purposes of bodily refreshment and comfort. He even carried the neglect of his person so far, that his servants were accustomed to avail themselves of his fits of intoxication, for the purpose of washing him. On those occasions, being wholly insensible to all that passed about him, they stripped him as they would have done a corpse, and performed on his body the necessary ablutions. Nor did he change

his linen more frequently than he washed himself. Complaining one day to Dudley North that he was a martyr to the rheumatism, and had ineffectually tried every remedy for its relief, "Pray, my lord," said he, "did you ever try a clean shirt?"

Drunkenness was in him an hereditary vice, transmitted down, probably, by his ancestors from the Plantagenet times, and inherent in his formation. His father, the Duke of Norfolk, indulged equally in it; but he did not manifest the same capacities as the son, in resisting the effects of wine. It is a fact that Lord Surrey, after laying his father and all the guests under the table at the Thatched House tavern in St. James's-street, has left the room, repaired to another festive party in the vicinity, and there recommenced the unfinished convivial rites; realizing Thomson's description of the parson in his "Autumn," who, after the fox-chase, survives his company in the celebration of these orgies.

"Perhaps some doctor of tremendous paunch,
Awful and vast, a black abyss of drink,
Outlives them all; and from his buried flock,
Returning late with rumination sad,
Laments the weakness of these latter times."

Even in the house of commons he was not always sober; but he never attempted, like Lord Galway, to mix in the debate on those occasions. No man, when master of himself, was more communicative, accessible, and free from any shadow of pride. Intoxication rendered him quarrelsome; though, as appeared in the course of more than one transaction, he did not manifest Lord Lonsdale's troublesome superabundance of courage after he had given offence. When under the dominion of wine, he has asserted that three as good catholics sate in Lord North's last parliament as ever existed; namely, Lord Nugent, Sir Thomas Gascoyne, and himself. There might be truth in this declaration. Doubts were, indeed, always thrown on the sincerity of his own renunciation of the errors of the Romish church; which act was attributed more to ambition, and the desire of performing a part in public life, or to irreligion, than to conviction. His very dress, which was most singu-

lar, and always the same, except when he went to St. James's, — namely, a plain blue coat, of a peculiar dye, approaching to purple, — was said to be imposed on him by his priest or confessor, as a penance. The late Earl of Sandwich so assured me; but I always believed Lord Surrey to possess a mind superior to the terrors of superstition. Though twice married while a very young man, he left no issue by either of his wives. The second still survives, in a state of disordered intellect, residing at Holme Lacy in the county of Hereford.

As long ago as the spring of 1781, breakfasting with him at the Cocoa-tree coffee-house, Lord Surrey assured me that he had purposed to give an entertainment when the year 1783 should arrive, in order to commemorate the period when the dukedom would have remained three hundred years in their house, since its creation by Richard the Third. He added, that it was his intention to invite all the individuals of both sexes whom he could ascertain to be lineally descended from the body of *Jockey of Norfolk*, the first duke of that name, killed at Bosworth field; "But having already," said he, "discovered nearly six thousand persons sprung from him, a great number of whom are in very obscure or indigent circumstances, and believing, as I do, that as many more may be in existence, I have abandoned the design."

Fox could not boast of a more devoted supporter than Lord Surrey, nor did his attachment diminish with his augmentation of honours. On the contrary, after he became Duke of Norfolk he manifested the strongest proofs of adherence; some of which, however, tended to injure him in the estimation of all moderate men. His conduct in toasting "The sovereign majesty of the people," at a meeting of the Whigs, held in February 1798, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, was generally disapproved and censured. Assuredly it was not in the "Bill of Rights," nor in the principles on which reposes the Revolution of 1688, that the duke could discover any mention of such an attribute of the people. Their liberties and franchises are there enumerated; but their *majesty* was neither recognized nor imagined by those per-

sons who were foremost in expelling James the Second. The observations with which his grace accompanied the toast, relative to the two thousand persons who, under General Washington, first procured reform and liberty for the thirteen American colonies, were equally pernicious in themselves and seditious in their tendency. Such testimonies of approbation seemed, indeed, to be not very remote from treason. The duke himself appeared conscious that he had advanced beyond the limits of prudence, if not beyond the duties imposed by his allegiance; for, a day or two afterwards, having heard that his behaviour had excited much indignation at St. James's, he waited on the Duke of York, in order to explain and excuse the proceeding. When he had so done, he concluded by requesting, as a proof of his loyalty, that, in case of invasion, his regiment of militia (the West Riding of Yorkshire, which he commanded) might be assigned the post of danger. His royal highness listened to him with apparent attention; assured him that his request should be laid before the king; and then breaking off the conversation abruptly, "Apropos, my lord," said he, "have you seen 'Blue Beard?'" This musical pantomime entertainment, which had just made its appearance at Drury-lane theatre, was at that time much admired. Only two days subsequent to the above interview, the Duke of Norfolk received his dismissal both from the lord-lieutenancy and from his regiment.

As he advanced in age, he increased in bulk; and the last time that I saw him (which happened to be at the levee at Carlton House, when I had some conversation with him), not more than a year before his decease, such was his size and breadth, that he seemed incapable of passing through a door of ordinary dimensions. Yet he had neither lost the activity of his mind nor that of his body. Regardless of seasons, or impediments of any kind, he traversed the kingdom in all directions, from Grey-stock in Cumberland, to Holme Lacy and Arundel Castle, with the rapidity of a young man. Indeed, though of enormous proportions, he had not a projecting belly, as Ptolemy Physcon is depicted in antiquity; or like the

late King of Wirtemberg, who resembled in his person our popular ideas of *Punch*, and might have asserted with Falstaff, that "he was unable to get sight of his own knee." In the deliberations of the house of peers, the Duke of Norfolk maintained the manly independence of his character, and frequently spoke with ability, as well as with information. His talents were neither impaired by years, nor obscured by the bacchanalian festivities of Norfolk House, which continued to the latest period of his life; but he became somnolent and lethargic before his decease. On the formation of Lord Liverpool's administration in 1812, he might unquestionably have received "the Garter," which the Regent tendered him, if he would have sanctioned and supported that ministerial arrangement. The tenacity of his political principles made him, however, superior to the temptation. His death has left a blank in the upper house of parliament.

As Lord Surrey secured his own seat for Carlisle, so Sheridan surmounted all opposition at Stafford, and re-appeared in the new house of commons by Fox's side. He possessed a ductility and versatility of talents, which no public man in our time has equalled; and these intellectual endowments were sustained by a suavity of temper, that seemed to set at defiance all attempts to ruffle or discompose it. Playing with his irritable or angry antagonist, Sheridan exposed him by sallies of wit, or attacked him with classic elegance of satire; performing this arduous task in the face of a crowded assembly, without losing for an instant either his presence of mind, his facility of expression, or his good humour. He wounded deepest, indeed, when he smiled; and convulsed his hearers with laughter, while the object of his ridicule or animadversion was twisting under the lash. Pitt and Dundas, who presented the fairest marks for his attack, found by experience, that though they might repel, they could not confound, and still less could they silence or vanquish him. In every attempt that they made by introducing personalities, or illiberal reflections on his private life, and literary or dramatic occupations, to disconcert him, he turned their weapons

on themselves. Nor did he, while thus chastising his adversary, alter a muscle of his own countenance; which, as well as his gestures, seemed to participate and display the unalterable serenity of his intellectual formation. Rarely did he elevate his voice, and never except in subservience to the dictates of his judgment, with the view to produce a corresponding effect on his audience. Yet he was always heard, generally listened to with eagerness, and could obtain a hearing at almost any hour. Burke, who wanted Sheridan's nice tact, and his amenity of manner, was continually coughed down; and on those occasions he lost his temper. Even Fox often tired the house by the repetitions which he introduced into his speeches. Sheridan never abused their patience. Whenever he rose, they anticipated a rich repast of wit without acrimony, seasoned by allusions and citations the most delicate, yet obvious in their application.

At this period of his life, when he was not more than thirty-three years of age, his countenance and features had in them something peculiarly pleasing; indicative at once of intellect, humour, and gaiety. All these characteristics played about his lips when speaking, and operated with inconceivable attraction; — for they anticipated, as it were, to the eye, the effect produced by his oratory on the ear; thus opening for him a sure way to the heart, or the understanding. Even the tones of the voice, which were singularly mellifluous, aided the general effect of his eloquence; nor was it accompanied by Burke's unpleasant Irish accent. Pitt's enunciation was unquestionably more imposing, dignified, and sonorous. Fox displayed more argument, as well as vehemence; Burke possessed more fancy and enthusiasm; but Sheridan won his way by a sort of fascination. At thirty-three, it might be said of his aspect, as Milton does of the fallen angel's form,

“ ——— His face had not yet lost
All her original brightness.”

Excesses of wine had not degraded its lineaments, eclipsed its fine expression, covered him with disgusting eruptions,

and obtained for him the dramatic nickname of *Bardolph*. At sixty he reminded me of one of the companions of Ulysses, who, having tasted of Circe's “charmed cup,” instantly,

“ ——— lost his upright shape,
And downward fell into a grov'ling swine.”

Those persons, and those only, who have frequently seen Sheridan at the two different periods to which I allude, can form an adequate conception of the metamorphosis produced in his appearance by repeated and habitual intoxication. It would have been fortunate for his fame, if Horace's invocation to the God of Verse, to grant him,

“ ——— nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec cithara carentem,”

had been accomplished in Sheridan.

If we duly appreciate the impediments with which he, no less than Burke, had to struggle, arising from want of distinguished birth, connexions, and fortune, when entering the house of commons, we shall admit that transcendent talents were necessary to vanquish such obstacles. Pitt and Fox had comparatively none with which to contend on commencing their parliamentary career. Sheridan, before he was first elected member for Stafford in 1780, had indeed attained the heights of dramatic celebrity; and already, in the opinion of many, rivalled Congreve. I never have, I own, so thought; nor do I consider him as entitled to dispute precedence with the author of “*The Way of the World*,” and of “*Love for Love*.” Sheridan's “*Duenna*,” and still more, his “*School for Scandal*,” are both unquestionably charming productions; nor does the “*Critic*” excite less admiration; but they, nevertheless, fall below the comedies of Congreve in brilliancy of wit and strength of composition, though they may possess more stage effect. The plays of Sheridan are likewise free from the licentiousness of Congreve; that defect was, however, the fault of the age, not of the author. Prior, and even Pope, are liable to the same imputation, and so are Vanbrugh and Centlivre: but the facts only prove that our manners under George the Third are much more refined

and correct than they were during the reigns of Anne and George the First.

After Sheridan's entrance on the field of politics and parliament, he abandoned the comic muse; a circumstance greatly to be regretted. Perhaps, if Shakspeare or Milton had been so unfortunate as to attain a seat in the legislature, we might never have witnessed "Hamlet" and "Othello;" nor should we have boasted of an epic poem that justly ranks with the "Iliad" and the "Æneid." Lord Byron, beyond all comparison the first poet of the present age, has purchased his "Parnassian laurels" by the sacrifice or dereliction of his legislative and parliamentary duties. Sheridan combined in himself the talents of Terence and of Cicero, the powers of Demosthenes and of Menander. In the capital of Great Britain, on one and the same day, he has spoken for several hours in Westminster Hall, during the course of Hastings's trial, to a most brilliant and highly-informed audience of both sexes, in a manner so impressive, no less than eloquent, as to extort admiration even from his greatest enemies. Then repairing to the house of commons he has exhibited specimens of oratory before that assembly, equalling those which he had displayed in the morning, when addressing the peers, as one of Hastings's accusers: while, on the same evening, "The Duenna" has been performed at one theatre, and the "School for Scandal" at the other, to crowded audiences, who received them with unbounded applause. This is a species of double triumph, of the tongue and of the pen, to which antiquity, Athenian or Roman, can lay no claim, and which has not any parallel in our own history. Lord Bolingbroke may perhaps form the nearest approach, as he was both an orator and a writer. So was Burke. Fox himself, after a life passed in the house of commons, aspired to instruct and to delight by his compositions. But not one of the three can sustain a comparison with Sheridan, who may be considered, in a comprehensive view, as the most highly endowed man whom we have beheld in our time.

In various points of useful or ornamental knowledge, he nevertheless fell far below Fox, who had visited the Continent, and was conversant in the languages,

as well as in the literary productions, of Italy and France: while Sheridan, though a good classic scholar, had never set his foot out of the British dominions, except once, during a few weeks, and was a very imperfect master of the French tongue. He neither spoke nor wrote it with any ease, and hardly could be said to read it without difficulty. His personal courage was indisputable, and almost romantic; for he literally obtained the hand of Miss Linley by the sword. She was denominated "The Maid of Bath," and had a train of admirers. His two duels with Mr. Mathews, of which she formed the object, exhibited on both sides the utmost violence of animosity. Though Sheridan won her with so much difficulty, his attachment to her was not permanent; and very heavy clouds overcast the evening of her life, under the pressure of which she sunk into the grave. I will not disturb her ashes. They repose in the Cathedral of Wells, while her husband lies in Poet's Corner. Sheridan soon consoled himself for her loss, in the arms of a second wife. The invincible spirit which he exhibited as a lover, he would unquestionably have displayed in his parliamentary capacity, had the occasion ever demanded it. But, with such consummate dexterity did he conduct himself as a member of the house of commons, that he never was compelled to give, or to demand satisfaction, though he sat there above thirty years. Lord George Germain, Lord Shelburne, Pitt, Fox, Tierney, Adam, Fullarton, Governor Johnstone, and many other leading men of both sides, were obliged to draw the trigger. Sheridan's calmness, good-humour, and wit, disarmed his adversary, without the necessity of accompanying him to the field. Pitt's proud and sullen inflexibility usually rendered him incapable of repairing an affront, or of offering any apology. Burke, in his anger, was impracticable and unpersuadable: but, I believe, he would not have accepted a challenge, where the offence had been given in his place, as a member of the house. He would either have treated it with contempt, or he would have claimed the protection of the Speaker. Throughout his whole political life, Sheridan manifested, in my opinion, much more

real public spirit and love of his country than was shown by Fox. Of this sentiment he exhibited a splendid instance, which ought to render his memory dear to every Englishman, during the memorable mutiny that took place in the navy, in the year 1797; one of the most awful and appalling events which occurred under the reign of George the Third. Horne Tooke was so elated by it, that on receiving the intelligence he exultingly exclaimed, "The revolution is begun: stop it who can!" Parker, like Massaniello, seemed, for a few days, to give law from Deptford to the mouth of the Thames: but the career of the Neapolitan fisherman and of the English mutineer were alike short, as well as tragical in their termination. Dismissing all party feelings, and impelled by more noble motives of action, Sheridan then gave the warmest support to government. Pitt did not, however, receive his advances, nor accept his magnanimous aid, with the liberality of mind, or with the testimonies of good-will and respect merited by such a conduct. Dundas, who possessed a more conciliating temper, as well as a more accommodating disposition, ventured, as I have been assured from good authority, to reproach his friend, in the freedom of private conversation at Wimbledon, for such a repulsive treatment of the man who in a moment of general dismay proffered his assistance to the administration.

It cannot admit of a doubt, that if Sheridan had brought his abilities into the market, and, like Dundas, had exclaimed, "Wha wants me?" or if, like Eden, he had quitted his party, made his bargain, and gone over to Pitt; endowed as he was with such various talents, he must have gladly been received into the ministerial ranks. Or if, after the French revolution, he had imitated Burke, Sir Gilbert Elliott, Wellbore Ellis, Powis, Windham, and so many others, on whom pensions, employments, and peerages were bestowed; he might have named his price. But, whatever severity of censure his private life and actions may justly excite, his parliamentary line of conduct stands exempt from all reproach. Invariably attached to Fox, even when his judgment or his inclinations might perhaps have leaned another

way, he accompanied that statesman in his fall; continuing steadily, however hopeless the contest might be, to combat by Fox's side during more than two-and-twenty years, from December, 1783, down to February, 1806. Yet there is good reason to believe that Sheridan deprecated, from the beginning, the too great energy, or rather the spirit of confiscation and ambition, which characterized the East India Bill; to which imprudent measure the *coalition* fell victims. In like manner, though he shared the fate which Lords Grenville and Grey attracted on themselves in 1807, by the generous but ill-timed and dictatorial attempt at Catholic emancipation; yet he had too much knowledge of George the Third's character, and fixed principles or prejudices, not to dread the result of trying to force that prince's conscience. With equal humour and truth he observed, that "he had frequently heard of men running their heads against a stone wall; but, he believed, his friends formed the only instance to be found in history, of ministers who first built a wall, and then ran their heads against it." On the other hand, so defective was Sheridan's morality as a man, such were his known pecuniary difficulties, and so unjustifiable were the expedients that he devised and put into practice for his daily support, as almost to incapacitate him thereby from ever ascending to the eminences of the state. Prior, who lived with Lord Bolingbroke when he was secretary of state, and with the Earl of Oxford at the time that he was lord treasurer, in the same intimate friendship as Sheridan did with Fox, was sent by that administration to Paris, to negotiate, as plenipotentiary, the treaty of Utrecht. In the following reign, Addison, though altogether unfit for the office, rose to be secretary of state. But the king would no more have consented to name Sheridan his minister for discussing the conditions of the peace of Amiens, or have appointed him secretary for the home department, than Queen Anne could be induced to nominate Swift to a bishopric. It was not merely Sheridan's want of fortune; for, in fact, neither Pitt nor Fox had any patrimonial inheritance remaining when they respectively occupied the highest employments. Dun-

das stood nearly in a similar predicament. But, even Fox, though he had ruined himself at play, yet never had recourse to dishonourable means of raising pecuniary supplies for his subsistence. Sheridan's whole life formed a tissue of inventions and subterfuges, as manager of Drury-lane theatre or of the Opera-house, to evade payment of salaries to the performers, and to elude the demands of his creditors. The tricks of *Scapin* could not boast of more originality or ingenuity than did those of Sheridan. They were current in every company, and would of themselves fill a volume.

One of the first objects meditated by Fox's party, after Sheridan's entrance into the house of commons in September, 1780, was to procure, at all events, his election as a member of Brookes's Club. But his success at Stafford met with fewer obstacles than he had to encounter in St. James's Street, where various individuals of that society, impelled either by political or by personal antipathies, were resolute in their determination to exclude him. Among these, two held him in peculiar dislike: I mean George Selwyn, and the late Earl of Besborough. Conscious that every exertion would be made to ensure Sheridan's success, they agreed not to absent themselves during the time allotted by the regulations of the club for ballots; and as one black ball sufficed to extinguish the hopes of a candidate, they repeatedly prevented his election. In order to remove so serious an impediment, Sheridan's friends had recourse to artifice. Having fixed on the evening when it was resolved to put him up, and finding his two inveterate adversaries posted as usual; a chairman was sent with a note, written in the name of Lady Duncannon to her father-in-law, acquainting him that a fire had broken out in his house in Cavendish Square, and entreating him immediately to return home. Unsuspicious of any trick, as his son and daughter-in-law lived under his roof, Lord Besborough, without hesitating an instant, quitted the room, and got into a sedan chair. Selwyn, who resided in the vicinity of Brookes's, in Cleveland-row, received, nearly at the same time, a verbal message, to request his presence; Miss Fagniani

(whom he had adopted as his daughter, and who afterwards married the present Earl of Yarmouth) being suddenly seized with an alarming indisposition. This summons he obeyed; and no sooner was the room cleared, than Sheridan being proposed as a member, a ballot took place, when he was unanimously chosen. Lord Besborough and Selwyn returned without delay, on discovering the imposition that had been practised on their credulity; but too late to prevent its effect.

Few men of genius since Sir Richard Steele's time have undergone greater difficulties; and none have had recourse to more extraordinary modes for the purpose of raising money, or obtaining credit, than Sheridan. Some were so ludicrous as to excite mirth, and can hardly obtain belief. He resided during several years in Bruton-street, Berkeley-square, where the house was frequently so beset with duns or bailiffs, that even the provisions requisite for his family were introduced over the iron railing down the area. In the course of the year 1786, while living there, he entertained at dinner a number of the opposition leaders, though he laboured at that time under almost insurmountable pecuniary embarrassments. All his plate, as well as his books, were lodged in pawn. Having, nevertheless, procured from the pawnbroker an assurance of the liberation of his plate for the day, he applied to Beckett, the celebrated bookseller in Pall Mall, to fill his empty bookcases. Beckett not only agreed to the proposition, but promised to ornament the vacant shelves with some of the most expensive and splendid productions of the British press, provided that two men, expressly sent for the purpose by himself, should be present to superintend their immediate restoration. It was settled finally that these librarians of Beckett's appointment should put on liveries for the occasion, and wait at table. The company having assembled, were shown into an apartment, where the bookcases being opened for the purpose, they had leisure, before dinner was served, to admire the elegance of Sheridan's literary taste, and the magnificence of his collection. But, as all machinery is liable to accidents, so in this instance a failure

had nearly taken place, which must have proved fatal to the entertainment. When everything was ready for serving the dinner, it happened that, either from the pawnbroker's distrust, or from some unforeseen delay on his part, the spoons and forks had not arrived. Repeated messages were despatched to hasten them, and they at last made their appearance; but so critically and so late, that there not being time left to clean them; they were thrown into hot water, wiped, and instantly laid on the table. The evening then passed in the most joyous and festive manner. Beckett himself related these circumstances to Sir John Macpherson.

Some years later, Sheridan joined in a partnership with two ladies of the highest distinction, but whom I will not name, for the purpose of making purchases and sales, vulgarly called dabbling, in the public funds. The speculation proved most unfortunate, as they *waddled* and became *lame ducks*. Nor was the bankruptcy of the firm the only evil that followed this experiment: but the subject is too delicate to allow the disclosure of further particulars.

Besides the defect of moral principle, aggravated by the want of economy, Sheridan laboured under other disabilities, which obscured the lustre of his great attainments. He possessed, or exerted, no powers of steady and systematic application; such as, properly directed, might have alleviated the privations imposed on him by his political attachments. How little he cultivated the comic muse, is evident from reflecting, that after he came into parliament in 1780, down to his decease in 1816, he never composed a single dramatic piece. His alteration of Kotzebue's "Pizarro," and its adaptation to the English theatre, was less a work of genius, than a financial expedient for attracting crowds to Drury Lane, made in his capacity of manager. Yet in the exertions of his own intellect he must have found a far more profitable and certain source of pecuniary supply, than from the precarious emoluments or employments which he occasionally derived by the elevation of his friends to power. In fact, during the course of his whole life, he never was above two years in

office, taken all together; the first time, in 1782, when, on Lord North's resignation, he became one of the under-secretaries of state in Fox's department for eleven weeks. Under the *coalition* administration, he was appointed a secretary of the treasury during about eight months, and when Fox, Lord Grenville, and Lord Grey came into power, they remunerated him by the lucrative post of treasurer of the navy, which he filled scarcely a year. The situation of receiver-general of the Duchy of Cornwall, conferred on him by the Prince of Wales, towards the evening of Sheridan's life, constituted the only permanent official recompense that he obtained for his long parliamentary services.

Indolence pervaded all his faculties, obscured, and finally extinguished them in a certain degree. It is a fact, that when "Pizarro" was announced for representation on the theatre, he had not completed the alterations introduced into the piece. Even on the very evening that it was first performed, the concluding lines remained unfinished. Sheridan wrote them at the Shakspeare Tavern in Covent Garden not half an hour before the curtain drew up and the play commenced. The actors received and learned them before the ink was dry with which they were composed. So inattentive was he even to his own interests, and with such difficulty could he be compelled to exert his talents! He could, indeed, occasionally bend the force of his powerful mind, for a limited time, to one object, as he did in Hastings's case, when he attracted such universal admiration. Nor did he ever, as a member of the house of commons, betray want of information on whatever subject he spoke: but these were in general short and desultory efforts, not long-continued or laborious operations. The fame of Sheridan resulted from a happy combination of wit, eloquence, temper, and genius; not from sedulous application. He had not learned

"To scorn delights, and live laborious days;"

without which renunciations lasting reputation of any kind is not commonly acquired. Like "the great Emathian

conqueror, who abandoned himself to excesses,

"Theme of the young, and beacon of the wise,"

Sheridan may rather be considered as a dazzling and seductive meteor, sitting ultimately in darkness, than as a steady luminary dispensing an equal light, and whose departing rays, if less brilliant than in his meridian strength, might have been nevertheless cheering and unclouded.

This extraordinary man, as he approached the confines of old age, sunk with every successive year in general estimation. Admitting that his faculties remained perfect, as I believe they did, they nevertheless became overcast from the effects of intoxication, licentiousness, and habits of dissipation. How different, we must own, was the tenor of Fox's life after the period of his retreat to St. Anne's Hill! Divided during many months of the year between rustic occupations, elegant literature, and the company of a few friends, Fox (a green apron frequently fastened round his waist) amused and employed himself in pruning, or nailing up his own fruit-trees. But Fox outlived his vices; those of Sheridan accompanied him to the tomb. Such was the characteristic and inherent difference between these two illustrious men!

The last time that I was in Sheridan's society, we dined together at the late Duke of Queensberry's, in 1807. We formed a small, select company; and he displayed his usual convivial talents, which never forsook him at table: but the duke, who was above eighty, and had become deaf, did not allow Sheridan to sit long enough, or to swallow sufficient wine, for fully expanding his powers of colloquial entertainment.

At the dissolution of parliament in 1812, having failed to secure his re-election at Stafford, he ceased to sit in the house of commons; a circumstance most inconvenient to him, as his person was no longer protected from arrest, while his debts accumulated. I have been assured from good authority that the Prince of Wales (or, more properly to speak, the Regent) transmitted him the sum of three thousand pounds, in order

to enable him to procure his election for some other borough; but Sheridan, pressed by domestic exigencies, diverted the money to his own private necessities. From that period, during the four or five concluding years of his life, he, who had so long attracted the attention of an admiring public, insensibly became, if I may so express myself, half-eclipsed, and in a manner forgotten while still alive. Incapable of extricating himself by any efforts of genius or application (such was his habitual indolence) from his pecuniary embarrassments, he could no longer defy a host of importunate tradesmen who clamorously demanded payment. Like *Jaffier*, he might say that his doors were

"Barred and dammed up by gaping creditors."

A friend of mine, a young man, having been arrested in August, 1815, for a debt, and carried to a spunging-house in Fetterlane, there found himself detained in a large apartment with Sheridan and Sir Watkin Lewes. The latter had been lord mayor of London, as well as one of the members for that city in successive parliaments. They remained shut up together for three days, at the end of which time Sheridan procured his liberation. He was morose, taciturn, and gloomy before dinner—for they all ate and slept in the same room;—but when he had drunk nearly two bottles of wine, as he regularly did, after dinner, he became comparatively cheerful and communicative. Sir Watkin, at near fourscore, exhibited equal good humour and equanimity of mind.

Declining gradually under the attack of chronic diseases aggravated by excess, Sheridan's last scene holds up an affecting and painful subject of contemplation. A privy-counsellor, the ornament of his age and nation, caressed by princes, and dreaded by ministers; whose orations, and whose dramatic works, rank him among the most distinguished men of his own or of any period; expired, though not in a state of destitution, like Spenser, like Otway, or like Chatterton, yet under humiliating circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment. His house in Saville-row was besieged by bailiffs; one of whom pressing to obtain entrance,

and availing himself of the moment when the front door was opened to admit the visit of Dr. Baillie, who attended Sheridan during the progress of his last illness, that eminent physician, assisted by the footman, repulsed him, and shut the door in his face.

Dr. Baillie, I have been assured, refused to accept any fee for his advice ; and Earl Grey, who had so long acted in political union with Sheridan as a member of opposition, supplied him with every article for his comfort, prepared from his own kitchen. Nor, as I have heard, did the Regent forsake him in his last moments. If my information is correct, his royal highness sent him two hundred pounds ; but Sheridan declined its acceptance, and returned the money.

Thus breathed his last a man of whom it might be justly said, as of Lord Verulam, that he was

“ The greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind ! ”

As Sheridan had secured his seat for Stafford in the new parliament ; so Burke had been returned, by Earl Fitzwilliam, for Malton ; and Colonel Fitzpatrick, by the Duke of Bedford's interest, for Tavistock. Sawbridge, with great difficulty, came in again for London, last of the four successful candidates on the poll. The Hon. St. Andrew St. John, who had been one of the two under-secretaries of state in Fox's office, and who might be ranked among the most devoted adherents of the late secretary, carried his election for the county of Bedford, against Lord Ongley, by only one vote ; and Mr. St. John finally retained his seat. He has since succeeded to the ancient peerage of that name. Hare was again chosen, or, more properly to speak, returned for Knaresborough, with Lord Duncannon.

Not one among Fox's friends and companions was supposed to possess more wit than Hare ; but his talents, brilliant as they were, did not qualify him to take a part in debate, however highly estimated they might be at a festive meeting, or in private society. Hare was, I believe, like myself, a native of Bristol ; and, as I have been assured, of obscure origin. His accomplishments enabled him, however, to ally himself in

marriage with a sister of Sir Abraham Hume, who brought him a very considerable fortune.

Lord Robert Spencer, not less warmly attached to Fox than was Hare, reappeared in the house ; and, as if to supply by ability the numerical vacancies occasioned among the opposition ranks by the late dissolution, a new member, Mr. Windham, took his seat for the city of Norwich, after sustaining a long as well as a severe contest. His parliamentary talents, which soon rendered him distinguished, eventually raised him to some of the highest offices of the executive government.

The first act of the house being the election of a speaker, Cornwall was a second time raised to that eminent office. His alliance by marriage with Jenkinson constituted his best recommendation to the chair, of which seat the “ Rolliad ” says,

“ There Cornwall sits, and ah ! compell'd by fate,

Must sit for ever through the long debate.”

“ Like sad Prometheus fasten'd to the rock,
In vain he looks for pity to the clock.

In vain the powers of strength'ning porter tries,

And nods to Bellamy for fresh supplies.”

Those persons who, like myself, sate in the house of commons under Cornwall's speakership, will recollect and acknowledge the fidelity of this portrait. One of the lords of the new treasury, the Marquis of Graham, moved that the late speaker should be again placed in the chair. Few individuals, however distinguished by birth, talents, parliamentary interest, or public services, have attained to more splendid employments, or have arrived at greater honours, than Lord Graham, under the reign of George the Third. Besides enjoying the lucrative sinecure of justice-general of Scotland for life, we have seen him occupy a place in the cabinet, while he was joint postmaster-general, during Pitt's second ill-fated administration. At the hour that I am writing, the Duke of Montrose, after having been many years decorated with the insignia of the Thistle, is invested with the order of the Garter, in addition to the high post which he holds,

of master of the horse. In his person he was elegant and pleasing, as far as those qualities depend on symmetry of external figure; nor was he deficient in all the accomplishments befitting his illustrious descent. He possessed a ready elocution, sustained by all the confidence in himself necessary for addressing the house. Nor did he want ideas, while he confined himself to common sense, to argument, and to matters of fact.

If, however, he possessed no distinguished talents, he displayed various qualities calculated to compensate for the want of great ability; particularly, the prudence, sagacity, and attention to his own interests, so characteristic of the Caledonian people. His celebrated ancestor, the Marquis of Montrose, scarcely exhibited more devotion to the cause of Charles the First in the field, than his descendant displayed for George the Third in the house of commons. Nor did he want great energy, as well as activity, of mind and body. During the progress of the French revolution, when the fabric of our constitution was menaced by internal and external attacks, Lord Graham, then become Duke of Montrose, enrolled himself as a private soldier in the City Light Horse. During several successive years, he did duty in that capacity, night and day, sacrificing to it his ease and his time; thus holding out an example worthy imitation to the British nobility. His services were amply rewarded by Pitt.

After Mr. Perceval's assassination in 1812, when the prince regent attempted to form a junction between some of his own former friends and Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Montrose owed both the preservation of his place, and the order of the Garter, solely to the inflexibility of the individuals who refused those gratifications. If the Earl of Jersey would have accepted the mastership of the horse, the duke would have been instantly deprived of that employment; as, in like manner, the Duke of Norfolk's rejection of the Garter determined the Regent, after long hesitation, to confer it on the Duke of Montrose.

19th — 24th May. — The chiefs of opposition, conscious that, in the diminished state of their numbers, they could

not attempt to propose any candidate for the chair who would have had the slightest prospect of success, acquiesced without a division in Cornwall's election. But Fox did not lose the occasion of commenting with indignant severity on the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster; observing, not without reason, that the house, which ought to have consisted of five hundred and fifty-eight members, was incomplete, none being returned for the city which had elected him as one of its representatives. He added, that if the returning officer at Rye, for which borough Mr. Cornwall sat in parliament, had imitated the example of Corbett, the house could not have called that gentleman to the chair. This subject was again renewed, a few days later, when Lee, who had filled the office of attorney-general under the *coalition*, moved that "the high bailiff ought to have returned two citizens for Westminster." It must be confessed that if reason and justice had decided the question, it would have been determined in the affirmative: but, after a debate of considerable length, ministers evaded, rather than negatived the proposition, by a majority of only ninety-seven, the respective numbers being 233 and 136; at the same time commanding the attendance of Corbett at the bar of the house on the ensuing day. No sooner had this division taken place, which sufficiently manifested Pitt's ascendant in the assembly, than Mr. John James Hamilton rose to move an address of thanks to the king, on his speech from the throne. Like the Duke of Montrose he has occupied a distinguished place in the court of George the Third, as well as under Pitt's administration. He had attained at this time his thirty-fourth year. Tall, erect, and muscular in his figure; thin, yet not meagre; finely formed, with an air of grace and dignity diffused over his whole person,—he could not be mistaken for an ordinary man. To the beautiful portrait of James the Fifth, in Duke Hamilton's apartments at Holyrood House, he bore a striking similarity. Of a dark complexion, with very intelligent and regular features, he resembled more a Spaniard than a native of Britain; and his arrogant solemnity of manner, augmented by the peculiarities of his

demeanour, obtained for him from Sheridan the name of "Don Whiskerandos," the lover of "Tilburina," in his own "Critic." Mr. Hamilton's abilities, though not of the first order, might have qualified him for public employment, at least as well as those of the Duke of Montrose, if he had emulated to attain office; but pleasure, rather than business — enjoyment, and not application or renunciations, seemed principally to occupy his mind. Even when moving the address to the crown, his partiality towards the first lord of the treasury, and his aversion to the opposition leader, manifested itself in a manner scarcely compatible either with the rules of debate or with the forms of decorum. After portraying Pitt in colours such as friendship leads to embellish truth, he, without positively naming Fox, designated him as "one of those men, who, having dissipated their fortune, impaired their constitution, and prostituted their talents, entered the house of commons for the purpose of repairing their ruined finances, from motives of personal ambition and self-interest." Contrasting the two individuals, he drew the most favourable conclusions for the former, as a minister endowed, even in youth, with all the qualities necessary for promoting the grandeur and felicity of his native country.

Mr. Hamilton then stood in the relation of presumptive heir to the titles and vast estates of his uncle, the Earl of Abercorn, one of the sixteen representative Scottish peers. This nobleman, far advanced in life, infirm, paralytic, and unmarried, was raised about two years afterwards to the dignity of a British viscount, with remainder to his nephew, who succeeded in 1789 to all his honours and possessions. Hamilton, who had been early married, was already the father of a numerous family; but having conceived an ardent passion for a very near relative, Miss Cecil Hamilton, he applied to his friend the minister, in order to procure for her from the sovereign the rank and precedence of an earl's daughter. This extraordinary request Pitt undertook, and finally accomplished. She was the youngest female child of the Rev. Dr. George Hamilton, uncle to the new earl; and, besides youth, possessed uncommon personal attractions.

Nevertheless, such a concession on the part of the king seemed to militate against all the forms and usages of court etiquette, as she had four elder sisters. Charles the Second himself might have hesitated at such a proposition. Nor could a prince so religious as George the Third, or a queen so correct as Charlotte of Mecklenburg, fail to perceive, and to disapprove, the motive which impelled Lord Abercorn to make the demand. It is well known that Pitt did not succeed in obtaining it without strong marks of repugnance being evinced by their majesties. She was, nevertheless, presented at St. James's as Lady Cecil Hamilton; and little more than two years afterwards, Lord Abercorn, who had intermediately become a widower, gave her his hand in marriage. But mutual infelicity soon produced a separation, and a divorce. The whole transaction, which might furnish matter for the drama, excited not less general astonishment than condemnation, and may indeed be esteemed one of the most extraordinary incidents of the present reign.

In 1790, Pitt raised Lord Abercorn to the rank of a British marquis. Those persons who justified or explained so many marks of ministerial favour, on ordinary principles of human action, observed, that no honours or concessions in the power of the crown to bestow were above the pretensions of a man, who not only descended from the royal line of Scottish kings, but was himself the head and representative of the dukes of Hamilton in male succession. It is unquestionable that the Abercorn branch of the Hamiltons sprang, by the men, from James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, regent of Scotland during the minority of the unfortunate Mary Stuart; while the ducal title has become vested in the family of Douglas, who descend by females from the same common stock. When, however, as a further augmentation to so many dignities and distinctions conferred on this nobleman, the Garter was finally added by Pitt some years later, there were not wanting individuals who sought for the solution of such extraordinary acts of predilection or friendship by recourse to more concealed causes.

They observed that Lord Abercorn's landed property was immense; while the first minister laboured under pecuniary embarrassments, resulting not only from his slender patrimonial fortune, but increased by a want of private economy. Rendering ample justice to the native dignity and disinterestedness of Pitt's character, exemplified by so many shining proofs of those virtues as he had exhibited during his administration; they nevertheless asked, whether it was wholly incredible that a first lord of the treasury, whose wants were notoriously so pressing that he could neither pay the tax-gatherer, nor the butcher, when they came to his door, and whose ordinary resource for getting rid of his coach-maker's importunities was by ordering a new carriage, should permit a friend to furnish him with the means of meeting his difficulties, by forcing on him a loan of some thousand pounds. I am well aware of the indignation which the zealous adherents of Pitt will express at the bare supposition; but a belief in the marquis having assisted him with pecuniary aid was by no means confined to the enemies of the first minister. Nor was Lord Abercorn the sole individual of my own time whose elevation has given rise to similar suspicions or opinions. Among the members of the house of commons whom I found there on my first entering it in 1780, was Mr. Robert Smith, one of the two representatives for Nottingham. Being at the head of a banking-house situate on the other side of Temple Bar, he then resided in Lombard Street. His character was without reproach, and his fortune ample; but he possessed no parliamentary talents. As he was again returned for the same town in 1784, and had early attached himself to Pitt, he was considered decidedly ministerial on all questions. Towards the year 1790, Mr. Smith removed his residence to the vicinity of St. James's, where he occupied a splendid house, looking into the Green Park. He still represented his native place, Nottingham; and adhering invariably to the minister, was raised, in 1796, to the Irish peerage, by the title of Lord Carrington. Scarcely fifteen months afterwards, Pitt placed him on the barons' bench in the British house of peers, by the same title;

not, however, as was well known, without experiencing a long resistance on the part of the king. Throughout his whole reign, George the Third adopted as a fixed principle, that no individual engaged in trade, however ample might be his nominal fortune, should be created a British peer. Nor do I believe that in the course of fifty years he infringed or violated this rule, except in the single instance before us. He was not so tenacious of the Irish peerage. In fact, on the same day when Mr. Smith had been raised to the latter dignity, another commercial member of the house of commons, Sir Joshua Vaneck, was created a baron of Ireland by the title of Lord Huntingfield. Previous to the union with the sister kingdom in 1801, an Irish peerage, if conferred on an Englishman who possessed no landed property in that country, could be regarded as little more than an empty honour; producing indeed rank and consideration in society, but conferring no personal privilege, neither securing his person from arrest in Great Britain, nor even enabling the individual to frank a letter.

The dignity itself was frequently bestowed on very slight pretences. Sir Richard Philipps, a Welsh baronet of ancient descent, when member for the county of Pembroke, in the year 1776, having preferred a request to his majesty, through the first minister, Lord North, for permission to make a carriage-road up to the front door of his house, which looked into St. James's Park, met with a refusal. The king, apprehensive that if he acceded to Sir Richard's desire, it would form a precedent for many similar applications, put a negative on it: but Lord North, in delivering the answer, softened it by adding, that if he wished to be created an Irish peer, no difficulty would be experienced. This honour being thus tendered him, he accepted it, and was made a baron of that kingdom, by the title of Lord Milford. His intimate friend, and mine, the late Sir John Stepney, related this fact to me, not long after it took place.

To return to Mr. Smith; — I believe that he claimed a collateral alliance with the family of the same name, one of whom was ennobled by Charles the First; under the title of Carrington; an

English barony which expired under Queen Anne, early in the last century. Whether the fact be so or not, I have been told that Pitt intended to raise his friend a step higher in the *Red Book*; and that when his administration suddenly terminated in 1801, Lord Carrington was on the point of being created Viscount Wendover. Several years earlier, on Pitt's becoming lord warden of the Cinque Ports, he had conferred on Lord Carrington the government of Deal Castle, situate in the immediate vicinity of his own residence at Walmer. Such reiterated marks of more than common ministerial friendship, bestowed on a private member of parliament, however respectable he might be, were by many imputed to a sentiment of gratitude in return for pecuniary assistance received from Mr. Smith, who, as a banker, might find many occasions of obliging the first lord of the treasury. I can neither assert nor deny the fact; but if we reflect how distressed Pitt was throughout his whole life, and how large a sum he owed at his decease, we shall not perhaps consider it as improbable, that even *his* elevated mind might so far bend to circumstances, as to permit his friends, from their abundant resources, to contribute to his temporary accommodation or extrication. It is much more difficult to justify the patent granted to Miss Cecil Hamilton, giving her the rank of an earl's daughter, than it is to approve the British peerage conferred on Mr. Smith. I now resume the course of public affairs.

24th May. — Lord Surrey rising first, in the debate that followed Mr. Hamilton's motion for an address of thanks to the king, on his speech from the throne; in a tone and with a manner more subdued than he was accustomed to adopt during the last parliament, or than was natural to him, deprecated a division. "If," he said, "the new minister would only consent to omit the clause which thanked the sovereign for dissolving the late house of commons, unanimity might be obtained at the opening of the session.

Lord North, while warning Pitt to beware of the mutability of ministerial greatness, reminded him that in October 1780, when a new parliament met, in

which assembly he himself occupied the post now filled by Pitt, the opposition of that day scarcely outnumbered the votes of the minority on the debate respecting the high bailiff of Westminster; "and yet," added he, "within eighteen months afterwards I was compelled to quit my high situation."

Fox, in more impassioned language, exhorted the first lord of the treasury not to add insult to victory; and avowing the late rejected "East India Bill" as his own measure, entered briefly on its defence. Nor did he fail to charge the minister with violating the promise made from the throne, when, in contradiction to that solemn assurance given by his own authority, he had dissolved the late parliament. — But Pitt, confident in the strength of his numbers, while he was sustained equally by the crown and by the country, remained as insensible to threats, as to blandishments. Disdaining, he said, a hollow unanimity, he refused to omit a word of the proposed address. With ironical commendations on Fox's firmness in attempting to justify the "East India Bill," he maintained that the nation had sate in judgment upon that measure, and on its authors, whom they had pronounced guilty of rapacity and criminal ambition. Alluding to Fox's recent success in Covent-garden, he denied that it exhibited a test of public opinion, as it had been eminently produced by the interference of female charms, which superseded every other consideration: thus indirectly naming the duchess his auxiliary. Pitt concluded by sarcastically congratulating the head of opposition on the extent of his fame, which, spreading to the remotest corner of Great Britain, had procured his election for the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

To an harangue so personal, Fox made no reply; and the division immediately taking place, administration displayed a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight, in a house where near four hundred members were present; the respective numbers being 282 and 114.

As the first political division in the newly-elected assembly, it must have been most grateful to the minister, who beheld his power established on so firm a foundation: but it likewise exhibited

to him a proof how differently the house felt respecting other points, where the British constitution, or the chartered rights of the subject, were invaded. On the same evening, a few hours earlier Pitt, could only carry the previous question against Lee by ninety-seven votes, when a motion was made that "the high bailiff of Westminster ought to have returned two members for that city." It would have been honourable no less to the judgment than to the feelings of the administration, if they had conceded to this sentiment so strongly pronounced; but party spirit is incapable of magnanimity, of moderation, or even of equity.

25th May — 7th June. — Instead of bringing forward without delay all those legislative and financial measures which the critical state of the country, and the advanced season of the year, naturally demanded from a new parliament, — instead of endeavouring, as far as possible, to redeem the time that had been sacrificed since the preceding month of November, during which period all the wheels of government had stood nearly still in every department, — instead of allowing Fox to take his seat for Westminster, as sound policy, even without any mixture of liberality, would have dictated, leaving to Sir Cecil Wray the task of proving before a committee of the house, if he should be able, his own superiority of good and legal votes, — instead of this dignified and impartial line of proceeding, narrow and vindictive counsels were adopted in the cabinet. It was determined, at whatever risk or price, to prevent Fox from taking his seat for the city that had elected him, and to render every other public object subservient to his exclusion. All the little passions of human nature were called into action, in order to oppress a formidable and illustrious individual. I am sensible that in passing this censure on Mr. Pitt's conduct towards his rival, I condemn myself, since I supported, and voted with him on every question relative to the Westminster election: but, in writing these Memoirs, I acknowledge no guide except truth, and shall never hesitate to applaud, or to condemn any transaction from personal considerations. Nor, indeed, does it follow that the acts which we contem-

plate with regret, or with concern, in 1817, must have excited those emotions in 1784, when they were viewed through the medium of political irritation.

Throughout the first fortnight which followed the address of thanks to the crown, all national business was postponed and swallowed up in the consideration of the Westminster election, or rather, scrutiny. During the course of nearly fourteen years that I sat in parliament, I never assisted at debates so tedious, so verbose, and so protracted! — circumstances which will excite less surprise, when we consider that legal interpretations, examinations at the bar, harangues of counsel, and technical illustrations or discussions relative to the intention of the statutes regulating elections, constituted the greater part of the entertainment. The house not unfrequently remained sitting till a very late hour of the night; sometimes till six on the ensuing morning, while the gentlemen of the long robe maintained the dispute with equal pertinacity. Fox demanded that a return should be made for Westminster, that he should be seated, and that the petition of Sir Cecil Wray might be tried by the regulations of the "Grenville Bill," which would decide on the merits of the case.

The first minister, it must be owned, on this occasion adopted the resentment of the court, and became an active instrument of persecution. Perhaps I may feel it more sensibly, and express my disapprobation in warmer language, from having myself been an object of royal and ministerial enmity. It cannot, however, be denied by Pitt's greatest admirers, that the measures which he adopted, in order to exclude Fox from taking his seat for Westminster, are to be ranked among the least commendable, or even justifiable, acts of his long administration.

Neither the attorney-general, nor the solicitor-general, took the prominent part in the debates upon this subject, which, from their legal eminence and official situations, might naturally have been expected. Of the former law-office I have already made some mention, in the "Memoirs of my own Time" already published. He unquestionably did not want either professional or parlia-

mentary talents; though, had they been unaided by Pitt's determined partiality, they never would, in all probability, have raised him to the highest dignities of the long robe, nor, still less, have placed him in the house of peers

Yet, moderate as were Pepper Arden's abilities when compared with the great luminaries of the bar in our time, they exceeded those of Macdonald, the solicitor-general; of whose jurisprudential knowledge or acquirements "The Rolliad" has thus sarcastically expressed its opinion:

"Learn'd as Macdonald in his country's laws."

He possessed, however, other advantages. Sprung from one of the most ancient, opulent, and honourable Hebridian families, allied to some of the greatest nobility of England, as well as of Scotland; his elder brother, the feudal representative of the Macdonalds of the Isle of Skye, had been created baron of Ireland, only a few years earlier, by Lord North. Nor, while speaking of the two younger, ought I to omit some mention of the first of the three brothers, Sir James Macdonald, who died in the prime of youth, at Rome, early in the present reign. No man in my time excited higher expectations of this future eminence in all the attainments of elegant literature. No individual since Mr. Edward King, who perished at nearly the same period of life, in 1637 (the "Lycidas" of Milton, swallowed up in the waves of the Irish Channel), was more bewailed by men of genius, for his premature end! Perhaps, however, the marriage of Macdonald with the lord president of the council's eldest daughter, Lady Louisa Gower, might contribute, more than all, the circumstances above enumerated, to place him in so conspicuous an office as that of solicitor-general, under the new administration.

To Kenyon, in an especial manner, was committed by Pitt the arduous task of defending the high bailiff of Westminster, justifying the scrutiny instituted by that returning officer, and preventing Fox from enjoying the solid fruits of his late hard-earned triumph. So invidious a commission could not have been delegated to a more able head, or exe-

cuted with more legal skill. Kenyon,—on whom the employment of master of the rolls had been recently conferred, and who, propelled by Lord Thurlow's friendship, while he was sustained by his own great abilities, beheld in full prospect higher honours, as soon as the Earl of Mansfield should quit the Court of King's Bench, which event his age and augmenting infirmities rendered apparently imminent,—endeavoured to convince the house that Corbett had acted conformably to law in declining to make any return.

But no individual member took a more conspicuous share in the debates which arose upon this question than Lord Mulgrave. Speaking from the treasury-bench, moored in one of the best ministerial anchorage-grounds, at the Pay-office in Whitehall, the emoluments of which lucrative post he shared jointly with Mr. William Grenville, he looked forward to greater objects than prize-money, or naval distinctions in the line of his profession. Sustained by two younger brothers, both of whom possessed likewise seats in parliament, and who were not less devotedly attached than himself to the minister; he anticipated with confidence the British peerage as the sure reward of his exertions, which, if not brilliant or splendid, were at least systematic and unwearied. But having in the course of his various attempts to justify the high bailiff, asserted, somewhat rashly, that "base and shuffling tricks had been practised during the poll, with a view to ensnare or entrap that officer," Fox, who felt the inevitable application of those expressions to himself, took up the subject in such a manner as effectually to prevent their repetition. I scarcely recollect having ever seen him more strongly agitated. With equal solemnity of voice and demeanour, addressing his discourse to Lord Mulgrave, he declared that, "If the words just used were meant to apply personally to himself, before any evidence was heard to authenticate or prove them, the noble lord held a language which no man fit to be admitted into the company of gentlemen ought to use, and of which every man of honour would be ashamed."

The reproof produced an instant ex-

planation, accompanied with assurances that not the most distant intention existed of connecting the accusation with himself. But the promptitude that Fox always exhibited in resenting and repelling every attack which touched his honour, when contrasted with the frank amenity of his manners, and the recognized placability of his natural disposition, rendered him an object of respect, even to his political enemies. Lord Mulgrave continued, indeed, to maintain throughout the subsequent discussions respecting the poll, and election, that "tricks" had been used on the part of Fox's friends; omitting, however, the offensive epithets that had preceded the accusation on the former evening.

A more vociferous and entertaining, if not a more able advocate for the high bailiff, came forward in the person of Lord Mahon. 'This eccentric nobleman, who, as Earl Stanhope, has acted a conspicuous as well as a very useful part in the discussions of the house of peers during a long period of time, and whose recent death may, in my opinion, be considered as a public misfortune, was brought up by his father principally at Geneva. He had there imbibed very strong republican, or rather, levelling principles; ill adapted to a man whose high birth and prospects should naturally have inspired him with sentiments more favourable to monarchy. If he had flourished a century and a half earlier, under Charles the First, instead of under George the Third, he would unquestionably have rivalled Ludlow, or Algernon Sydney, in their attachment to a commonwealth. His person was tall and thin, his countenance expressive of ardour and impetuosity, as were all his movements. Over his whole figure, and even his dress, an air of puritanism reminded the beholder of the sectaries under Cromwell, rather than a young man of quality in an age of refinement and elegance. He possessed stentorian lungs and a powerful voice, always accompanied with violent gesticulation. "The Rolliad" describes him as

"Mahon, outroaring torrents in their course."

So strongly did he always enforce his arguments by his gestures, as to become

indeed sometimes a troublesome neighbour, when greatly animated by his subject. He commonly spoke from the row behind the treasury-bench. In the course of one of his harangues, respecting a measure that he had himself suggested, the object of which was the suppression of smuggling; impelled by the warmth of his feelings, just as he was commending his friend and relation, the first minister, for "his endeavours to knock smuggling on the head at one blow," he actually dealt Mr. Pitt, who sat below him, a smart stroke on the head. This manual application of his metaphor convulsed the house with laughter, and not a little surprised the chancellor of the exchequer; but it seemed neither to disconcert, nor to arrest, the impetuosity of Lord Mahon's eloquence. Since the ludicrous circumstance of Lord North's taking off Welbore Ellis's wig on the chafe of his scabbard, no scene more comic had been acted within the walls of the house of commons. The same satirical production which I before cited, when alluding to Lord Mahon, says,

"This Quixote of the nation,
Beats his own windmills in gesticulation.
To strike, not please, his utmost force he bends,
And all his sense is at his fingers' ends."

Scarcely any individual took so active a part against Fox on the hustings, during the progress of the poll, as Lord Mahon had done, and few surpassed him in zeal for the administration. To Pitt he was doubly allied, having first married his sister, Lady Hester, whose second daughter of the same name has been proclaimed Queen of Palmyra by some Arab tribes. His second wife, one of the minister's nearest relatives, was a daughter of Mr. Henry Grenville.

Nor did Fox want powerful supporters throughout the long discussions relative to his election; among whom Lord North and Sheridan appeared most conspicuous: but no member of opposition attracted so much attention, or, more properly to speak, excited so much animadversion, as Erskine. Though not possessed of a seat in the new parliament, yet being employed in the capacity of an advocate, he exerted every faculty of his powerful mind, when pleading the

cause of his friend, at the bar of the house. During the examination of Grojan the deputy-bailiff, who was likewise the legal adviser of Corbett, a curious incident arose, which for a short time interrupted the proceedings. I shall briefly state the particulars.

Grojan having asserted that Fox's agents were acquainted with the lists of bad votes polled for him, Erskine desired to be informed how, or by what proofs, it was pretended to ascertain that the persons in question were actually agents of Fox? The witness replying, that "he so inferred, because they appeared as his friends;" Erskine, with his characteristic promptitude and audacity, wholly regardless of any respect for the assembly before whom he spoke, observed that, "if all Fox's friends were to be considered as his agents, almost every honest man throughout the country might be so esteemed, who was not a member of that house." An insinuation so injurious, as well as insulting, produced general indignation among the ministerial ranks; and Sir James Johnstone rising in his place, demanded whether counsel was to be allowed thus to abuse and vilify the house, under pretence of examining a witness placed at their bar? Sir James, the elder brother of Sir William Pulteney, and of Governor Johnstone, realized our ideas of those hardy Scots, the companions of Wallace, or of Robert Bruce; cast as he was in a Herculean mould, of an uncouth aspect, rude address, and almost gigantic proportions. The counsel being ordered to withdraw, a short but acrimonious conversation ensued; Sir James, notwithstanding the efforts exerted from the opposition side of the house, with a view to compel him to desist from his charge, maintaining steadily that the individual who had offended should be called in, and made to repeat his words. Great blame was attributed to the Speaker, who, instead of repressing such disorderly language, allowed it to pass unnoticed. Cornwall admitted that Erskine's conduct was improper and reprehensible; but excused himself for not interfering, by his not having heard the particular expression that gave offence. It seemed uncertain whether the house would have allowed the matter to rest

here, if Pitt had not interposed to allay the warmth excited; observing with apparent suavity, though not unaccompanied by a degree of sarcasm, that "he imagined the counsel had no bad intention when he uttered the words: or perhaps it might form a part of his instructions, to act in the manner that had excited animadversion." The ministerial interposition proved effectual in quelling the irritation of the assembly. Fox judiciously remained silent, and Erskine being again summoned to the bar, the examination proceeded without further comment.

As I may not find any more appropriate occasion than this event offers, for speaking of a man who, during the last forty years, has so deservedly occupied so high a place in the public attention, and whom I have very particularly known at various periods of my life; I shall embrace it, in order to present to the reader of these Memoirs an imperfect portrait of Erskine. He forms, I believe, the only instance in our history, of an individual, who after having served in the army and the navy, both which services he quitted with discontent, has attained to the highest honours and emoluments of the bar, to a prodigious professional reputation, and finally to the peerage. Bishop Burnet, when speaking of Pemberton, who was made chief justice of the King's Bench by Charles the Second, towards the end of his reign, adds: "His rise was so particular, that it is worth the being remembered. In his youth he mixed with such lewd company, that he quickly spent all he had, and ran so deep in debt, that he was quickly cast into a jail, where he lay many years. But he followed his studies so close in the jail, that he became one of the ablest men in his profession." There is, however, a wide interval between Pemberton's and Erskine's elevation. A combination of moral and physical qualities, which rarely meet in the same person, and which were finally crowned by fortune in defiance of probability, favoured Erskine. Descended from the royal line of Scottish kings, he may nevertheless be accounted an Englishman, if an uninterrupted residence of almost half a century in this country, and a total ab-

sence during that time from the soil that gave him birth, can constitute a denizen of England. Dining in company with Lord Erskine, not long since, at the Honourable Robert Grenville's, he assured me that he had never visited Scotland since the year 1769. Inheriting scarcely any patrimonial fortune; disgusted alike with the naval and the military profession; having imprudently married while very young; and finding himself encumbered with a numerous, augmenting family; — every incitement which could propel to exertion, operated on his mind. The bar, and the bar only, opened a field, which, if followed up with success, would infallibly conduct to fortune, and probably to dignity. But, how qualify himself, at the age of twenty-five or six, for such a career, at once dry, laborious, difficult, and uncertain? It required uncommon energies of character, severe application, and many renunciations, in order to acquire the jurisprudential knowledge necessary even for entering the lists. By steady and continued efforts, during the progress of which he sequestered himself for at least two years in a great degree from the dissipation of society, he surmounted those impediments, and presented himself on the arena of the law. Keppel's trial, which took place in consequence of the transactions of the 27th July, 1778 (a day not marked in our naval annals, like those of Camperdown, of Aboukir, or of Trafalgar, as a triumphant anniversary), fortunately presented to Erskine an opportunity for rendering himself advantageously known to the public. The expectations excited by his talents, together with the nature of his recognized political opinions, having procured him to be retained on the side of the accused admiral; he displayed so happy a mixture of ability, eloquence, and spirit, as at once to establish his legal reputation. I have heard him relate some of the particulars of that pleading, not very long after they took place; for no man was more easily induced to talk of himself and his own performances. Making, however, every allowance for the embellishments of self-love, or rather, of inordinate vanity, he unquestionably impressed his hearers with the highest respect and admiration. A fearless tem-

per, approaching sometimes to temerity, yet usually under the restraint of judgment, enabled him to break through the shackles previously imposed on courts of law. Erskine successfully undertook to spurn at precedents; to strike out a new path to eminence; to appal or silence the judges themselves; to intimidate, convince, or seduce the juries; to appeal from the understanding to the feelings; to invoke religion in aid of reason; to cite Scripture whenever it suited his purposes; to oppose the Bible against Blackstone; finally, to lead captive his audience, and to carry the cause that he defended or espoused, by extorting a sort of involuntary submission, sometimes yielded almost in defiance of evidence, facts, belief, or conviction.

Whatever exaggeration may appear in this description, those persons who are best acquainted with the trials on which Erskine has distinguished himself, will not think the portrait overcharged. They will recollect the successful defence of Lord George Gordon, made by him in February, 1781; that equally celebrated pleading for the Dean of St. Asaph, Shipley, in 1784; the harangues which saved Stockdale, and the publisher of Paine's "Age of Reason;" finally, his efforts in favour of Horne Tooke, Hardy, and the revolutionists of the year 1794; together with so many other exertions of eloquence immortalized in the records of our criminal jurisprudence. Even the great luminaries of law, when arrayed in their ermine, and armed with all the official sanctity or majesty of their office, bent under his ascendancy, and seemed to be half subdued by his intelligence, or awed by his vehemence, pertinacity, and undaunted character. Buller, in whose office, before his promotion to the bench, Erskine had studied the rudiments of his profession, — a man of distinguished ability, though caricatured in the printshops of the capital, under the name of *Judge Thumb*, from an unfortunate declaration which he made relative to the powers of correction legally vested in the husband over the wife. Buller, who, in 1784, was one of the inferior judges of the Court of King's Bench, but who long aspired, not without reason, to occupy the first place in that tribunal, found himself overpowered, on many

occasions, by Erskine. The Earl of Mansfield himself, the oracle of Themis, before whom every created thing under the roof of Westminster Hall became dumb or submissive; unable, or reluctant, to impose silence on one of his own countrymen, sprung like the Murrays from a noble stock, and shedding a lustre over the soil that alike gave them birth; — even *he* often seemed to shrink from the contest, and gave way to the impetuous inflexibility of an individual, who, though sometimes foiled, yet, like Antæus, derived strength from every fall. If Churchill very unjustly depicted Wedderburn as

“ Mute at the bar, but in the senate loud,”

the converse of the proposition, it was said, might apply to Erskine, as being “ loud at the bar, but in the senate mute.” Not that, when a member of the house of commons, he commonly sat silent on great questions, as I can attest; and still less did he absent himself; though he unquestionably did not display within the walls of that assembly the overwhelming influence which distinguished him when pleading before a court of law. His genius, irresistible while professionally exerted, appeared to be rebuked under the majestic eloquence of Pitt.

In his person, Erskine combined great elegance of figure and manner. His movements were all rapid; appropriate to, and corresponding with, the texture of his mind. Intelligence flashed from his eyes; and his features, regular, prepossessing, as well as harmonious, bespoke him of no vulgar extraction. He was slender, finely proportioned, and of a just stature. The tones of his voice, though sharp, were full; destitute of any tinge of Scottish accent, and adequate to every professional purpose or exigency. Far inferior in legal knowledge, not only to Kenyon, but to Scott, Milford, and many other practitioners at the bar, he overleaped the fences that he could not open or remove; brought forward auxiliaries unknown before to the coif; ransacked authorities never dreamed of by his brethren; quoted the Pentateuch, or the Proverbs, more frequently than Coke upon Littleton; and bewil-

dered or fascinated his hearers. From great defects and weaknesses he was not exempt. His vanity was obtrusive, and insatiable. Narcissus was not more enamoured of his person, than Erskine was of his talents; nor contemplated his own image with more complacency, even in the most troubled fountain. Portraits of Erskine, as *Counsellor Ego*, were sold in the shops. His own speeches, actions, and importance, which seemed ever present to his mind, continually formed the theme of his discourse. How great therefore must have been his mortification, when, on being presented to Bonaparte in 1802, at Paris, the Corsican First Consul, instead of recognizing his extended fame, and beholding in him the future chancellor of Great Britain, only said, “ *Etes vous légiste?*” The truth of this anecdote rests with Fox’s Irish biographer and panegyrist, Trotter; but I see no reason to doubt it. Joseph Scaliger, when he was presented to Henry the Fourth of France, from whom he anticipated the most flattering reception, underwent a similar, and a much coarser overthrow to his vanity and self-love. Erskine possessed, however, many elegant accomplishments, rarely found in the walks of the Temple, or of Lincoln’s Inn; and not usually united by the most expanded mind, with the dry study of statutes and digests of law. He was a poet of no common order; and I have heard him repeat his own verses, with nearly as much delight as he felt, himself, in reciting them.

Among the charming women who, in 1784, adorned the court of Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (or, more properly to speak, the English capital; for scarcely could the queen be said to have any court), might well be accounted Lady Payne, now Lady Lavington; her husband, Sir Ralph Payne, having been subsequently created an Irish baron. A native of Vienna, Mademoiselle de Kelbel — so she was named before her marriage — then resided with the Princess Joseph Poniatowska, widow of one of his late Polish Majesty’s brothers, who had been many years in the Austrian service, where he attained the rank of general. Her person and manners were full of grace. At Sir Ralph’s

house in Grafton-street, the leaders of opposition frequently met; and Erskine having one day dined there, found himself so indisposed as to be obliged to retire after dinner to another apartment. Lady Payne, who was incessant in her attentions to him, enquired, when he returned to the company, how he found himself? Erskine took out a bit of paper, and wrote on it,

"'Tis true I am ill, but I cannot complain;
For he never knew *Pleasure*, who never
knew *Payne*."

Sir Ralph, with whom I was well acquainted, always appeared to be a good-natured, pleasing, well-bred man. His *Star* rendered him, like Sir John Irwine, Sir William Gordon, Sir George Warren, and other Knights of the bath of that period, a conspicuous as well as an ornamental member of the house of commons; but he was reported not always to treat his wife with kindness. Sheridan calling on her one morning, found her in tears, which she placed, however, to the account of her monkey, who had expired only an hour or two before, and and for whose loss she expressed deep regret. "Pray write me an epitaph for him," added she; "his name was *Ned*." Sheridan instantly penned these lines:

"Alas! poor Ned
My monkey's dead!
I had rather by half
It had been Sir Ralph."

In his political attachments Erskine was ardent and impetuous, yet steady; devoted to Fox, whom he continued to follow through all the progress of the French revolution. Nor was he less warmly attached to the Prince of Wales, whose attorney-general he had been appointed immediately after his royal highness set up his standard of opposition to the king on repairing to Carlton House. From that office, his defence of Tom Paine occasioned his dismissal; but it was only to re-appear subsequently in the more dignified character of chancellor to the heir apparent. Erskine's professional labours speedily expelled the demon of poverty from his dwelling; and no man seemed better to know the value of money,—for he appeared to

have constantly before his eyes Juvenal's

"Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus
obstat
Res angusta domi."

He acquired, as he well deserved to do, a large fortune; but the modes to which he had recourse, and the Transatlantic securities in which he invested his money, with a view, as he conceived, to its preservation, in case of a great national convulsion here at home,—precautions adopted by him during the revolutionary war,—neither did credit to his prudence, nor honour to his patriotism. Fortune, rather than his pre-eminent abilities, finally placed the great seal in his hand for a short time, and seated him in the upper house of parliament. If Pitt had survived eight months longer; or if, reversing the events, Fox had died in January, and Pitt in September of the same year, 1806; Erskine probably would have remained to the present day a commoner. But, on the decease of the first minister, the remaining members of the cabinet, conscious of the awful crisis in which this country stood, after the deplorable humiliation of Austria in the campaign of 1805 under Mack, agreed in advising and exhorting the king to accept their resignation; calling, of course, Fox, Lords Grenville and Grey, to his counsels. The Duke of Montrose, who was one of that cabinet, assured me so himself, very soon after the event took place. When, however, the list of individuals selected as proper for filling the office of chancellor was delivered in to his majesty by the new ministers—at the head of which paper appeared Erskine's name; they were far from expecting, as one of the party declared to me, that the king would have acquiesced in the recommendation. George the Third made no objection; only observing to them, "Remember, he is *your* chancellor, not *mine*;" and Erskine received the great seal, to the astonishment of his own political friends. The defender of Paine, and of Horne Tooke, could not be other than obnoxious to the king; who, if his choice had been wholly unfettered, would probably have named Piggott to the high office in question. Erskine might, in such case, never have sat

upon the woolsack, nor have attained to the peerage; but his legal reputation would not have suffered by the exclusion: for he proved that an advocate of paramount abilities might make a very inadequate chancellor. His decrees will not be ranked with those of Yorke, or of Scott; and scarcely with those of Bathurst.

It may, perhaps, be supposed, or assumed, that if Erskine had not attained to this dignity in 1806, he would have reached it six years later, in 1812; when the regent, being liberated from the restrictions imposed on him by parliament, could have followed his own inclination in the selection of ministers. I admit, that if the king had died in the autumn of 1810, or if the Prince of Wales had been instantly invested at that period with all the prerogatives of sovereignty, such an event might probably have taken place. But, during the interval of about fifteen months which elapsed between his majesty's last attack of mental alienation and his son's complete emancipation from all restraint, Lord Eldon had made a deep and favourable impression on the regent's mind, as well as on his affections. That nobleman, who to great legal talents, and a sound judgment, joins qualities of a more companionable description, is by no means averse to the conviviality of the table. Like the elder Cato, of whom Horace asserts that he frequently warmed his virtue by the stimulus of wine, Lord Eldon willingly indulges, within proper limits, in that gratification. Of him it may be justly said (as the same poet does of Corvinus Messala, when alluding to the "amphora," in his "*O nata mecum*"),

*"Non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negliget horridus."*

It can, therefore, excite no surprise if I state that Lord Erskine, though from long habits of intercourse he must have been more personally familiar with his royal highness than the present chancellor, does not occupy a higher place in his confidence. I know indeed, from good authority, that during the summer of 1815, Lord Eldon, finding himself attacked by infirmities and diseases which, as he apprehended, would or

might disqualify him for fulfilling the laborious duties of his office, addressed a letter to the regent, requesting permission to resign his employment. In reply, the prince besought him to lay aside any such intention; and added, among other flattering expressions, that "he was the only man in the cabinet upon whom he (the regent) could repose with confidence."

Lord Eldon complied with the royal wish; and some time afterwards, while dining with Lord Liverpool, having drunk at least a bottle of port wine, he pulled out the letter in question, and put it into the hands of the first lord of the treasury for his perusal. That minister, not a little wounded, as well as irritated, at the exclusive moral preference manifested towards the chancellor, hurried away next morning to Carlton House, and tendered his resignation. Surprised at so unexpected an event, his royal highness requested to be informed of the motives that gave rise to it. Lord Liverpool replied by stating the nature of the written communication which Lord Eldon had shown him under the prince's hand; adding, that if confidence could be no longer reposed in him it became him to retire from office."

The regent experienced, however, very little difficulty in calming this ebullition of ministerial resentment; and over another bottle he effected a pacification. In fact, the chancellor and Lord Sidmouth are the only two members of the present cabinet whose convivial temper sympathised with that of the prince.

Lord Erskine, verging, as he now is, rapidly towards his seventieth year, though in the full possession of all his mental, no less than of his bodily faculties, yet appears very unlikely to hold the great seal a second time. Decorated with the order of the Thistle, and long retired from the bar, he should rather be considered as a friend and a companion of the regent, than as any longer a candidate for the dignity of chancellor. I regard his legal and his political race as in fact terminated, though he may long continue to speak and vote in the house of peers. The elevated and generous spirit of independence which he displayed throughout the whole parliamentary proceedings instituted against the un-

happy queen of George the Fourth, have covered Lord Erskine with immortal honour ; and have stamped him in age, as he was in youth, the intrepid defender of oppressed or persecuted individuals. In order justly to appreciate his merit, we must recollect how ardent was his personal affection to the sovereign whose will he opposed. Only a paramount sense of moral duty, and a conscientious discharge of it, could have ever surmounted that strong attachment, cemented by so many years of service. To the queen he was altogether unknown. If such conduct does not entitle to admiration and applause, I am at a loss to know what can ensure it. Posterity will remunerate him.

8th June. — One of the most interesting debates at which I was ever present, took place when Welbore Ellis, with his characteristic formality, after a tedious speech, concluded by moving that “ the high bailiff of Westminster be ordered forthwith to make return of two members.” Ellis himself, who had long toiled ineffectually in the ranks of opposition, was elevated to the British peerage, about ten years later, when near fourscore years of age ; thus receiving, like so many others, that dignity from the hand of Pitt which he found it vain to hope he ever could attain from Fox. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the oration — for such it might properly be deemed, as much as any of those attributed to Demosthenes or to Tully — which the last-mentioned illustrious but persecuted member pronounced on this occasion. It comprised all that eloquence, sustained by a just cause, could combine to persuade and to gain over his judges : but, however brilliant might be the matter, it wanted prudence in its conception, and brevity in its delivery. After pointedly answering, *seriatim*, Lord Mulgrave, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Mahon ; against each of whom he protested, not without reason, as prejudiced individuals unfit to vote upon such a question ; he addressed himself personally to Pitt. In animated language he exhorted the new first minister not to become an instrument of oppression in the hands of others ; thereby forming a precedent, which, while it disgraced the house of commons, would

infallibly open the eyes of all moderate men throughout the nation. Treating with derision the pretended scruples of Corbett, the high bailiff, as being inspired, not by conscience, nor by justice, but as a low contrivance of his own ministerial enemies, with a view to prevent his being returned member for Westminster ; he again demanded that the validity of his election should be referred to a committee appointed under “ the Grenville Bill.” With impassioned declamation he owned and lamented his own poverty, which imposing on his friends the necessity of defraying from their private purses the enormous expenses of an interminable scrutiny, wounded his feelings in the deepest manner. Never, he said, till the present occasion, did he languish for affluence, or deplore his incapacity to maintain with his own fortune his own right ! Then, with consummate imprudence, but in words of great energy, he directed his whole artillery against the secret advisers of the measure. Against the sovereign himself, whom, without violating the forms of the house, he designated in very intelligible terms, and whose sacred name, he said, had been prostituted in the most shameless manner, during the progress of the election, to the subversion of all decency or law ; he levelled his severest observations. Nor did he allow Jenkinson to escape under the veil of silence, obscurity, and retirement, beneath which he attempted or affected to shelter himself since Pitt’s entrance on office.

Assuming as a fact, that the new minister was only the ostensible author of those measures which he did not direct, and could not control ; an accusation which, it must be admitted, was wholly destitute of proof, and, as I believe, of truth ; Fox exclaimed, “ I am far from attributing to the chancellor of the exchequer the guilt of being a voluntary instrument in this vile affair. He is not, I am well aware, a free agent. Not, therefore, to him, but to its true authors, do I impute the act ; to that obstinate, dark, and short-sighted spirit, which, like a species of infatuation, pervades, as it has uniformly guided and overshadowed, the councils of this unfortunate country, throughout the whole progress of the

present disgraceful and calamitous reign. I attribute it to that weak, that ruinous and damnable system, which has produced all our miseries and all our misfortunes, in every quarter of the globe; to *those secret advisers* of the crown, whose rancour is only surpassed by their cruelty; and whose malignant nature impels them to pursue with insatiate revenge the object of their enmity." When we maturely weigh the import of these expressions, and consider how deep a stain they affix on the person whom they describe; we cannot wonder that the individual who used them should have remained two-and-twenty years excluded from the councils of the sovereign whom he thus accused. Fox, by allowing his indignation to overpower his discretion, in fact confirmed his rival in office, while he closed the door of employment on himself. How could George the Third voluntarily admit into his cabinet a man who had so pointedly held him up to the condemnation of his own subjects? If Fox had changed the nature of his attack, and transferred his accusations exclusively to the minister, opportunities might and would have arisen for facilitating his return to power. It is true that the first Earl of Chatham, while he still remained a commoner, had made use of similar language; but that great statesman spoke from higher ground than Fox, and with more effect, after having triumphed, in the eyes of all Europe, over the united power of the house of Bourbon. Nor did even *his* example hold out any encouragement to such a denunciation of the king; since, after his resignation in 1761, during the course of seventeen years that Lord Chatham survived, he was scarcely altogether a single year in office.

Jenkinson was present during the whole of this severe philippic; but he possessed too much command over his passions to notice Fox's insinuations. With consummate judgment, he had withdrawn himself as much as possible from the public eye, and waited in silence for his future reward. Far from taking as yet any ostensible part or place in the new administration, he avoided at this time ever approaching the treasury bench; mixed personally in none of the

debates; but, modestly seating himself at a distance, on the opposition side, towards the lower part of the house, he seemed studiously to shun observation. Presumptive heir, as he was, to the title and estate of Sir Banks Jenkinson, he had likewise unquestionably secured the promise of a British peerage, as soon as circumstances should enable the sovereign and his minister to bestow on him that dignity, without exciting too much animadversion. Even his name was not to be found at this time in the Court Calendar, connected with any English office. So supple, cautious, and patient was he; and by such unmarked steps did he advance as it were in the dark, *feeling* his way up to the house of lords! Neither did Pitt, in his reply, condescend to notice, or to refute, the assertion made of his being, himself, only a puppet agitated by unseen wires; though he retorted on his adversary every accusation calculated to render him an object of national reprobation. With contemptuous irony he observed, that Lord North and Fox had not during many years agreed on any political question, except in their decision upon the memorable Middlesex election, which seated Colonel Luttrell in the house; a decision now so generally condemned: and next, in their condemnation of "the Grenville Bill;" a bill now so universally applauded. Fox's early employment under Lord North's administration, followed by his subsequent opposition to that minister, and terminating in their coalition, necessarily subjected him to comments on his parliamentary inconsistency or contradictions.

The motion of Welbore Ellis was negatived by *seventy-eight*, after a debate protracted to a late hour. Yet even in this triumph the minister might find ground for mortification; and he must have involuntarily felt how languid or reluctant was the support extended to him on the present question, compared with the vast majority that carried the address to the crown, at the opening of the session. The opposition could only produce on that occasion 114 votes; while 117 divided for compelling the high bailiff to make a return to the precept. On the other hand, though 282 members voted with administration, when they

were called on to manifest their loyalty to the sovereign, and their confidence in the government; 195 could with difficulty be found to carry a question of personal oppression. So strong was the moral sense of right and wrong, even in an assembly convoked under the warmest impressions of partiality towards the minister, and of corresponding condemnation for the *coalition*! Availing himself of his numerical superiority, conscious of the invidious nature of the question, and desirous, if possible, to terminate a contest which, as he well knew, violated the principles of justice; Pitt lost not a moment in moving that "the high bailiff do proceed in the scrutiny with all practicable despatch." The motion was carried; and Corbett, being called to the bar, received from the Speaker's mouth information of the decision of the house. Thus may be said to have finished the first act of a political farce, in which, though Fox was overborne by numbers, the minister could derive little gratification from his victory. Public opinion amply indemnified the vanquished representative for Westminster. During other periods of the present reign, when the tide ran with less impetuosity in favour of the sovereign, and of administration, so oppressive an exertion of power against an individual might even have produced consequences most injurious to the government. But the unpopularity of the *coalition*, aggravated by the general condemnation which "the East India Bill" had excited throughout the country, supplied every deficiency of substantial justice, and sustained the new chancellor of the exchequer in his elevation.

9th — 16th June. — The Westminster election being now dismissed for some months, the real business of the session commenced; but Burke first rang the knell of the departed house of commons, at which ceremony he performed the part of chief mourner. In a "Representation," as he denominated it, the reading of which at the table, however incredible it may seem, consumed more than three hours, he endeavoured to demonstrate that ministers had calumniated Fox's late measure; while, impelled by motives of personal ambition, they had advised the dissolution of an assembly

which they could neither persuade nor corrupt. Every assertion contained in Burke's *motion* constituting the severest satire both on the sovereign and on his ministers, it received an immediate negative, without producing answer or debate of any kind; the mover's only object being to commemorate his opinions, and thus to transmit them to posterity, embodied in the journals of the house.

A discussion of a very different nature followed, two days later, when Sawbridge revived the important subject, already twice agitated during the existence of the late parliament, for amending the national representation. Its introduction placed the first minister in a position of some delicacy, since he was now called on to prove the sincerity of his speeches and professions when out of office. Sawbridge refusing to postpone his *motion*, which was "for appointing a committee to enquire into the present state of the representation of the commons; being literally the very proposition recommended by Pitt in 1782, from the treasury bench; and all eyes being directed toward him he was compelled to rise.

While, in the progress of his speech, he continued to profess the same ardour in the cause as he had always felt; he maintained, though without assigning any specific reasons for his opinion, that "it was out of season at this juncture." He did not, however, fail to pledge himself in words the most solemn, to bring forward the subject, as early as it might be possible, in the ensuing session; protesting his sincerity in effecting the object of national reform. These assurances of future support, combined as they were with such a reluctance to agitate the question immediately, did not escape Fox's observation; who, though he affected not to distrust the minister's declarations, demanded to be informed what causes constituted the particular inaptitude of the present moment. But, no reply nor explanation being given from the treasury bench, Sawbridge declared that, under such reserve, he should persist in his *motion*. He was a stern republican in his principles, almost hideous in his aspect, which always reminded me of Tiberius, as drawn by Tacitus; of a coarse figure, and still

coarser manners; but possessing an ample fortune, and a strong understanding. Nor did he want qualifications adapted to social life, being indisputably the greatest proficient at the game of whist who was then to be found among the clubs in St. James's-street. Since the decease of Beckford, so famous for his opposition to the crown in the beginning of the present reign; and of Crosby, who was committed to the Tower by the house of commons; no individual in our time, that had filled the post of lord mayor, if we except Wilkes, attained to greater popularity than Sawbridge, previous to the existence of the *coalition*.

A very interesting debate ensued, in which Sir Richard Hill took a conspicuous part. Representing, as he did, a great county (Shropshire), where he inherited a large estate, he was heard with respect whenever he addressed the house. Warmly attached to Pitt, he had imbibed very deep prejudices against the *coalition*; and in his sarcastic or satirical animadversions on Fox, it must be confessed that he frequently transgressed the limits of strict decorum, if he did not trespass on the regulations of debate. With Holy Writ he was very familiar; and as he pressed the Bible constantly into his service, while speaking on political subjects, — not always with the gravity that such a book seemed to demand, — the “*Rolliad*” held him up conspicuously to ridicule, as the “*Scriptural Killigrew*.” Professing himself a friend to Parliamentary reform, he nevertheless coincided with the first minister in wishing to postpone the consideration of so important a question to a more propitious moment; and in the course of his speech, which he delivered from the treasury bench, he declaimed with great asperity on the American war, as well as personally on Lord North, under whose administration a contest so ill conducted and unfortunate took place. That nobleman, thus attacked, stood up; and after combating with arguments drawn from experience, history, and reason, the specious plans of reform, to all which he professed himself a determined enemy, as substituting delusive theory in the place of great and acknowledged, though imperfect, benefit; he adverted to the hostilities with America.

Far from deprecating the agitation of the subject, he demanded it; denied that he had caused the calamities so eloquently depicted, and called on his accusers to bring forward a charge against him. “I found,” said he, “the American war when I became minister: I did not create it. On the contrary, it was the war of the country, of parliament, and approved by the people. But, if the gentlemen opposite think otherwise, let them come forward and accuse me. I shall not shrink. I am ready to meet, and to repel their charge. Nay, I demand it, as a matter of justice. There can exist no reason *now* for withholding it. I am wholly unprotected. The minister of the day has a house of commons to accuse me, a house of peers to try me; he is master of all the written evidence that exists against me. And as to parole testimony,” continued he, fixing his eyes upon Dundas, “almost all those individuals who were *my* confidential friends in whom I reposed my secrets, are now become *his* friends. Yet I court the enquiry: but if, when thus called on, they do not grant it, I must insist that they do not henceforward argue upon the charge as if it were proved.”

So manly and peremptory a challenge, while it imposed silence on his accusers, — for not a word of reply proceeded from any member of administration, — produced expressions of admiration at the ability, as well as the firmness, which it displayed.

Pitt, though only three years earlier he had harangued with vehemence against the ministerial conductors of that war, and had even invoked the divine vengeance on their heads, yet remained mute. He unquestionably felt that a parliamentary prosecution of the minister who carried on that contest must involve in the culpability imputed, the sovereign at the head of whose counsels he now actually presided. In fact, George the Third could no more have abandoned Lord North to the rage of his enemies, than Charles the First ought to have consented to the execution of Lord Strafford. Both ministers were equally the agents of the royal will, and both were alike entitled to protection from the prince whom they obeyed, if not constitutionally, according to the principles laid down at the revo-

lution of 1688, yet in a moral and individual sense. On the other hand, Fox and Burke, who had now implicated themselves with the very minister whose measures and policy had so long constituted the theme of their invectives, could not draw out in hostile array for his destruction. Such were the causes that extended a veil over the administration of Lord North, and consigned it to a wise oblivion.

From this period the American war seemed to be nearly forgotten, and to have passed into the province of history, like the "war of the Succession," or the "war of Seven Years." Allusion was indeed occasionally made to it; but it no more constituted, as it had done during so many sessions, the perpetual weapon of declamation; while the nobleman who had conducted it, though he never again came forward in an official character, yet passed the remainder of his life in dignified repose, surrounded by admiring friends in the bosom of his family. I have seen him often during that period, in his own drawing-room in Grosvenor-square. There, of evenings, with Gibbon by his side, who formed a frequent guest during his visits to England from Lausanne; Lord North, blind and infirm, displayed not only insuperable suavity of temper, but disclosed the stores of a classic mind, wit, and variety of the most interesting information. Pope, when speaking of Sir Robert Walpole after his retreat from public life, says,

"I shun his zenith, court his mild decline."

But the Earl of Orford, when no longer first minister, by no means either possessed the same intellectual resources, or exhibited the same domestic virtues, as his successor in office under the present reign.

Sawbridge pertinaciously refusing to postpone, or withdraw his *motion*, Lord Mulgrave moved the "previous question;" a manœuvre of which Sawbridge loudly complained, as an unfair expedient for getting rid of the proposition, without giving it a decided negative. After a debate of considerable length, on coming to a division, the numbers were only 125 for appointing a committee, while 199 supported Lord Mul-

grave; thus rejecting the first proposed step towards reform, by a majority of seventy-four votes. If ever the proposition could have met with success, it would have been adopted in 1782, when Pitt agitated it under the Rockingham administration. Every circumstance then conspired to favour its introduction: ministers deeply pledged to reform, who had already carried retrenchment into almost all the departments of the royal household or expenditure; a house of commons left without a leader, disbanded, and in which assembly numbers were inclined to support any measure that promised extrication from the state of distress into which the nation was plunged by the American war; a country humiliated, drained, discontented, and calling for redress; lastly, a sovereign fettered, disarmed, and incapable of opposing any effectual resistance to the measure. In fact a majority of only *twenty* then negatived the motion; so that *eleven* individuals, by changing sides, might have carried it, and opened wide the door to future changes in the constitution. It must likewise be remembered, that in May, 1782, Lord North, who had only been driven from employment a few weeks, took no active part in opposing the proposition. He was present indeed, and voted against it; but, as if stunned by the late political events, to the surprise of his friends, he did not open his lips. Nor ought we to forget, that at the moment when Pitt addressed the house, we had reached the lowest point of national depression to which we sunk, just previous to the intelligence of Rodney's great naval victory over De Grasse. When a similar experiment was reiterated in the ensuing session, by the same person, its result was widely different. The house had already recovered from its apathy, and shaken off its deference or submission to reformers, however plausible their systems might appear in theory, when decorated with the charms of eloquence. Lord North amply compensated for his silence in 1782, by his active exertions, and powerful opposition in 1783. On the first of those occasions the attendance scarcely exceeded three hundred; while on the second nearly four hundred and fifty members voted. Yet no

more than one hundred and forty-nine persons were found to support the *motion*; among whom the names of Thomas Pitt and of Henry Dundas, however respectable they might be individually, served only to excite ridicule. So soon had the cry for parliamentary reform subsided; and such was the operation of time on the minds of men, in preventing them from the hasty adoption of projects for ameliorating the national representation!

30th June. — The month of June already drew to its close before the new minister brought forward his measures of finance to meet the exigencies of the year; or, in parliamentary language, "opened the budget." He performed this arduous task in a manner at once so voluminous, accurate, and masterly, as to excite universal admiration; a sentiment which received no small augmentation, if we reflect that he had then only just completed his twenty-fifth year. Pitt may, indeed, be regarded as a political phenomenon, not likely to recur in the lapse of many ages; unless we should incline to consider Lord Henry Petty (now Marquis of Lansdown), who in 1806, as chancellor of the exchequer, executed the same ministerial function, to form any sort of parallel. Pitt's youth furnished opposition for a long time with a fertile theme of ridicule and comment. "The Rolliad," describing him in 1784, exclaims:

"Above the rest, majestically great,
Behold the infant Atlas of the state,
The matchless miracle of modern days;
In whom Britannia to the world displays
A sight to make surrounding nations stare;
A kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care!"

Early in July, this "schoolboy" introduced his "East India Bill;" and nearly the whole month was consumed in the discussions or alterations to which it gave rise. The measure unquestionably could not be charged with the same imputations of personal ambition, rapacity, and confiscation which Fox's *bill* had occasioned: the consent of the directors to its introduction, and afterwards of the proprietors, being obtained; the political power antecedently vested in both which bodies of men, though diminished and restricted, was by no

means annihilated. Indeed, from its first introduction, down to the time of its finally passing the house of commons, concession and conciliation appeared to animate the minister, who modulated, expunged, or altered, numerous clauses and regulations. Some of these substitutions were suggested by his own friends or supporters; but the far greater part emanated from the ranks of opposition. Important as the subject was in itself, and still more important as it must prove in its operation or consequences, it neither excited the interest, nor produced the attendance, which had distinguished the former "East India Bill." The advanced season of the year, and the overwhelming majorities which administration commanded on every division, greatly diminished the exertions of mutual hostility. Fox, it is true, while he justified his own *bill*, attacked the minister's proposition with the strongest weapons of reason and argument. Sheridan transfixed it with the keenest shafts of ridicule, and Burke thundered against it, with no less indignation than Demosthenes inveighed against Philip. On the other hand, Jenkinson, emerging from the sort of obscurity in which he had attempted or affected to remain ever since the commencement of the session, now came forward for the first time, and from the ministerial side of the house extended his active support, or as the opposition denominated it, his *sanction* to the measure.

2d — 28th July. — "I am charged," said Fox, "with erecting a fourth estate in the legislature, by my *bill* for the government of India. But, did it, in fact, erect any estate that was not previously in existence? The Court of Directors was the fourth estate; and my bill only altered the nature of that estate, from one without efficacy, delusive, and destitute of control, to a power constantly under check, and removable by address from either house of parliament." — "I admit that I took the *commerce*, as well as the *government* of India; for doing which I was traduced throughout the country. But, what is the measure of the present minister? The new India Board that he proposes to erect, may send instructions to India in *commercial*, as well as in *political* matters, where

they think the revenue to be concerned. Oh ! but, says he, the company may appeal. Appeal !—To whom, and from whom ? Is such a pretended appeal anything except a fallacy and a farce ? Will the company appeal from the chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the secretaries of state, to the king in council ? And will not the king take the opinions of those ministers ? Or does the bill mean to insinuate that the company may appeal from the ostensible cabinet, to the *secret junto*, who constitute the real government of the country ?”

Sheridan exposed the measure to derision, as being not only drawn up in the most slovenly manner, but deficient in all the qualities that could entitle it to public attention or respect. Pitt, in order to manifest his candour, and the readiness with which he adopted every suggestion that might render the bill more salutary or palatable, having admitted twenty-one new clauses, which were severally distinguished by the letters of the alphabet. Sheridan seized on the circumstance, as affording ample matter for contemptuous comment. He entreated of some member to propose three more clauses, which, he said, were requisite in order to complete the ministerial *horn-book*. “The chancellor of the exchequer acts indeed wisely,” added he, “in admitting that there exist good reasons for the alterations. If he looks round him, he will find reasons strong enough to make him desirous of conciliating those persons who, after having overturned one administration, are powerful enough to make *him* feel that he is a mere creature of their own formation, whom, as they have set up, so they may pull down at pleasure.” The application of these insinuations, as well as of Fox’s allusions, to the pretended influence of Jenkinson behind the throne, was too obvious to be mistaken by any person. Pitt did not, however, condescend to answer, or even to notice, such aspersions.

In language more indignant, Burke made the roof resound with the declamations against every part of the *bill*; which measure he consigned to the abhorrence of Europe and of Asia, as only framed for purposes of malversation, tyranny, and oppression. He repro-

bated the contumelious treatment which “the reports of the select committee,” where he himself most actively assisted as a member, had recently undergone from the lord chancellor; that nobleman not having hesitated, in his place as a peer, to denominate them “compositions entitled to no more credit than the *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.” On the Governor-general of Bengal, Burke poured out all the vials of his wrath; declaring that he was ready instantly to go into the proof of the numerous crimes laid to Hastings’s charge, in the *reports* presented to the house. In the name of the plundered natives of Hindostan, whose grievances, he said, were intolerable, he entered his protest against Pitt’s *bill*. Against the tribunal, or court of judicature, which the minister proposed to erect for the trial of East India delinquents, he inveighed in terms of scorn and execration. Apostrophizing the common jail of London, “Oh Newgate !” he exclaimed, “forgive me if I have dishonoured your inhabitants, by comparing a highway robber with the criminals who have laid waste India, and compelled millions to feel the horrors of famine ! The murderer and the house-breaker are harmless, when opposed to those who have left whole provinces without a habitation, and have exterminated the natives throughout the fairest portions of the globe !” These accusations, which remind us of the orations pronounced by Cicero against Clodius and Verres, were repelled by Dundas and disregarded by the house; which assembly, while it paid the tribute of just administration to Burke’s eloquence, appeared to consider him as under the delusion of party violence, deeply-rooted prejudices, and disappointed ambition. Scarcely indeed could he obtain a hearing from an audience, whose patience, it must be confessed, he frequently put to severe trials. A majority of two hundred and eleven voted with the minister for going into the committee upon the new *bill*; the respective numbers being 271 and 60. So low in numerical strength had Fox fallen, and so completely had the *coalition* lost their influence over the house of commons.

July.—The debates that took place respecting the system of government

proper to be adopted for those extensive as well as opulent provinces subjected to the East India Company, and embracing so rich a portion of Asia, brought forward to public notice various members of the house, who had hitherto remained in comparative obscurity. At their head may be placed Mr. Richard Atkinson, a man who, though now forgotten, then occupied a conspicuous place. He was partner in a commercial firm, principally known on the Exchange of London by the names of Muir, whose connexions and transactions lay chiefly in Jamaica. Atkinson possessed a long arithmetical head, sustained by vast facility and rapidity in calculations of a pecuniary nature: qualities held in high estimation by Pitt. Under Lord North's administration, particularly towards its close, Atkinson deeply engaged in those annual loans, which, though not always negotiated, as the enemies of the minister asserted, on terms advantageous to the country, were supposed generally to produce no small emolument to the contractors. By these acquisitions he had been enabled to make considerable purchases of land in Jamaica; and his ambition expanding with his circumstances, after first effecting his election as a director of the East India Company, he was chosen early in 1784 an alderman of the city of London. Being a determined enemy of the *coalition*, and an ardent supporter of the new ministry, he presented himself as a candidate for the honour of representing the metropolis, on the dissolution of parliament. Sawbridge, who had during so many years enjoyed great popularity east of Temple Bar, being, in consequence of his attachment to Fox, no longer equally acceptable to his fellow-citizens, incurred on this occasion the utmost risk of losing his seat as member for London. In fact, Atkinson ran him so hard, that Sawbridge only carried his election by *seven* votes; the respective numbers at the close of the poll being 3823 and 3816. Nor would Sawbridge have even triumphed by this small majority, if the contest could have been continued for two hours longer; the poll-books being scarcely shut, when three postchaises, each containing three voters, who had been brought up from distant parts of

England by Atkinson, arrived at the hustings.

In consequence of this severe disappointment, he was obliged to procure for himself another seat; and it might be esteemed singularly, or rather ridiculously unfortunate, that he should have been chosen for the borough of New Romney. Some years earlier, the commercial house of Muir and Atkinson having contracted to supply rum for the army serving in America, a great mortality had ensued among the British troops, occasioned by the quality of the article furnished which was *new*, and therefore very pernicious in its effects on the health of the soldiery. To Atkinson's quality of a rum contractor, the "*Rolliad*" alludes. when, describing Pitt's powers of eloquence in debate, the author says,

"Nor rum contractors think his speech too long,
While words, like treacle, trickle from his tongue."

No individual was indeed marked out for more pointed attack, by the writers of that satirical composition, than Atkinson, whose name they ingeniously contrived to connect with Jenkinson on all occasions. It is thus that they stigmatize the young first minister, as being

"Of either *Kinson*, *At*, or *Jen*, the fool."

And again, in another part of the "*Rolliad*" they exclaim,

"All hail! ye virtuous patriots without blot,
The minor *Kinson*, and the major Scott!"

But, lest these lines should not be sufficiently clear in their application, the work subjoins, "The minor *Kinson*, or *Kinson* the less, is obviously Mr. Atkinson; Mr. Jenkinson being confessedly greater than Mr. Atkinson, or any other man, except *one*, in the kingdom."—In debate, Atkinson was able and intelligent, never speaking except upon subjects of commerce, taxation, or finance; always with brevity, and never venturing to deviate into tracks with which he was unacquainted. Indeed, his formation of mind and education did not qualify him to call to his aid any factitious ornaments, or classic images. Towards the

concluding years of his life, he became attached to a lady of beauty and of rank, Lady Anne Lindsay, then an unmarried daughter of the Earl of Balcarras, whose hand, it was supposed, he aspired to obtain. By his will he bequeathed her a considerable part of his property; his own career being cut short in May, 1785, when a feverish and consumptive complaint carried him off in the vigour of his age. If he had survived, he might not improbably have attained to considerable distinction, and even to employments, under Pitt's administration, of which he had approved himself not only a strenuous, but a very useful adherent.

The second individual whom the discussion respecting India rendered conspicuous at this time, was Major Scott. He had been selected by Mr. Hastings, from among the military servants of the company in Bengal, and sent over to England as his avowed agent; a character which he sustained with unabated zeal, indefatigable exertion, and no contemptible talents. It was nevertheless regretted, as I know, by the governor-general's most intelligent and judicious friends, that almost from the hour of his arrival in London, Scott began to weary, and finally to disgust the public, with pamphlets that followed each other in endless succession. To this circumstance the "*Rolliad*" points, when *Merlin* inspecting the water-closets at the house of commons, among the inventory of furniture that he there finds and enumerates, adds,

"With reams on reams of tracts, that, without pain,

Incessant spring from Scott's prolific brain."

The invariable object of these ephemeral productions, was to justify Hastings from the imputations thrown out against him by his enemies, to eulogize his administration, and to prepare the country for his expected return from Calcutta. Like Atkinson, Scott never brought to the agitation of subjects submitted to the house, any foreign or irrelevant matter: but he was far more unguarded in his assertions, more frequently on his feet, and more prolix in his speeches, which he always delivered with uncommon fluency; free from any degree of

embarrassment. Unfortunately for Hastings, the prudence and caution of his parliamentary representative did not equal the purity of his intentions. Relying on the meritorious public services rendered by the governor-general to his employers and to the crown, — services meriting rather, as it might have been imagined, national approbation, and royal protection or favour, than prosecution, — Scott, imperfectly acquainted with the secret ministerial springs, reckoned too confidently on the permanent friendship of administration. While he always spoke from behind the treasury bench, and supported Pitt on almost every question, he expected reciprocal assistance from that quarter; forgetting that scarcely two years had elapsed since Dundas, in his capacity of chairman of the "secret committee," asserted in his place, that "Mr. Hastings never visited the frontiers of Bengal without having in his contemplation the imprisonment of a prince, or the extermination of a people."

When Fox, therefore, during the debates which arose upon the new East India Bill, declaimed in animated terms against the governor-general, as a state criminal of the first magnitude; Scott, not satisfied with denying the alleged facts, or defending them on principles of policy and necessity arising out of Hastings's position, called on Fox to bring forward, without delay, a specific charge. In like manner, only a few days later, when Burke, having made a *motion* for the production of papers relative to the treatment of one of the native princes, Almas Ali Cawn, by Hastings; depicted the latter as "a scourge of God, who had reduced the beautiful provinces of Bengal to a waste and howling desert, where no human creature could exist;" Scott seconded the motion, and entreated of the house to suffer it to pass, in order that Hastings's innocence might be clearly demonstrated to the world. It is true that Pitt, by opposing some of Burke subsequent motions respecting the governor-general's conduct towards the Princesses of Oude, which motions were thrown out without a division, seemed to extend his protection to Hastings. In effect, the minister's refusal to comply with

Burke's demand of papers, not only stopped all further attempts to criminate or impeach the governor-general at that time; but produced a most intemperate and inflammatory harangue, directed by Burke against administration. Abandoning himself to the violence of his emotions, he denounced them to posterity, as "the ministers of vengeance to a guilty, a degenerate, and a thoughtless nation." He threatened them with retribution from an offended Deity, as accomplices in the guilt of covering India with blood, while the inhabitants of that unhappy country were insulted, plundered, and oppressed. Above all, he expressed his indignation at the assertion made by Scott, that the "reports of the select committee" were partial, garbled, and libellous compositions. "I swear," exclaimed Burke (in the classic language of the elder Brutus, which he seemed to parody), "by those very reports here lying on your table, in the formation of which I personally bore so large a share, that the wrongs done to humanity in the Eastern world shall be avenged on those who have inflicted them! The wrath of Heaven will, sooner or later, fall upon a nation that suffers its rulers thus to oppress the innocent and the defenceless." Neither Pitt nor Dundas made any reply to these invectives. The storm which menaced Hastings was arrested and suspended, but by no means wholly averted. Under circumstances more favourable to his accusers, after his return from Bengal, they renewed the attack; and the same ministers who, in 1784, manifested a disposition to shelter him from impeachment, coinciding at a subsequent period with his enemies, sent the man who had principally saved India to take his trial at the bar of the house of peers.

Precisely at the same time when Scott appeared in the house as the advocate of Hastings, a much more formidable, inveterate, and able adversary of the governor-general, arose among the front ranks of the opposition. I mean, Francis, whom we have since beheld invested by his majesty, on Fox's recommendation, when far advanced towards the close of life, with a red riband.

After having passed several years in Bengal, as a constituent member of the

supreme council, engaged in perpetual and violent altercations with Hastings, which terminated in a duel, where Francis was wounded, he returned to England, some years before the governor-general; like the evil genius of Brutus, which met him again at Philippi. Nature had conferred on Francis talents such as are rarely dispensed to any individual, — a vast range of ideas, a retentive memory, a classic mind, considerable command of language, energy of thought and expression, matured by age, and actuated by an inextinguishable animosity to Hastings. Francis indeed uniformly disclaimed any personal enmity to the *man*, only reprobating the measures of the *ruler of India*; and perhaps he might sincerely believe his assertion. But he always appeared to me, like the son of Livia, to deposit his resentments deep in his own breast; from which he drew them forth, if not augmented by time, at least in all their original vigour and freshness. Acrimony distinguished and characterized him in everything. Even his person, tall, thin, and scantily covered with flesh; his countenance, the lines of which were acute, intelligent, and full of meaning; the tones of his voice, sharp, yet distinct and monorous; his very gestures, impatient and irregular, — eloquently bespoke the formation of his intellect. I believe, I never saw him smile. But, when I make this assertion, I ought in candour to add, that though I was well acquainted with Atkinson and Scott, I never had any personal knowledge of Francis, beyond acquaintance contracted in the house of commons. Nor did I ever dine in company with him except once, when we met at the Prince of Wales's table, at the Pavilion at Brighton, in the autumn of the year 1802, where Francis appeared to me to be thoroughly domesticated. Bursting with bile, which tinged and pervaded all his speeches in parliament, yet his irascibility never overcame his reason; nor compelled his friends, like those of Burke, to mingle regret with their admiration, and to condemn or to pity the individual whom they applauded as an orator. Francis, however inferior he was to Burke in all the flowers of diction, in exuberance of

ideas borrowed from antiquity, and in the magic of eloquence, more than once electrified the house, by passages of pathos or of interest which arrested every hearer.

A beautiful, as well as an affecting specimen of his ability in this line, occurred during the progress of the debates on Pitt's India Bill. One of the regulations in that act abolished the trial by jury, relative to delinquents returning from India, and instituted a new tribunal for enquiring into their misdemeanors. Against such an innovation on the British constitution Francis entered his protest, in terms of equal elegance and force. "I am not," exclaimed he, "an old man; yet I remember the time when such an attempt would have thrown the whole country into a flame. Had the experiment been made when that illustrious statesman, the late Earl of Chatham, enjoyed a seat in this assembly, he would have sprung from his bed of sickness; he would have solicited some friendly hand to lay him on the floor; and from thence, with a monarch's voice, he would have called the whole kingdom to arms, in order to oppose it. But he is dead, and has left nothing in this world that resembles him! He is dead; and the sense, the honour, the character, and the understanding of the nation, are dead with him!"

Perhaps in the whole range of Fox's or Burke's, or of Sheridan's speeches, there does not occur a sentiment clothed in more simple yet striking language, or which knocks harder at the breast, than this short epitaph, if it may be so denominated, pronounced over the grave of the Earl of Chatham. The repetition of the words "He is dead!" were attended with the finest effect; and the reflections produced by it involuntarily attracted every eye towards the treasury bench, where sat his son. I have rarely witnessed a moment when the passions were touched in a more masterly manner, within the walls of the house, than by Francis on the above occasion. The impression made by it on Pitt is asserted to have been of the deepest kind.

While I am engaged on the subject of Sir Philip Francis, I feel myself impelled to resume a question which I have

already agitated elsewhere at considerable length;—I mean, Who was the author of the Letters of *Junius*? At the time when I attempted to discuss that mysterious and interesting enquiry, my opinion, after examining the various pretensions set up, inclined to Wm. Gerard Hamilton. But, in leaning towards that supposition, as being then apparently sustained on the best authority, I expressly added, that "it by no means amounted to demonstration, or approached to certainty." And I further stated my reasons for thinking that *Junius* might be still alive, though of course very far advanced in his career. Since the year 1815, several new publications have appeared, throwing light upon the topic; in particular, two which merit attention, both of them recently given to the world. One, written by Mr. George Chalmers, who has long held an efficient employment under government, entitled "*The Author of Junius ascertained*," attributes those letters to Hugh Mæaulay Boyd; a name which was long ago mentioned among the candidates. The other publication, of an anonymous description, and denominated, "*The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living Character, established*," confers it on Sir Philip Francis. These two productions are now lying before me. The first is dictatorial and dogmatical, rather demanding submission to the opinions laid down, than calmly enforcing conviction by arguments and facts. Nor does Mr. Chalmers seem to be exempt from the oblivious inadvertence of old age, in some parts of the discussion, as must be too apparent to every attentive reader. That Boyd was a man of very considerable talents, subsisting by their exertion during many years, composing with elegance and facility, alike able and disposed to imitate the style of Junius, whose fame he emulated; these facts are incontestable. But all the proofs of his having actually written the celebrated letters issued under that signature, seem to repose on no solid foundation. With the true spirit of a placeman, Chalmers considers Junius as a seditious writer, deserving universal reprobation. He even carries his prejudices, or rather, his enmities, so far as to depreciate those inimitable compositions, which he de-

scribes as deficient in grammatical accuracy, full of false English ; finally, the productions of an inexperienced youth.

Junius will not, however, be considered by posterity as an advocate of rebellion, or even of sedition. True, he is not a courtier ; but there is neither democracy nor jacobinism in his writings. Far from inculcating such principles, he is, on the contrary, loyal ; not, indeed, to the mere office of a king, however abused, or ill advised, or despotic ; but to the constitutional office of a British prince, the sovereign of a free people. And *when* did he write ? Let us be just to Junius, as well as to George the Third. Time will equalize them in a certain degree, and pass sentence on both, though not perhaps before the twentieth century. We stand at present too much under the shadow of the house of Brunswick to allow our reason, or our pens, fair play. Junius wrote principally between 1769 and 1772, during the administrations of the Duke of Grafton and of Lord North. Will any man dispute or deny that, as a nation, we were then comparatively fallen in the eyes of Europe ? Will any man contend that the government was vigorously, or ably, or successfully administered, during that period of his majesty's reign ? Did we resemble the country that, under the first Mr. Pitt, ten years earlier, between 1759 and 1762, humbled both the branches of the house of Bourbon ? No. We were sunk in the estimation of the Continental powers, and involved at home in domestic feuds ; while the king, long before Junius attacked him, had lost all his transitory popularity. Nay more, notwithstanding the acknowledged rectitude of his intentions, he had then forfeited much of the veneration of his subjects. He subsequently recovered it, after the peace of 1763, and the appearance of the Prince of Wales. "Junius's Letters" contain a true but a highly-coloured picture of the time in which they were written, exaggerated upon certain points or facts. That inaccuracies of composition, and even errors of concord or of grammar, are to be found in those letters, will be admitted ; but, to defend them as the productions of a superior and a masterly pen, to defend them from the attacks of

Chalmers, would be like rescuing Pope from the criticisms of Lintot and of Curl.

After endeavouring to prove his assertion relative to Boyd, by stating as evidence the belief or the suspicions of several persons who were impressed with the same sentiment as himself ; Chalmers triumphantly concludes by adducing "the confession of the culprit" to Monsier Bonnacarrere, — a confession made by Boyd while at Calcutta, in the year 1785, under Sir John Macpherson's roof, who was then governor-general of Bengal. I well knew the individual here mentioned, Bonnacarrere, in London and at Paris, previous as well as subsequent to the French revolution. He was a man of ingratiating manners, whose imposing figure, animated conversation, and personal accomplishments secured him a favourable reception in society. The Viscount de Souillac, governor of the island of Mauritius, sent him in 1785 to Calcutta, as a spy ; an office for which Bonaparte again selected him, in 1802, when he was despatched to England, and remained during a few weeks in Leicester-square ; where, in company with Sir John Macpherson, I visited him. His qualities always appeared to me more adapted to secret political intrigue than to open, honourable negotiation. Under the old administration of France he had vainly attempted, after his return from India, to obtain employment. Sir John Macpherson, conversing at Lausanne, in the year 1791, with the Maréchal de Castries, who had occupied a high place in the councils of Louis the Sixteenth, expressed to the marshal his surprise at finding that the French government had not availed themselves of the talents and information of Bonnacarrere. "C'est que nous l'avons pris pour un *claquedent*," answered Castries. I believe that term, if translated into English, is nearly synonymous with our *chatterbox*. I do not, however, mean to imply the slightest doubt of Boyd's having asserted to Bonnacarrere that he wrote the letters of Junius. Indeed, it appears from Chalmers's publication, that Boyd laboured so much under the weight and magnitude of his own pretended secret, or was so anxious to enjoy the same attendant on its disclosure, as to *insinuate* to English gentlemen at

Madras, though he never *asserted* to them in express terms, the fact of his having been the author of the letters in question. But the mere assertion of any man, that he composed them, can carry no conviction, unless sustained by authentic documents, or at least, by internal moral proofs, drawn from a life of unquestionable rectitude, and a character for strict veracity. Chalmers himself depicts Boyd as a venal writer, lending his pen to maintain almost any cause for which he was remunerated; idle and dissipated, though labouring under continual pecuniary embarrassments, which accompanied him to the close of life; and deficient in high moral principle.

Are we then to regard his assertion, made to a foreigner and a spy, under injunctions of secrecy, as furnishing any proof of the fact? And can we suppose that a man so anxious to attain the fame of being Junius, as to hazard divulging the secret during his life, would not, if he had written those letters, have taken measures at least to secure to himself the reputation annexed to them, after his decease? Yet, though he survived nearly nine years his communication made to Bonnacarrere, no posthumous document whatever has appeared in support of his claim, down to the present day. But, as far as the conviction of contemporaries on the point can weigh in deciding our opinion, Chalmers himself has furnished us two, both which militate completely against Boyd. The first is, "a very eminent member of the Irish bar, Sir William Duncan," who, in a letter, of which Chalmers gives an extract, while he does justice to Boyd's various talents, whom he personally knew from early life, yet expresses his disbelief of Boyd's having possessed "the knowledge of the political drama, and of the *dramatis personæ* there exhibited;" namely, in "Junius's Letters." We have, however, much higher and more unimpeachable authority, Lord Macartney; under whose protection, and in whose immediate service, Boyd, in 1781, went out to Madras.

That nobleman, though of a harsh, severe, and unaccommodating temper, possessed an enlarged understanding, great knowledge of men, and a very sound judgment. "Having been shut

up," says he, "in a small packet with Mr. Boyd during a four months' passage to India, without once letting go an anchor, I had frequent opportunities of sounding his depth, and of studying, and knowing him well, though I was not before personally acquainted with him. I do not say that he was incapable of writing to the full as well as Junius; but I say, I do not by any means believe that he was the author of 'Junius.' Mr. Boyd had many splendid passages of 'Junius' by heart, as also of Mr. Burke's parliamentary speeches; and was also a great admirer of Sterne, whose manner he affected in his private letters. Mr. Chalmers's argument would be stronger, if any performance of Mr. Boyd, previous to the appearance of 'Junius,' could be found, which indicated that 'Junius' might be expected from such a writer." After so weighty a refutation of Chalmers's hypothesis as is contained in the short criticism above cited (which Lord Macartney wrote on a spare leaf of Chalmers's first work, where he had attempted to prove Boyd the author of "Junius"), we are only astonished at its being reiterated by the same person. Instead, however, of yielding to Lord Macartney's reasons, Chalmers endeavours to prove that his lordship and all mankind have been totally mistaken, in imagining the letters of Junius to be classic productions, or fine compositions. Relative to the memorable "Letter to the King, of the 19th December, 1769," he denominates it "balderdash;" concluding with a compliment to George the Third, at Junius's expense, for presuming to write such trash to "a personage who perfectly knew the proprieties of his native tongue."

Widely different is the impression made on my mind by the other publication, identifying *Junius* with Sir Philip Francis. Here, every page combining to a common point, ultimately forces conviction. Chalmers, reasoning on peculiarities of idiom or of expression found in "Junius's Letters," infers, probably with reason, that the author was a native of Ireland. But Boyd's pretensions gain nothing by this admission, Francis and he having equally been born at Dublin. If, however, Boyd was *Junius*, he must have composed his

first letter, dated "21st January, 1769," before he had attained his twenty-third year; having come into the world on the "16th of April, 1746." And he must have finished the whole series before he attained to twenty-six. Such powers of mind, independent of the information necessary for the work, would approach to a prodigy. On the other hand, if we assume the letters in question to have been the work of Sir Philip Francis, our admiration is qualified by knowing that he had passed his twenty-eighth year when the first letter in the series was published; and had more than accomplished his thirty-first at their conclusion. But a difficulty, if possible still more insurmountable, on the supposition that Boyd was *Junius*, is to discover by what means he could have attained the variety of official, military, legal, and other knowledge, displayed throughout those letters. Whoever will peruse them with that object in his contemplation, must necessarily perceive that only a person instructed in such details, and accurately informed upon them, could have put the questions to Sir Wm. Draper, which *Junius* asks, relative to the sale of his regiment, his half-pay, and his pension. Still less could he have written the letter of the "17th October, 1769," enumerating the circumstances of General Gansel's rescue. Boyd possessed no obvious facilities of obtaining such information; while Francis, who occupied a considerable post in the War Office, during the whole period between 1769 and 1772, had access to every kind of official knowledge. He was, indeed, compelled to resign his situation, early in the last of those two years, precisely at the very point of time when *Junius* ceased to write. Yet these circumstances, strong as they must be esteemed, form only the foundation on which rests the supposition. The superstructure is found in the unvaried and striking coincidence, not only of general sentiment, but of language and expression, between the letters of *Junius*, and the speeches of Francis during more than twenty years that he sat in the house of commons. It appears impossible that such a perfect similitude could exist without identity. If, however, any further proof were wanting, it seems to

be furnished by the written answer which Sir Philip Francis made to the enquiry, whether he was *Junius*? an answer given in the publication to which I allude. It is precisely the reply which a man would make, who, approaching the end of life, wished to anticipate the fame of *Junius*, and to reclaim it indirectly for himself, without at the same time incurring either the obloquy, or the danger, annexed to such an admission. I consider it as conclusive, because Sir Philip Francis would, I conceive, never have allowed a doubt to exist of his being the author of "*Junius's Letters*," while he was conscious of never having written them. Boyd, on the contrary, it is evident, wished to be *thought* *Junius*, though he never ventured to *assert* it to any of his own countrymen. Lastly, if we once ascertain that *Junius* is still alive, the solution of that mystery, which during near half a century has overhung the writer of those celebrated letters, seems to be developed. Under this impression, I cannot help inferring, that whenever Francis is withdrawn from among us, we shall probably arrive at the certainty of his having been *Junius*.*

The financial and legislative discussions which arose in the house of commons, upon the measures proposed by the first minister, during the month of July, though not of the magnitude or importance of "the East India Bill," yet offered matter of interesting attention. Among the abuses that then loudly demanded correction, was the privilege of franking letters: and Pitt judiciously selected it for an object of taxation. As neither the *date* of the letter, nor the *place* from which it was sent, was then necessary to be inserted, in order to render it free of postage, when directed by a member of either house of parliament; the number of franks exacted, and the improper use made of those vehicles of intelligence or correspondence, required ministerial interposition. Not only were covers transmitted by hundreds, packed in boxes, from one part of the kingdom

* Sir Philip has been called away by death since the foregoing paragraph was written, and yet hitherto no positive information has been communicated to the world respecting the point under discussion. I do not, however, on that account retract any opinion that I have hazarded on the subject. —22d June, 1820.

to another, and laid up as a magazine for future expenditure; far greater perversions of the original principle, for purposes very injurious to the revenue, took place. I was acquainted with a member of the house of commons, a native of Scotland, decorated with the order of the Bath, who sent up to London from Edinburgh, by one post, thirty-three covers, addressed to an eminent banking-house in the Strand; many or most of which contained, not letters, but garden-seeds. So scandalous a violation of the right claimed and exercised under the privilege of parliament, induced the post-masters-general of that time to order the covers, instead of being delivered according to the address, to be instantly carried up to the speaker's chair, as a fit subject for public notice and animadversion. Timely application having, however, been made to Lord North, then first minister, by the friends of the gentleman who had so acted, and who was a steady supporter of government; the business never came before the house, or acquired publicity. In 1784 it was thought sufficient to enact that the *place, day, month and year*, where and when the frank was dated, should be henceforward written on the cover: but subsequent regulations have still further reduced the privilege, by diminishing to one half the *weight* antecedently allowed; namely, to one ounce, instead of two; and by restricting the *number* which can be issued, or received free of postage, on the same day: thus very properly contracting to narrow limits the facility of sending letters many hundred miles, without paying for their transport, in this commercial and corresponding country. It still constitutes, nevertheless, a distinction to the members of the legislature, though now diminished to the shadow of its pristine usage; for I am old enough to remember the time when only the *name* of the member, with the word *free*, written on the outside of a letter, constituted a frank. I have indeed heard that they were then sold by the waiters of coffee-houses, and exposed for sale in the windows. Such abuses, which were dishonouring to the two legislative assemblies, have happily produced, though slowly, their own remedy.

Wit always mingled in every debate

or discussion where Sheridan took part; even on topics not commonly susceptible of being made the vehicle of ridicule and amusement. Pitt, among the minor objects which he selected for taxation, having proposed that one guinea should be paid for every horse entered to start for any match; Lord Surrey, who possessed much racing knowledge, advised him to alter his tax, and to substitute in its place five pounds on the winning horse of any plate of fifty pounds' value. The minister, without abandoning his original proposition, instantly adopted, with many acknowledgments, the earl's suggestion; and having amended his first motion, annexed to it the other, which, of course, met with no resistance. He did not omit at the same time to confess his own ignorance on subjects connected with the *turf*, and his obligation to the noble person, who had so kindly, as well as ably, assisted him. Sheridan, who sat close by Lord Surrey, then rising, after having paid some compliments to the chancellor of the exchequer on his dexterity and *jockeyship*, in thus leaving his noble friend behind him, observed, that whenever Lord Surrey should next visit Newmarket, or Ascot Heath, his sporting companions, who would be *sweated* by this new tax of his fabrication, instead of commending his ingenuity, would probably exclaim,

“ Jockey of Norfolk, be not so bold !”

A more felicitous application of the words supposed to have been affixed over the tent of the first Duke of Norfolk, on the night preceding the battle of Bosworth, could not have been imagined. It convulsed the house; and even Pitt, whose features did not always relax on hearing Sheridan's jests, however brilliant or apposite they might be, joined in the laugh excited at Lord Surrey's expense; observing at the same time, that “ he believed it was the first instance of a committee of ways and means, occupied in the painful duty of proposing taxes, having been terminated in so lively a manner.”

Not that Sheridan by any means exclusively monopolized the wit on the opposition benches. Besides Lord North, whose name can never be mentioned

without recollecting the sallies of genuine humour with which he always illuminated, and often, enlightened, subjects of parliamentary discussion; there were other individuals to be found in that part of the house who contributed their share. Among them I must not omit Courtenay. He was nobly allied on his mother's side, Lady Jane Stuart; she being a sister of John, Earl of Bute, who acted so conspicuous, though not (as far as his ministerial fame is concerned) enviable or glorious a part in the councils of the crown at an early period of the present reign. I know not whether Courtenay, who was by birth an Irishman, actually descended in the paternal line from the Latin Emperors of Constantinople of that name: but no man seemed to me more likely than himself to say, with the satirist of Domitian's reign in his contempt of ancestry,

"Stemmata quid faciunt? Quid prodest, Pontice, longo
Sanguine censeri!" —

He was, in truth, of the school of Diogenes, though at an early period of his life he had served, during a considerable time, in the army. I never remember a more complete cynic in his dress, manners, and general deportment; all which bespoke that inattention to external appearances or forms, characteristic of the philosopher of Sinopé. But under this neglected exterior lay concealed a classic mind, an understanding highly cultivated, a vast variety of information, and a vigorous intellect. His wit, though commonly derived from Roman or Athenian sources, savoured more of Aristophanes than of Menander; of Petronius Arbiter, or of Juvenal, than of Horace. It was always coarse; generally, caustic and satirical; not unfrequently indecorous or offensive to a great degree. He possessed considerable powers of oratory, unrepressed by timidity, and borrowing assistance from irony on every subject, even the most serious. Lord Townsend, to whom he was strongly attached, brought him into parliament for Tamworth. When that nobleman held the post of master-general of the ordnance, under Lord North's administration, and afterwards under the coalition

ministry, Courtenay occupied the employment at first of secretary, and lastly of surveyor, of the ordnance. Like Diogenes, he was poor; but of a high and independent character, that seemed to despise wealth. Rose, one of the two secretaries of the treasury, who generally took an active part on all revenue questions, or financial subjects, as it was natural that he should do, not coming forward immediately to Pitt's aid, one evening when the house was engaged relative to the interest allowed by government on navy bills; Courtenay apostrophized him under the flower that bears his name; asking him,

"Quid lates dudum, Rosa?
Delicatura effer e terris caput,
O tepentis filia cœli!"

Rose, who was little versed in the lore of antiquity, made no reply to this invocation, which he probably did not understand; but Courtenay did not always deal his sarcasms round him with equal success or impunity.

I remember, not many days after the circumstance which I have just related, during a debate that took place upon commuting the duties on tea, and setting limits to smuggling, Brook Watson expressed himself strongly in favour of the measure proposed by administration. He was a man of quaint, formal manners, but of an acute understanding and of recognized probity. After acting as commissary to the British forces in America, on his return to this country, at the termination of the war, he had been chosen an alderman of London, and afterwards one of the representatives for the capital; coming in by a great majority, at the head of the four candidates, on the recent election. Watson having asserted in the course of his speech, that "his constituents highly approved of the bill, as they were professed enemies to contraband practices, and to smuggling;" Courtenay observed in answer, that "he was happy to know, from such high authority, the change which had taken place among the citizens of London, on so important a point. For," added he, "they lay under very invidious imputations; scarcely a century having elapsed, since a comic writer" (I believe, Vanbrugh),

"who, in one of his dramatic pieces, has introduced on the stage a city alderman, thought proper to call him by a name characteristic of his profession, namely, *Alderman Smuggler*. I therefore congratulate the worthy magistrate on the conversion operated among his constituents." Courtenay continuing to speak for a considerable time, Watson had leisure to recover from the first shock of this sarcasm; and when the former had finished, the alderman starting up, entreated the patience of the house for a single moment. "The honourable gentleman," observed he, has been severe upon me, and has alluded to a character introduced upon the theatre under the name of *Alderman Smuggler*: but I hope he will be pleased to remember that another of our dramatic writers" (Beaumont and Fletcher), "has exhibited on the stage, a *Copper Captain*." So appropriate a repartee coming by retort, from a quarter where the house did not look for wit, produced a proportionate effect, and turned the laugh against Courtenay.

Having mentioned incidentally Mr. Rose, I shall say a few words relative to him, and to his colleague Mr. Steele; who were joint secretaries of the treasury during so long a series of years, under Pitt's administration. Both are still living at this time, in March, 1817. Both are privy councillors. Yet hardly do Hogarth's "good and bad apprentice" present a stronger contrast, towards the evening of their lives, than is now offered by Rose and Steele. The first not only continues to be still a member of the house of commons, holding a great as well as a lucrative employment, treasurer of the navy, and extending the same support at present to Lord Liverpool which, more than thirty years ago, he gave to Pitt: Rose has likewise accumulated, in his own person, some of the most beneficial offices in the gift of parliament, or belonging to the exchequer. He has besides got complete possession of a Hampshire borough; during the accomplishment of which solid object of ambition, he contrived to make both knights and baronets: such was his commanding interest with Pitt. After procuring for his eldest son the hand of an heiress, young, as well as

agreeable in her person; Rose has placed him among the foreign ministers, at one of the most important courts of Germany. Nor has he forgotten to place his second son, advantageously, here at home, among the officers of the house of peers. On the New Forest, of which tract he is himself a verdurer, Rose has acquired a very enviable and extensive landed property: thus realizing almost every component part of a high and permanent fortune, except one; I mean, the British peerage. Not that he was oblivious of that distinction, which would have set the seal to all his former acquisitions. On the contrary, his son having married, in the year 1796, a lady (Miss Duncomb) in whose family there had once been an earldom (Feversham); common fame asserted that he aspired to elevate his grandsons, if not his son, to a seat in the house of lords, by procuring for his daughter-in-law, or reviving in her person, the title of Baroness Feversham. We cannot indeed feel any surprise at such an expectation or attempt on his part, when we reflect that in the same year, 1796, the earldom of Liverpool was created, and in the following year originated the British peerage of Carrington. Down to the present time, however, Rose and his descendants still remain commoners; though almost oppressed under the load of offices, reversions, and places, which, in the course of a long, laborious, and meritorious public life, he has acquired for himself, or for his family.

Rose was understood to be a natural son of the late Earl of Marchmont, celebrated by Pope, as Lord Polwarth; and who, like Lord Mansfield, survived the principal men of genius that shed a lustre over the two dull reigns of George the First and Second. Lord Marchmont, by his will, bequeathed to Rose his superb library. Lord Thurlow, I believe, originally recommended him to Pitt. He continued unalterably attached to that minister, and he possessed many qualities highly deserving of Pitt's confidence. Indefatigable, methodical, and yet rapid; equal to, but not above the business of the treasury; he earned his reward by long and severe exertion. The opposition reproached him with duplicity; and the "Probationary Odes,"

parodying the favourite air of "The Rose," assert that

"No rogue that goes,
Is like that *Rose*,
Or scatters such deceit!"

But, I knew him well in his official capacity, during at least twelve years, and I never found him deficient in honour or sincerity. I owe him this justice. It must likewise be recollected how difficult a task he had to perform, in keeping at bay, yet not irritating or alienating, the crowd of ministerial claimants in both houses of parliament. During more than fifteen years, he formed the mound on which those waves principally broke, and spent their force. Nor did he possess the ample means of appeasing or conciliating suitors, which Robinson enjoyed under Lord North's administration: Burke's *bill* had greatly contracted the patronage of government; and though, during the course of Pitt's administration, between 1784 and 1801, the power of the crown augmented, not only in the army and navy, but throughout India, as a natural consequence of our new territorial conquests or acquisitions; yet, the number of places in the disposal of the treasury here at home, almost annually diminished by suppressions. Rose's countenance bore the deep impression of care diffused over every feature. All the labours and conflicts of his office might be traced in its lineaments. Not so Steele. His face, which was cast in another mould, rather reminded of a Bacchus or a Silenus, from its jollity, rotundity, and good humour, than it impressed with ideas of ability or forethought. He was placed about Pitt by the powerful interest of the Duke of Richmond; his father being recorder of Chichester, which city Steele represented in several successive parliaments. His faculties, though good, were moderate, and would never of themselves have conducted him to any eminence in public life; but he rose through the gradations of office, in a series of years, till he became one of the joint paymasters of the forces. On Pitt's resignation in 1801, I believe he continued in place under Addington; but, not having satisfactorily accounted for about nineteen thousand pounds of pub-

lic money, he was called on to explain the deficiency, as Lord Holland had formerly been, to a much larger amount, while holding the same employment. The sum, however, being replaced, Steele, whose social temper and qualities had procured him many friends, remained on the list of privy councillors; but he has retired into the political shade, and no more stands prominent on the canvas, like his ancient colleague, Rose; who, at seventy, erect in mind and in body, possessing all his intellect, active, as well as able, still takes his seat on the treasury bench; and may possibly close his laborious career by attaining to higher honours and dignities than he has yet acquired.

August.—One of the most enlarged and liberal, as well as wise and conciliating measures, adopted by the legislature during the course of the present reign, originated in the house of commons at this time: but, Dundas, not Pitt, constituted the channel through which it ostensibly proceeded. I mean, the restitution of the estates in Scotland, forfeited to the crown in the rebellion of the year 1745. With great dexterity, the treasurer of the navy, while he depicted the beneficial consequences to the state that must result from adopting a line of policy so magnanimous in itself, took care to ascribe its original spirit and conception to the father of his friend, the young minister who sat near him. That illustrious statesman, said Dundas, whose mind was elevated above all local prejudices, boasted with reason, that he sought for merit wherever he could discover it; disdaining to enquire whether a man had been rocked in a cradle to the north, or to the south, of the Tweed. "I found the qualities that I wanted," observed he, "in the mountains of the North, among a hardy race of men, labouring under national proscription. I called them forth to fight our battles, and I have experienced that their loyalty and fidelity can only be equalled by their valour." This testimony, so just, and yet so honourable to the natives of the Highlands, prepared the audience that he addressed, for granting the boon. Indeed, I never remember to have seen the house more unanimous on any point. Fox even surpassed

Pitt, in the demonstration of his readiness to restore the forfeited lands. He declared that the measure ought not to stop at the limits prescribed to it; but, in justice, as well as in sound policy, should extend to all English forfeitures incurred by the last rebellion. The only contest between them seeming to be how to render it sufficiently comprehensive in its operation, the *bill* passed the lower house without a dissentient voice.

So much the greater astonishment was excited, when, on its arrival in the house of peers, the lord chancellor, from whom it was natural to expect that such a *bill* would have received support, drew out against it his powerful weapons of debate. Not, however, it must be owned, so much against the act of restitution itself, abstractedly considered, as in opposition to the time, the mode, and the channel through which it flowed. After lamenting that a proposition of such serious import and magnitude should be introduced at a moment when parliament might be almost daily expected to rise; he protested that its nature and purport had never been communicated to *him* before it arrived at their lordships' bar. But, he said that he had other and more weighty arguments to urge in his official capacity. "Acts of grace and pardon, my lords," observed he, "should regularly originate within these walls; or rather, with the sovereign himself, the constitutional fountain of mercy. Had it arisen there, I must probably have been informed of it; and at the same time I should have known the grounds upon which his majesty is willing to relax the severity of the existing laws in the present instance. The form of proceeding would then have been by a message from the crown to this house; not on the motion of an individual member, made in another assembly." Having subsequently pointed out many incongruities, unproved assertions, and objections, to the *bill* as it stood; he finished by declaring, that if a resolution was taken, at all events to force the measure forward, and to pass it, he would absent himself from any further discussions on the subject. These arguments, which unquestionably were solid, no less than constitutional; and, as coming from so

high a quarter, were supposed to have had the king's secret sanction and approbation; did not, however, prevent the rapid passage of the *bill* through the upper house, or impede its receiving the royal assent. Even those persons who most approved and admired its principle, yet agreed in sentiment with Lord Thurlow. Nor was it possible to avoid perceiving that Dundas had been allowed by Pitt, in some measure to assume the royal functions and attributes, while he was thus made the parliamentary medium of conferring an act of grace on his proscribed countrymen. It forcibly demonstrated Dundas's ascendancy over the minister, and contributed essentially to lay the foundations of that prodigious influence, which he gradually established and exercised throughout every part of Scotland, during Pitt's whole administration.

2d — 9th August. — The new "East India Bill," after having passed the commons, was sent up nearly at the same time to the house of peers. This code of law, which legislated for British Asia, and which, in the ambitious, no less than imprudent hands of Fox, had convulsed the kingdom, shaken the throne, and overturned the administration; now scarcely attracted attention in that assembly, where, eight months earlier, the British constitution had asserted all its energies, in order to rescue and protect the sovereign. During the absence of Lord Loughborough, who was engaged on the circuit, in the discharge of his judicial functions, and on whose abilities the systematic opposition to government principally reposed; that task devolved on Lord Stormont and the Earl of Carlisle. If the opposition peers, when deprived of Lord Loughborough's assistance, might be considered as wanting their best support; on the other hand, the ministerial ability in the upper house was almost exclusively confined to the person of the chancellor. Never perhaps, at any period of the present reign, could administration boast of less eloquence or talents within those walls, than during the first years after Pitt took upon himself the reins of government! The president of the council, Earl Gower, rarely or never mixed in debate: while Lord Howe, who, when a member of

the house of commons, found himself unable to express his ideas in perspicuous language, even on subjects with which he must have been professionally acquainted, could not be expected to elucidate, or to defend, a measure of deep and complicated policy, intended for the government of India. The Duke of Richmond, even had he possessed the ability, stood so deeply committed upon various points essential to the *bill*, against which, while engaged in opposing Lord North, he had spoken, voted, or protested, that he could not, without a degree of unbecoming inconsistency, give it any strong support. Of the two secretaries of state, the Marquis of Carmarthen, who conducted the foreign department, though a nobleman of information, spirit, and considerable attainments of mind, yet wanted those parliamentary powers, as well as the local knowledge of India, requisite for extending efficient aid. He was, in fact, rather an elegant and accomplished individual, than an able minister. From his colleague, Lord Sydney, better exertions were expected; but the reputation that he had acquired while seated on the opposition bench, as a member of the minority in the lower house, during Lord North's administration, he did not preserve or sustain after his elevation to the peerage. Down to the last evening that he remained on the treasury bench, as secretary of state, under Lord Shelburne's government, *Tommy Townsend* displayed very considerable talents. *Lord Sydney*, when removed to the upper house of parliament, seemed to have sunk into an ordinary man. His best security for a continuance in office was the alliance that he had formed with the young first minister, whose brother, the Earl of Chatham, had married, during the preceding year, one of Lord Sydney's daughters. Under such unfavourable circumstances, Lord Thurlow nevertheless undertook to defend the new East India Bill; to repel the animated attacks of Lord Stormont, and to answer the objections of the Earl of Carlisle. He was not a little aided by the advanced season of the year. So thin an attendance of peers, upon so important a subject, probably it would not be easy to parallel on the journals of the house. Only one division occurred

during its discussion, when the *contents* amounted to eleven; the *non-contents* being four. Lord Shelburne took no part in the debates, and, I believe, never once attended in his place. The privy seal, which had been put into commission, was not yet conferred on Lord Camden; who therefore, not being a member of the cabinet, however attached he might personally be to Pitt, extended little or no assistance to the measure. Intractable or sullen as the chancellor proved on many occasions, and justly as he was reproached by his ministerial colleagues for these defects of character; it would be unjust to deny the important service that he rendered to administration, during the passage of the "East India Bill" through the upper house of parliament.

Among the subjects of accusation against the first lord of the treasury to which the opposition had recourse, and which they endeavoured to impress by every means upon the public mind at this time, was the charge of his subserviency to the East India interest. They depicted him as a mere puppet in the hands of the *Bengal squad*; precisely as they had held up Lord North, during many years, to national contempt or detestation, for his pretended subjection to secret influence in the person of Jenkinson. No imputation could be more calculated to undermine that high and elevated character which Pitt had hitherto sustained; on which foundation rested principally his power; — an edifice reposing on public opinion and admiration, far more even than on royal favour. Satire and poetry envenomed, while they sharpened, these weapons. "From the treasury bench," says the "*Rolliad*," describing the local interior of the house of commons, "we ascend one step to the India bench," where

"Exalted sit
The Pillars of Prerogative and *Pitt*;
Delights of Asia, ornaments of man,
Thy sovereign's sovereigns, happy Hindoostan!"

On an impartial examination of the charge, it seems, however, to be repelled by irresistible facts. That the East India proprietors and directors, when menaced with extinction and confisca-

tion of their property by Fox's *bill*, crept under Pitt's gaberdine, in order to avoid the fury of the storm (as *Trinculo* does under that of *Caliban*), is indeed true. Like *Trinculo* too, when the violence of the storm was over, they ventured to peep out, to look about them, and to protect their own interests. But, how little subjection the minister exhibited to the "Bengal squad," was fully displayed by his abandoning Hastings when impeached, and even joining with his prosecutors, a few years after his own accession to power. Neither did the creation of a tribunal, exclusively named for the trial of persons accused of misconduct in India, — a tribunal previously unknown to the British constitution, and erected by the new "East India Bill," — appear to hold out either protection or impunity to delinquents returning from Asia. Fox, nevertheless, did not hesitate to avail himself of this accusation, which he brought forward in debate, and attempted to fix on his successful antagonist.

4th August. — During the last days of the session, Pitt having introduced a *bill* for enabling the East India Company to make a dividend of eight per cent., and at the same time for remitting the sum of one hundred thousand pounds due by the company to the public; Fox arraigned the measure, as calculated for insidious, dark, and reprehensible purposes. In language of great severity, he demanded if administration ought to be permitted, after imposing on the British people taxes of the most onerous description, to keep so large a sum out of the public coffers, in order to put it into the pockets of the East India Company? "When," exclaimed he, "we connect the present act with the *bill* now pending in the upper house for the regulation of that company; may we not justly assert, that instead of establishing an *English* government over *India*, as the bill which I presented in the late parliament professed and attempted to do, the inevitable tendency of the measures now in agitation is the establishment of an *Indian* government in *England*?"

Sensible how deep and how wide must be the operation of such a charge, when circulated throughout the king-

dom, from the head of the opposition, the first minister instantly rose to repel the insinuation. Having stigmatized the speech just pronounced, as equally malevolent and inflammatory, he asked how the assumptions that it contained were warranted? "Where," enquired he, "are the means of establishing an Indian government in England, to be found in the present bill? Has the actual administration attempted to invade the property of the East India Company, to assume its patronage, to appropriate to themselves its revenues, and to render it the engine of permanent political power? Have I endeavoured to place myself in an unconstitutional situation, by erecting a fourth branch of the legislature, and seizing upon the supreme authority of the state? Or, if such intentions are anywhere to be found, must they not be sought in the clauses of the late East India Bill?" Personal as these recriminations were, others followed, if possible, still more severe. Pitt, irritated at the imputation of having culpably remitted the debt due by the company to the public, commented on the conduct of Fox's father, Lord Holland; whom he accused, though without expressly naming him, of paying neither principal nor interest of the sums long since due to the country; — a debt which, he added, ought to be exacted, not remitted. In vain did Fox complain of the illiberality of such allusions, as unbecoming and disorderly. Dundas, justifying the first lord of the treasury, reminded his adversary, that whatever invidious observations had fallen from the minister's lips, he had himself provoked, and must therefore bear. The house remained during the whole time silent and passive witnesses of the altercation. No further attempt was made from any quarter to prolong the debate; and Fox, conscious of the paucity of his numbers, did not even venture on a division. This scene, where the two leaders came forward before their respective forces, as if to break a hostile lance against each other, terminated triumphantly for the head of the administration.

20th August. — The session, prolonged to a period of the year which is without any precedent in our modern

parliamentary annals, at length closed; and Pitt, after making such successful exertions for the attainment of office, had leisure calmly to contemplate his own elevation. Extraordinary and rapid as it had been, that of Dundas might justly excite equal admiration. Only nine months earlier, he presented the melancholy spectacle of a Scotch advocate proscribed by the *coalition*, without apparent chance of public employment, nearly destitute of fortune, and unprovided with official means of subsistence. Fox, if he had used his newly-acquired ministerial power with moderation, instead of endeavouring to construct it on ambitious and unconstitutional foundations, — if he had patiently awaited the effect of time, aided by his own exertions, for surmounting the royal prejudices and antipathies entertained against him, instead of using the two houses of parliament as his instruments to fetter and disarm the sovereign, — must have held firm possession of office. In such a case, Dundas, notwithstanding his great acknowledged talents, might have remained during as many years on the opposition bench, as we have beheld Sheridan stationary there, in our time. But, Fox's imprudence, propelled by his resentment at the king's fixed alienation, and urged on by Burke's impatient ardour, did not allow him to perceive, that while he meditated the establishment of his own greatness, he was only labouring for his political rival. If Pitt attained the first place in the state, Dundas may with truth be said to have gained the second: for, though he was not a cabinet minister, yet, in the essential functions of official authority and influence, he far outweighed either of the secretaries of state, or even the chancellor. They, as well as the first lord of the admiralty, the master-general of the ordnance, and the president of the council, were all members of the upper house. Dundas, by his presence on the treasury bench, came into daily contact with Pitt during many months of the year, when parliament was assembled; rose to defend him when personally attacked, and after long debates, commonly accompanied the chancellor of the exchequer to Downing-street; as, some

sessions earlier, he had been accustomed to repair to the Pay Office, when Rigby presided over that department, under Lord North's administration.

In the autumn of 1784, Dundas united in his own person some of the most solid, and, at the same time, brilliant public employments. As treasurer of the navy, he enjoyed a very lucrative place, to which were subsequently attached apartments in Somerset House. But, like Pitt, he never practised economy; and though a man of business, yet pleasure in every shape presented to him irresistible allurements. The creation of an East India Board of Control, for the management of our political affairs in that quarter of the globe, which formed an important feature of Pitt's *bill*, followed immediately the prorogation of parliament. At its head Lord Sydney was nominally placed as president. The chancellor of the exchequer occupied likewise a seat at it; as did the two joint paymasters of the forces, Lord Mulgrave and Mr. William Grenville. To these members was added Lord Walsingham: but, the whole power resided with Dundas, who, having secretly concerted his measures with Pitt, dictated his pleasure to the others on every point. Within two years afterwards, when Lord Walsingham expressed his reluctance to sign a despatch tendered for his immediate approbation, he was dismissed; and Lord Frederic Campbell, a countryman of Dundas, more accommodating in his disposition, replaced the vacancy occasioned at the board. Economy forming ostensibly a prominent part of all the ministerial measures, no salary was at first annexed to any of the East India commissioners; who being six in number, were selected from such privy councillors as held efficient offices of other kinds. The treasurership of the navy demanding comparatively little time or attention for transacting its duties, Dundas remained at liberty to bend all the force of his faculties to the administration of India. Patronage there was not indeed any vested by law in the board: but the court of directors and the two chairmen could not well be inattentive to the wishes, however indirectly or guardedly expressed, of a person who

exercised such superintending powers over them and their possessions. The board of trade, abolished only two years earlier, by Burke's *bill*, being likewise re-established nearly at the same time, though under another name and without any salaries; Dundas was appointed one of its members. A far more extensive range lay, however, open to his ambition, in the secret management of his native country, Scotland; almost all the parliamentary or borough interest of which kingdom became gradually attracted into his vortex. Of course, the favours of the crown to the north of the Tweed, passed through his hands, and were almost exclusively conferred through his interest. If it was asserted of the first Mr. Pitt, that "while he crushed with his right hand the two branches of the house of Bourbon, he wielded in his left the democracy of England;" it might be said with equal truth, though with less sublimity, of Dundas, that while he controlled the British dominions in India with one hand, with the other he managed and regulated Scotland.

The opposition—which party always affected to treat him as a venal deserter, who, after successively quitting Lord North and Lord Shelbourne, had only attached himself to Mr. Pitt from the suggestions of a well-weighed and calculating ambition,—emptied their quiver of lampoons and satire upon him. But they found his hide impenetrable; fenced with good-humour, protected by great abilities, strength of character, and corresponding manliness of mind. The "Rolliad," holding him up to public reprobation, describes Dundas as a man

"Whose exalted soul
No bonds of vulgar prejudice control.
Of shame unconscious in his bold career,
He spurns that honour which the weak revere;
For, true to public virtue's patriot plan,
He loves the *minister*, and not the *man*.
Alike the advocate of North and wit,
The friend of Shelburne, and the guide of Pitt."

Nor did his political enemies satisfy themselves with inveighing against his tergiversation, and the interested versatility with which he supported three different administrations, in three successive years. They pursued him into

private life, and depicted him as a determined votary of pleasure. In one of the "Political Eclogues," entitled "*Rose, or The Complaint*," parodied from Virgil's "*Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin*," and published in 1785; the author, observing on the predilections of some distinguished persons about London, well known by their gallantries, says,

"What various tastes divide the fickle town!
One likes the fair, and one admires the brown.
The stately, Queensb'ry; Hinchinbrook, the small;
Thurlow loves servant-maids; Dundas loves all."

Notwithstanding this intellectual artillery perpetually discharged on him, he kept firm his steady way; looking, like Jenkinson, straight forward to the British peerage, as the distant, but certain remuneration of his public exertions. Nor could Pitt have discovered a more able, efficient, laborious, and eloquent coadjutor than Dundas, if he had sought throughout his majesty's dominions. That he wanted the correct and measured deportment, the elevated disinterestedness, and the insensibility or superiority to female seductions, by which qualities the first minister was distinguished, we must admit: but he possessed, on the other hand, many endowments of mind, or of disposition, vainly sought in the chancellor of the exchequer. Dundas manifested more amenity of manner, more placability of temper, more facility of access; a more yielding, accommodating, and forgiving nature. If Pitt subdued, Dundas conciliated, adversaries. The latter, who had received his political education, and imbibed his parliamentary habits, under Lord North; breathed a more liberal spirit, more comprehensive in its embrace, and more calculated to gain or to disarm his opponents. Pitt was undoubtedly capable of firm and fervent friendships; yet Dundas, with less sincerity, acquired more general good will. Pitt was cold and repulsive: Dundas invited approach. The former seldom made advances, mingled a gravity or a constraint even with his civilities, seemed to weigh his expressions, rarely pro-

voked or prolonged conversations, and speedily retired into himself. The latter was always communicative; and the lineaments of his countenance, open, as well as gay, facilitated his objects, even when he most concealed his purposes. Pitt appeared as if made to withhold, Dundas to confer, ministerial favours. Many of those recompenses or remunerations, denominated in vulgar language *jobs*, unfortunately necessary among us in order to keep adherents in good humour, and which flowed from the state fountain in Downing street, were distributed, not by Pitt, but by the treasurer of the navy.

I knew with great intimacy, during more than thirty years, a lady, whose fortune not equalling her rank, — for she was a peeress in her own right, of very ancient creation, — found herself compelled to have recourse to the fountain in question. Her eldest son having expended much time and money in raising, forming, and disciplining a corps of yeomanry cavalry, during the revolutionary war, previous to the treaty of Amiens; his mother made many applications to the treasury, with a view to obtain for him a pension, of which assistance he stood greatly in need. Wearied with ineffectual solicitations, she addressed herself to Dundas, and obtained an appointment to wait on him at Somerset House. She was punctual to the hour named; and the first thing that she did after entering the apartment (as she herself assured me), was to turn the key in the door. “You see,” said she, “that I am in earnest, and determined to be heard.” Having by his desire detailed the case, to which he listened with the utmost patience, politeness, and good humour, she concluded by demanding in pressing terms, the aid of a pension for her son. “How much, madam, must you have?” asked Dundas. “I ask for five hundred pounds a year,” answered she. “It is reasonable,” replied he, “and it shall be done.” In effect, her son obtained it immediately afterwards, without further trouble, upon public grounds, as having merited it by his exertions in the common cause of defending the country. I am well aware that pensions were sometimes obtained by ladies, through Mr. Dundas, on prin-

ciples less patriotic; where beauty, high connections, or personal predilection, aided the application. I could name instances in proof of my assertion. Nor could Scotland have been reduced under his influence without having recourse to similar expedients; by which, in the course of a few years, nearly forty, out of the forty-five members sent to the house of commons from North Britain, might be said to owe their seats to the treasurer of the navy. I ought however, here to add, that in the list of ministerial benefactions he eminently distinguished the literati of his own country; almost all of whom received, through his protection or recommendation, marks of the bounty of the crown. Pitt by no means extended equal patronage to English genius or literary talents.

Precisely about this time, a lady was presented at court, and on the theatre of public life, who attracted universal attention. I mean, Mrs. Hastings. She was born, I believe, in his Britannic Majesty’s electoral dominions; and had been early married to Mr. Imhoff, who, as well as herself, was a German. Being by profession an historical and a portrait painter, he came over to England; bringing with him his wife, who was at that time young, captivating in her person, and possessing many graces. Madame Schwellenberg, one of the two keepers of the robes to the queen, herself a native of Germany, and who has performed no inconsiderable part during the present reign, at Windsor, as well as at St. James’s, patronized the Imhoffs. At her solicitation, her majesty was induced to extend to them a degree of protection, which procured for them from the directors of the East India Company permission to go out to Madras. The hope of acquiring by his pencil a more rapid fortune in Asia than he could probably expect to gain in Europe, induced him to embark for India, in the winter of 1768; and it happened that Mr. Hastings, whom the East India Company had recently named second in council at Fort St. George, took his passage on board the same vessel with Mr. and Mrs. Imhoff. At that time he had never seen or heard of her; but, shortly after sailing from England, accident, which had brought them into the same

ship, made them personally known to each other. Hastings having engaged the room denominated the *round-house* for his own exclusive accommodation, Mrs. Imhoff, believing him to be on the quarter-deck, without previously ascertaining the fact, mounted by the stairs of the quarter-gallery to that apartment. Their surprise at meeting was mutual; and she made, from the first instant of his seeing her, a deep impression on the future governor-general. In the course of their voyage, Hastings formed a very strong attachment to her; and his passion acquiring strength by time, he continued to visit her with great assiduity while she and her husband resided at Madras; but always with such precautions, and under such restrictions, as not to compromise her honour. About the time when Hastings was appointed to the government of Bengal, in January, 1772, a termination of her marriage with Imhoff took place; which union, as having been originally celebrated in Germany, was asserted to be capable of dissolution by mutual consent. This amicable divorce was not, however, effected without the aid of money, Hastings having, in fact, paid to Imhoff a sum considerably exceeding ten thousand pounds; with which acquisition the fortunate painter quitted India, and returning to his native country, there bought an estate out of the produce of his wife's attractions. Mrs. Imhoff followed her lover to Calcutta, and as soon as her former husband had transmitted authentic intelligence that the divorce was obtained, the new governor-general of India legalized his connexion by the solemnities of wedlock. During more than ten years that Hastings subsequently occupied the supreme authority on the banks of the Ganges, she remained there with him; was consulted by him on affairs of state; accompanied him in his visits to the upper provinces, particularly after the revolt of Cheyt Sing; and invariably maintained her ascendancy over his mind, as well as his affections. Nor did any censure ever attach to her conduct; unless we consider as such the accusations which her own and her husband's enemies raised against her, of amassing wealth by presents received from the native princes and princesses; which were

usually conveyed under the form of diamonds, or other gems. It was asserted, that though Hastings might be poor or disinterested, yet his wife was rich and rapacious: but calumny, party, and political enmity, probably exaggerated the amount of these supposed accumulations.

As early as the year 1780, Hastings sent over Major Scott to England in quality of his agent; and towards the close of 1783, meditating his own return from Bengal, he determined on letting Mrs. Hastings precede him; hoping that her presence and exertions might smooth many asperities, while she ascertained and prepared the ground for his speedy personal appearance in London. In his expectations from both these measures he found himself nevertheless deceived. Scott's zeal and publications, no less than his speeches and defiance in parliament, injured the governor-general's cause, by irritating his political enemies. As little benefit resulted from Mrs. Hastings's appearance at St. James's, and in the circles of rank or fashion. Not that she was at all deficient in those accomplishments which adorn society: for, though she had already passed the limits of youth, her person still preserved many attractions. Her conversation was interesting, and her deportment unexceptionable in private life. But the nature of her marriage with Hastings, and all the circumstances which had produced that union, afforded so much subject for animadversion or scandal, as considerably to impede her introduction into the highest company. She was besides a stranger to England, by birth, by a long residence in Asia, and by her unacquaintance with our modes of life and our manners. Even her figure furnished matter for malevolent criticism; as, at a time when every fashionable female's head-dress was elevated twelve or eighteen inches high, and formed a barbarous assemblage of powder, pins, and other fantastic ornaments piled on each other, she had the courage to wear her hair without powder. To this circumstance the "Probationary Ode of Major Scott" alludes, when describing Mrs. Hastings's presentation to the king and queen at the drawing-room. The portrait is highly coloured, but true to

the original ; and the invocation to Pitt, replete with acrimony.

"Gods ! how her diamonds flock
On each *unpowder'd* lock !
On every membrane see a topaz clings !
Behold, her joints are fewer than her rings !
Illustrious dame ! on either ear
The *Munny Begum's* spoils appear !
O Pitt ! with awe behold that precious throat,
Whose necklace teems with many a future vote !
Pregnant with *Burgage* gems each hand she
rears ;
And lo ! depending *questions* gleam upon her
ears !"

Her reception at court was most gracious ; nor could such a circumstance justly excite surprise, since his majesty made no secret of declaring the high opinion that he entertained of Hastings's public services.

I did not witness Mrs. Hastings's presentation at the drawing-room, having quitted England for Paris, where I made a stay of some weeks, a few days previous to the prorogation of parliament. The court of France still exhibited at that time a majestic and imposing appearance. No man, if wholly unacquainted with the secret causes of approaching convulsion, when surveying the aspect of the capital in September, 1784, could have foreseen that within five years, the monarchy would be swallowed up in the abyss of a sanguinary and ferocious revolution. Still less, while assisting at the superb spectacle of Versailles, and its water-works, on a day of gala, when the king and queen dined in public, environed by all the pomp of majesty, could it have been supposed that they would so soon be prisoners in the hands of their revolted subjects. It was, nevertheless, already apparent to those acquainted with the interior frame of the government, and the embarrassed state of the finances, that the materials of disorder and confusion were accumulating rapidly from various quarters. The people, inflamed, as well as perverted, by the writings of the French philosophers, aspired to freedom ; wholly unconscious or ignorant that liberty cannot be preserved without public morals, and the severe restraints of law, under the strong control of an executive power. The nation, after contributing so successfully to emancipate America, began to demand its own

emancipation, and the formation of a constitution. Unfortunately for the crown, the victories obtained in the Chesapeake, and the conquests made in the West Indies, when Necker was at the head of the finances, had eventually produced a deficit in the revenue ; while Calonne, who presided over that department, since 1781, as controller-general, however eminent were his faculties, yet neither possessed the frugality, political steadiness, nor moral reputation, requisite for his arduous position. The united operation of these causes might nevertheless have been unquestionably obviated or dissipated, if the throne of France had been filled by a sovereign of any energy, decision, and determination. But, Louis the Sixteenth seemed to be raised up by Providence in its inscrutable dispensations, not less for the subversion of the French monarchy in our time, than his ancestor Henry the Fourth, two centuries earlier, appeared to be preserved by Heaven for the purpose of its extrication and restoration.

The king, at the time of which I speak, was thirty years of age, had reigned above ten since the death of his grandfather, and unquestionably possessed the affection and esteem of his subjects. During the first four years after his accession, while France remained at peace, from 1774 to 1778, every circumstance combined to diffuse a popularity round his person and government. Instead of a prince sinking into the grave amidst excesses of the worst description, surrounded by a harem, over which Madame du Barry presided ; Versailles exhibited to the French nation and to Europe, a splendid court regulated by decorum, at the head of which a young, elegant, and accomplished queen, attracted universal admiration. Louis's correct manners, his conjugal attachment, his acknowledged rectitude of intention, and application to public business ; — these features of his character and conduct formed a striking contrast with the enervate and dissolute state of degradation, in which Louis the Fifteenth terminated his long career. The recall of the parliaments, which assemblies had been exiled by his predecessor, was a measure calculated to excite general satisfaction. His dismissal of the Abbé

Terrai, one of the most unpopular ministers of the late reign, whom Louis the Fifteenth had placed at the head of the finances; and the nomination of Turgot to that office, a man possessing an elevated mind, as well as expanded and beneficent views for the amelioration of the revenue; endeared the young king to his people. The chancellor, Maupeou, whose shameless submissions to the Countess du Barry, some of which, too well authenticated, were at once so indecent and so licentious as hardly to obtain belief, or to be commemorated without degrading the dignity of history, was deprived of the functions of his office. Miromesnil, a lawyer of more decorous manners, if not of superior legal talents, became keeper of the great seal. Maurepas, placed at the head of the royal councils, superseded the Duke d'Aiguillon, whose name and administration had long been deservedly unpopular: while Vergennes, recalled for the express purpose from his embassy in Sweden, occupied the post of secretary of state for the foreign department. These salutary and judicious changes, made by a prince who had then scarcely attained to manhood, seemed to promise a fortunate reign, when his judgment, matured by experience, should enable him to assume a more active part in the administration of state affairs.

The four or five years that elapsed between 1778, and the beginning of 1783, during the whole of which period Louis was engaged in war with this country; contributed to raise him in the estimation of his own people, and of foreign nations, by the success that generally accompanied his arms. For, though the last of those years, 1782, was attended with two great reverses; namely, the naval defeat sustained by De Grasse, and the destruction of the Spanish batteries under the walls of Gibraltar; yet every leading object for which the French government undertook the contest, was ultimately accomplished. The American colonies, under the protection of Louis, became a free and sovereign power. All the disasters experienced by France during the war of 1756, disappeared at York Town, where a British army surrendered to Washington and Rochambeau. In the East Indies, Suf-

rein contended, down to the last moment of hostilities, for the empire of the sea; and though France restored to us, by the treaty of peace, most of the islands that she had reduced under her dominion in the West Indies, she retained Tobago, and resumed possession of St. Lucia: while Spain, fighting under the French banner, recovered Minorca and both the Floridas, which had been dissevered from her crown. Such were the brilliant occurrences of the first eight or nine years of a reign destined to so fatal a termination; and which seemed strikingly to exemplify the picture drawn by Gray, of Richard the Second, whose commencement, like Louis the Sixteenth's, excited high expectations;

"Fair laughs the morn, and gay the zephyr blows,
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm,
In gilded state the painted vessel goes,
Youth at the prow, and Pleasure at the helm.
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That, hush'd in grim repose, expects his evening prey."

Louis the Sixteenth displayed many of the virtues that adorn private life; few or none of the qualities that uphold the throne, when assailed by civil commotions. To George the Third he bore, in various respects, a strong moral resemblance; but that similarity ceased altogether on the essential feature of energy, decision, and firmness of character. During the riots of the month of June, 1780, which assumed some of the most alarming characteristics of the French revolution, the English king manifested a calm courage, and determination to die, if requisite, at his post, in defence of the power entrusted to him by the constitution. Louis, in July, 1789, instead of repelling the infuriated mob which assailed him in his own palace, abandoned the reins of government. He may be said to have deposed himself. Even James the Second fled, and did not wait to be carried a prisoner to Whitehall. Louis suffered himself to be drawn from Versailles to Paris, a spectacle of fallen majesty; insulted on his arrival in his own capital, by Bailli, the mayor, who presented him sarcastically the keys of a metropolis which had already thrown off all allegiance. He

had previously left the citadel of the Bastille (which might easily have been rendered impregnable against any attack of the Parisians), destitute of an adequate garrison, of provisions, or of ammunition. In October of the same year, he was ignominiously conveyed, with his queen and children, a dethroned captive, to the palace of the Tuileries; which residence he quitted, instead of defending it to the last extremity, as he ought to have done, and might have done successfully, on the 10th of August, 1792. The different fate of the two sovereigns of England and of France has corresponded with their opposite characters. We behold the former prince, though deprived of his mental faculties, yet still reigning in the person of his son; after having not only preserved his own dominions from internal anarchy, or foreign invasion; but extended protection to France, to Spain, and to the great Continental powers, when struggling under the despotism of a revolutionary conqueror. The latter prince, a victim to his inert, irresolute, and yielding measures, perished on the scaffold, in front of his own palace.

In 1784, the vital defects of his monarchical character lay as yet in some measure concealed from general inspection. We may, however, assume with moral certainty, that the flight of the princes of the blood, and the expatriation of many among the great nobility, at the very commencement of the revolution in 1789, would not have taken place, unless they had well known the weakness of the sovereign whom they abandoned to his fate. They doubtless were aware that he would neither defend himself, nor them, in the moment of danger. That the Count d'Artois, who was personally unpopular, and regarded as despotic in his principles, should have dreaded the effects of democratic violence, and should have fled from Versailles without waiting till matters arrived at the last extremity, might naturally be expected: but the Prince of Condé, in whom survived a portion of the heroism of his great ancestor, would never have deserted a king who had not first deserted his own cause. In fact, the reign of Louis the Sixteenth expired on the day of his passive transfer to

Paris in October, 1789, as much as that of Richard the Second terminated when he delivered himself up a prisoner in the castle of Flint, to his cousin, Henry of Lancaster. Instead of permitting a ferocious and sanguinary populace to drag him like a victim to the altar, if Louis would only have sent a party of cavalry to stop their passage across the Seine, at the bridges of Sèvres and of St. Cloud, he might have remained with perfect security in his palace. Or, if his aversion to shedding the blood of his subjects superseded every sentiment of self-preservation in his bosom, he might have withdrawn with his family, as he was urged to do by more than one of his ministers, from Versailles to Rambouillet, and thence to Chartres. There he would have found himself protected by a considerable army. If then he had called on every man who loved his country, to join him against rebellion and anarchy; while at the same time he had protested his readiness to concede to the nation, and to establish on the firmest foundations, a free constitution; he might still have been seated on the throne of France. But, Louis, averse to resistance, seemed never to aspire to any crown, except that of martyrdom. Henry the Third's position on the 12th and 13th of May, 1588, precisely resembled that of Louis the Sixteenth on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789. The Duke of Guise, at the head of a rebellious body of forces, surrounded and menaced Henry in the Louvre, as La Fayette and the Parisian populace did Louis at Versailles. But, Henry, though long passive and irresolute, fled at last, and finally took up arms. Louis remained torpid, prohibited all defence, allowed himself to be conveyed as a captive to his capital, and suffered under the guillotine. He was his own executioner.

Two of the most interesting princesses whom the eighteenth century produced, and who will be considered as such by posterity, were unquestionably Maria Theresa, and Marie Antoinette, of Austria; one, the mother; the other, the daughter; both, endowed with qualities fitted to sustain the throne in times of the greatest difficulty. The former, when driven from her hereditary dominions by the French and Bavarians in

1741, found resources in her own mind, which compelled her to resist, and ultimately enabled her to expel her enemies. It is of *her* that Johnson speaks, when, depicting the calamities produced by ambition, as exemplified in the instance of the Bavarian emperor, Charles the Seventh, he says,

"The bold Bavarian, in a luckless hour,
Tries the dread summits of Cæsarian power;
With unexpected legions bursts away,
And sees defenceless realms accept his sway.
Short sway! Fair *Austria* spreads her
mournful charms;
The queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms."

With equal self-devotion and fortitude, no man can doubt, would the late ill-fated Queen of France have conducted herself during the course of the French revolution, if, like her mother, she had reigned in her own right. To Louis she might have justly said, as Catherine de Foix did to her husband John d'Albret, King of Navarre, nearly three centuries earlier; "*Si nous fussions nés, vous, Catherine de Foix, et moi, Don Jean d'Albret, nous n'aurions jamais perdu la Navarre.*" More unfortunate even than Margaret of Anjou, wife of our Henry the Sixth; Marie Antoinette, after beholding, like the English queen, her husband immolated, and her only son imprisoned by ferocious assassins, was ultimately conducted in a cart, with her hands tied behind her, as a common criminal, to the place of execution. In the autumn of 1784 she had nearly completed her twenty-ninth year. Her beauty, like the mother of Æneas, "*incessu patuit.*" It consisted in her manner, air, and movements, all which were full of dignity as well as grace. No person could look at her, without conceiving a favourable impression of her intelligence and spirit. The king was heavy and inert, destitute of activity or elasticity; wanting all the characteristic attributes of youth; who, though not corpulent, yet might be termed unwieldy; and who rather tumbled from one foot to the other, than walked with firmness. His queen could not move a step, or perform an act, in which majesty was not blended. She possessed all the vigour of mind, decision of character, and determination to maintain the royal authority, which were

wanting in Louis. Nor does it demand any exertion of our belief to be convinced, that she would have preferred death on the 10th of August, 1792, as she loudly declared, rather than have fled for shelter to the intimidated assembly which transferred her to the *Temple*. Her understanding was not highly cultivated, nor her acquaintance with works of literature extensive; but, her heart could receive and cherish some of the best emotions of our nature. Friendship, gratitude, maternal affection, conjugal love, fortitude, contempt of danger and of death;—all these, and many other virtues, however they might be choked up by the rank soil of a court, yet manifested themselves under the pressure of calamity.

While I do this justice to her distinguished intellectual endowments, and natural disposition; the impartiality which I profess compels me to disclose her defects with the same unreserve. She had many; some of them belonging to the *queen*; others more properly appertaining to the *woman*. Like the wife of Germanicus, she wanted caution, and due command over her words and actions. Descended, as she was, from a house which during successive centuries had been the rival and the inveterate enemy of France; young, destitute of experience, surrounded by courtiers who dwelt upon her smiles; she did not sufficiently appreciate the dangers of such an elevation, and she violated frequently the most ordinary maxims of prudence. Her high and haughty temper, made for dominion, impelled her to regard the people as populace; and she seemed always to say while she looked round her,

"*Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.*"

This well-known feature of her character aggravated all the errors or mistakes of her conduct, and enabled detraction to accuse her with the crime of being not only an Austrian by birth, but such in heart and inclination. So long as she had not produced a son, the imputation wore at least a semblance of probability; and a similar charge had been made in the preceding century, with some reason, against Anne of Austria. Louis the

Thirteenth's consort was, in fact, pursued criminally by the Cardinal de Richelieu, for maintaining a treasonable correspondence with her brother, Philip the Fourth, King of Spain. The birth of a dauphin, who afterwards became Louis the Fourteenth, rescued Anne from ministerial prosecution : but Marie Antoinette, even after she had given an heir to the monarchy in 1781, and a second son in 1785, was still accused by popular malevolence, though most unjustly, of remitting pecuniary supplies to her brother, the Emperor Joseph the Second. Whatever might have been her predilections before she became a mother, we cannot doubt that subsequently to that event, she beheld only the interests of France before her eyes. Her judgment did not, however, equal the elevation of her mind. The expensive purchase of the palace of St. Cloud from the Duke of Orleans, in her name, was an act of great imprudence. Her contempt or disregard of appearances exposed her to severe comments ; as did her strong partialities and preferences, manifested for various individuals of both sexes. The renunciation which she made of etiquette, and her emancipation from court form, though calculated to heighten the enjoyments of private society, broke down one of the barriers that surrounded the throne. Her personal vanity, not to say coquetry, was excessive and censurable. She passed more time in studying and adjusting the ornaments of her dress, than became a woman placed upon the most dangerous eminence in Europe. Mademoiselle Bertin, who was her directress on this article, could indeed more easily obtain an audience of Marie Antoinette than persons of the first rank. Pleasure and dissipation offered for her irresistible charms.

But, was she, or was she not, it may be asked, a woman of gallantry ? Did she ever violate her nuptial fidelity ? Are we to rank her among the virtuous, or among the licentious princesses recorded in history ? I am well aware that the illustrious female in question did not always restrain the marks of her predilection within prudent limits, and she thereby furnished ample matter for detraction. So did Anne Bullen ; but, I

imagine, there are very few, if any persons, who believe that the unfortunate mother of Elizabeth was false to Henry the Eighth's bed. I have personally known many of the individuals, commonly supposed or asserted to have been favoured lovers of the late Queen of France. Ignorance and malevolence furnished the principal, or the only proofs of criminality. Some of these men, thus distinguished, were foreigners and Englishmen. At their head I might place the late Lord Hugh Seymour, then the Honourable Hugh Seymour Conway, a captain in the navy. After the peace of 1783, when he was about twenty-five, he visited Paris and Versailles. Like all his six brothers, he exceeded in height the ordinary proportion of mankind ; and he possessed great personal advantages, sustained by most engaging manners. The queen, who met him at the Duchess de Polignac's, among the crowd of eminent and elegant strangers there assembled, honoured him with marks of her particular notice, appeared to take a pleasure in conversing with him, and unquestionably displayed towards him great partiality. On this foundation was raised the accusation. I believe, the present Earl Whitworth made a similar impression on Marie Antoinette, about the same time. He, too, was highly favoured by nature, and his address exceeded even his figure. At every period of his life, queens, and duchesses, and countesses, have showered on him their regard. The Duke of Dorset, recently sent ambassador to France, being an intimate friend of Mr. Whitworth, made him known to the queen ; who not only distinguished him by flattering marks of her attention, but interested herself in promoting his fortune, which then stood greatly in need of such a patronage. As Lord Whitworth is at this hour a British earl, lieutenant of Ireland, decorated with various orders of knighthood, and one of the most distinguished subjects of the crown ; I shall digress from Marie Antoinette for a short time, in order to relate some particulars of his rise and elevation in life.

Lord Whitworth is about three years younger than myself, and must have been born in, or towards, 1754. His

father, who had received the honour of knighthood, and was likewise a member of the house of commons, left at his decease a numerous family, involved in embarrassed circumstances. Mr. Whitworth, the eldest son, having embraced the military profession, served in the Guards, and attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel : but, I believe, was more distinguished during this period of his career by success in gallantries, than by any professional merits, or brilliant services. Soon after his thirtieth year he quitted the army ; and as his fortune was very limited, he next aspired to enter the *corps diplomatique*. The circumstance becoming known to the Queen of France, she recommended his interests strongly to the Duke of Dorset ; who, not without great difficulty, obtained at length in the year 1786, for his friend, the appointment of minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw. I know from good authority, that when that nomination was bestowed on him, no little impediment to his departure arose from the want of a few hundred pounds, to defray the unavoidable expenses of his equipment. The unfortunate Stanislaus Poniatowski then reigned over the nominal monarchy of Poland, and Mr. Whitworth gave such satisfaction while residing at Warsaw in his public character, that on a vacancy occurring at Petersburg about two years afterwards, he was sent as British envoy to Russia. During his residence of eleven or more years on the banks of the Neva, he received the order of the Bath, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of an Irish baron. But as very ample pecuniary resources were necessary for sustaining the dignity of his official situation, to support which, in an adequate manner, his salary as minister from the British court was altogether unequal, he did not hesitate to avail himself of female aid. Among the distinguished ladies of high rank about Catherine's person at that time, was the Countess Gerbetzow, who, though married, possessed a very considerable fortune at her own disposal. Such was her partiality for the English envoy, that she in a great measure provided, clothed, and defrayed his household from her own purse. In return for such solid proofs of attachment, he en-

gaged to give her his hand in marriage ; a stipulation, the accomplishment of which was necessarily deferred till she could obtain a divorce from her husband. Catherine's brilliant reign being closed, and her eccentric successor having adopted those pernicious measures which within a short period of time produced his destruction, Lord Whitworth returned in 1800 to this country. He was then about fifty years of age, and still possessed as many personal graces as are perhaps ever retained at that period of life.

The Duke of Dorset, whose friendship had so eminently conduced to place Lord Whitworth in the diplomatic line, had already expired in July, 1799, at his seat of Knole, in Kent. His decease was preceded by a long period of intellectual decay, or mental alienation, during the course of which, comprising nearly twenty months, the duchess his wife discharged towards him, in a most exemplary manner, every conjugal duty and office. She was the eldest daughter of Sir Charles Cope, a baronet of Queen Anne's creation, and had completed her thirty-second year at the time when Lord Whitworth reached England. Her person, though not feminine, might then be denominated handsome ; and, if her mind was not highly cultivated or refined, she could boast of intellectual endowments that fitted her for the active business of life. Under the dominion of no passion except the love of money, her taste for power and pleasure was always subordinate to her economy. The attachment to her late husband, aided by the decline of his intellect, had impelled him not only to exclude his nearest collateral heir, the present Duke of Dorset, from the succession to any part of his landed estates ; but, in some measure, to sacrifice his own son to the interests of the duchess. In virtue of the duke's testamentary dispositions, she came into immediate possession of thirteen thousand pounds a year on his demise, besides the borough of East Grinstead during her life. So great an accumulation of wealth and of parliamentary influence had scarcely ever vested, among us, in a female, and a widow ; especially when Dorset House, in Whitehall, as well as Knole,

the seat of the earls and dukes of that name ever since Elizabeth's reign, eventually passed into her hands. Lord Whitworth, though under such obligations to the duke's friendship, yet being personally unknown to the duchess, did not present himself at her door till towards the close of the year 1800. But the courtship was a short one, and they were married in the subsequent month of April.

Meanwhile, the Countess Gerbetzow, to whose attachment Lord Whitworth had been so deeply indebted while resident at Petersburg, and with whom he had contracted such serious contingent engagements, having succeeded in procuring a divorce from her husband, left that capital on her way to England. At Leipsic, she first read in one of the Continental newspapers, that the Duchess of Dorset's nuptials with Lord Whitworth were expected shortly to be celebrated;—a piece of intelligence which, however unexpected or alarming it might be, only induced her to accelerate her journey. On her arrival in London, she learned that the union had already taken place. Irritated by disappointment and indignation, she had recourse to various expedients for obtaining restitution of the sums that she had advanced to her former lover, on the faith of his assurances of marriage. Her reclamations, which were of too delicate and serious a nature to be despised, when sustained by such proofs as she could produce in confirmation of them, at length compelled the duchess, most reluctantly, to pay her Muscovite rival no less a sum than ten thousand pounds; thus purchasing the quiet possession of a husband, as Mr. Hastings had bought the right to a wife, and nearly at as exorbitant a price.

However highly advantageous was such an alliance for a man whose private fortune was of the most slender description; yet his political career might probably have terminated at this period of his life, if the connexion existing between his wife and the family of Jenkinson had not given it a new impulse. Lady Cope, the duchess's mother, a woman of uncommon personal beauty, married a second time in 1782, the late Charles Jenkinson, subsequently created Earl of

Liverpool. After the peace of Amiens in 1802, as it became necessary to send an ambassador to the French republic, Lord Whitworth was selected for the employment. The vast pecuniary resources which his recent marriage afforded him, of sustaining the unavoidable expenses incident to such a mission, unquestionably facilitated his nomination. It is, however, admitted that he acquitted himself with dexterity, calmness, and judgment, during the short and stormy period that he remained at Paris. On his return to England, not occupying a seat in either house of parliament, he sunk during ten years into comparative insignificance. But, in 1813, before which time the present Earl of Liverpool had attained to the head of the treasury, he was once more called, at the advanced age of sixty-three, into active public employment. The Duke of Richmond's period of office as lord-lieutenant of Ireland being terminated, Lord Whitworth received that high appointment, and was created at the same time an English *Viscount*. Two years later, Lord Liverpool included him among the seven individuals then raised to the dignity of *Earls*: while the duchess his wife had intermediately derived an augmentation of nine thousand pounds a year, in consequence of the calamitous death of her only son, the young Duke of Dorset, killed at the age of little more than twenty-one, in an Irish fox-chase. On this prodigious elevation stands Lord Whitworth at the present moment;—an elevation from which he may be said to look down even upon Lord Gwydir, hitherto esteemed the most fortunate individual of our time. Three females of the highest rank, one of them a sovereign; namely, the late Queen of France, the Countess Gerbetzow, and the Duchess of Dorset; successively aided his progress in life. Without enquiring whether Johnson's remark on "ambitious love," as being rarely productive of happiness, can apply to the case before us; we may nevertheless be allowed to doubt whether a humbler matrimonial alliance might not have been attended with more felicity. If, on revisiting his native country, he had been united to a woman of inferior fortune and condition, who would probably

have given him posterity ; he would certainly have presented an object of more rational envy and respect, than as the second husband of a duchess elevated by her connexions to dignities and offices, subsisting on her possessions, and who will probably ere long inter him with an earl's coronet on his coffin. I return to Marie Antoinette.

The late Duke of Dorset himself was by vulgar misrepresentation included in the list of that princess's pretended lovers. Unquestionably he enjoyed much of her regard and confidence, with proofs of both which sentiments she honoured him during his embassy in France. He preserved a letter-case, which I have seen, full of her notes addressed to him. They were written on private concerns, commissions that she requested him to execute for her, principally regarding English articles of dress or ornament, and other innocent or unimportant matters. Colonel Edward Dillon, with whom I was particularly acquainted, was likewise highly distinguished by her. He descended, I believe, collaterally, from the noble Irish family of the Earls of Roscommon, though his father carried on the trade of a wine-merchant at Bordeaux. But he was commonly denominated "le Comte Edouard Dillon," and "le beau Dillon." In my estimation, he possessed little pretension to the latter epithet ; but he surpassed most men in stature, like Lord Whitworth, Lord Hugh Seymour, and the other individuals on whom the French queen cast a favourable eye. That she showed him some imprudent marks of predilection at a ball, which, when they took place, excited comment, is true ; but they prove only indiscretion and levity on her part. Even the Count d'Artois was enumerated among her lovers, by Parisian malignity ; an accusation founded on his personal graces, his dissolute manners, and his state of separation, as well as of alienation, from his own wife. The hatred of the populace towards the queen became naturally inflamed by this supposed mixture of a species of incest with matrimonial infidelity ; and it was to the base passions of the multitude, that such atrocious fabrications were addressed by her enemies.

If Marie Antoinette ever violated her

nuptial vow (which, however, I am far from asserting), either Count Fersen, or Monsieur de Vaudreuil, were the favoured individuals. Of the former nobleman, who was a native of Sweden, though of Scottish descent, I may hereafter have occasion to make mention. Vaudreuil had received from nature many qualities, personal and intellectual, of the most ingratiating description. The queen delighting much in his society, he was naturally associated to the parties at Madame de Polignac's, where her majesty never failed to be present. But there were other parties, in which Vaudreuil performed a conspicuous part, and respecting which I feel it impossible to observe a total silence ; yet of which it is difficult to speak without involuntarily awakening suspicions or reflexions injurious to the memory of that princess. They were called "descampativos ;" being held in the gardens of Versailles ; where, at a spot sheltered from view by lofty woods, about forty individuals, in equal numbers of both sexes, all selected or approved by the queen, repaired at the appointed time. An altar of turf being erected, the election of a high priest followed ; who, by virtue of his office, possessed the power of pairing the different couples for the space of one hour, at his arbitrary pleasure. On pronouncing the word "descampativos," they all scampered off in different directions ; being however bound by the compact to re-assemble at the same place, when the hour should be expired. Those persons who maintained that the amusement was altogether innocent as far as Marie Antoinette had in it any participation, observed that the king repeatedly sanctioned it by his presence. They added, that he appeared to enjoy the diversion not less than any other individual of the company, and was himself repeatedly paired with different ladies. Vaudreuil generally performed the function of pontiff ; and as that office conferred the power, not only of associating the respective couples, but of nominating his own partner, he frequently chose the queen. Her enemies, indeed, asserted, that one of her principal objects in setting on foot the diversion, was to overcome by temptation combined with opportunity, the scrupulous, as well as trouble-

some fidelity, observed by Louis towards her person and bed. In this expectation, they pretended, she was successful; partners, such as would not interpose any impediments or delays to his majesty's wishes, being selected for him by the high priest. That a *game*, or diversion, such as I have described, and other similar amusements which in common language we denominate *romps*, did occasionally take place at Versailles, or at Trianon, during the first years after Marie Antoinette became queen, when she was between twenty and twenty-five years of age, admits of no denial. I consider them nevertheless to have been exaggerated by her enemies, and to have been at least as free from stain or guilt, as were the romping parties which, we know, our own Elizabeth permitted herself with Admiral Seymour, under her brother Edward's reign. Even Mary, Princess of Orange, afterwards Queen of William the Third, a most exemplary and virtuous woman, yet did not hesitate at two-and-twenty to receive instructions from the Duke of Monmouth, as her *dancing master*, while he resided at Hague, towards the end of Charles the Second's reign. The duke, it must be remembered, was the handsomest man of his time, and if we may credit contemporary authority, the petticoats of the *scholar* were adapted to the *lesson*. But, Louis the Sixteenth might exclaim with *the Moor*,

" 'Tis not to make me jealous,
To say — my wife is fair, feeds well, loves
company,
Is free of speech, sings, plays, and dances well :
Where virtue is, these are more virtuous."

I do not, indeed, mean to maintain that the virtue of the late Queen of France can be placed on the same level with the honour of her two immediate predecessors on the French throne; namely, Maria Theresa of Spain, consort of Louis the Fourteenth; or Maria Leszinska of Poland, the wife of Louis the Fifteenth; — princesses so correct in their deportment, that detraction never ventured to impute to either of them the slightest deviation from propriety of conduct. But, on the other hand, it ought not to be forgotten, that those queens, who fell far below Maria Antoinette in

personal, as well as in mental endowments; who wanted all her graces, and powers of captivating mankind; were likewise, each of them, married to princes highly adorned by nature, and cast in her finest mould. Louis the Sixteenth might inspire respect, or affection, or esteem; but did not appear, even at twenty, made to awaken sentiments of love. It demanded consequently a stronger principle of moral action to keep her in the right path, than might have sufficed in the two former instances. With Anne of Austria she may be more justly compared, whose conjugal virtue forms a subject of historic doubt; neither above suspicion, nor yet abandoned to censure. Like *her*, Marie Antoinette remained many years a wife before she became a mother. The birth of Louis the Fourteenth, born after more than two-and-twenty years of marriage: especially if we reflect on the extenuated state of Louis the Thirteenth at the time, whose whole life was a perpetual disease; might well excite doubts of his queen's fidelity, in the minds of her contemporaries. Marie Antoinette brought into the world a daughter before the expiration of the ninth year from the celebration of her nuptials; and the cause of her not having sooner gratified the expectations of the French, by giving heirs to the monarchy, — a fact which was well known and ascertained, — depended, not on *her*, but on the king, her husband. Both princesses were handsome; both inclined to gallantry and coquetry. Anne of Austria manifested for Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, no less than for Mazarin, as strong a partiality, and committed acts as imprudent, as any which were ever attributed to the late Queen of France. She, — I mean Anne of Austria, — passed likewise a great part of her life in total separation from her unamiable husband; while the utmost external harmony, if not real affection, always subsisted between Louis the Sixteenth and his consort. The balance of reputation between the two queens, inclines in favour of the latter princess. And how gloriously did she redeem the levities, or the indiscretions, committed at Trianon, and at Versailles; by the magnanimity which she displayed during her confinement in

the Tuileries, at the Temple, and in the Conciergerie! What a display of conjugal duty, and maternal tenderness, did she not exhibit; what heroism and resources of mind, what superiority even to death, did she not manifest, while in the power of that atrocious mob of rebels and assassins, denominated the Republican Government! Whatever may have been the measure of her errors while in the splendour of royal prosperity, she will be ranked by posterity among the most illustrious, high-minded, and unfortunate princesses who have appeared in modern ages.

The Count de Provence, who now reigns under the name of Louis the Eighteenth, attracted in 1784, though so nearly allied to the throne, comparatively little national attention. In his person, and in his demeanor, he resembled the king his brother. Both were princes of sedentary habits; ill adapted for the energies of government in times of difficulty, and scarcely fitted for the ordinary representations of royalty. When resident, as he sometimes was, at Paris, the Count de Provence held his court at the Luxembourg Palace, over which the Countess de Balbi presided, though with far inferior influence than the Pompadours or the Barrys exercised under his grandfather's reign. At no period of his life did the sex acquire over him the empire possessed by the mistresses of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth. As the Count and Countess de Provence neither had, nor were expected to have any issue, their marriage could be considered as little more than a nominal union. The Count d'Artois only, of the three brothers, was almost ever seen in the capital, where he occasionally resorted in pursuit of pleasure, when disgusted with the dulness, insipidity, and tranquillity of Versailles. His figure was fine; above the middle size, his countenance pleasing, and his manners corresponded with his appearance: but, unfortunately, these exterior advantages were unaccompanied with economy, prudence, or attention to conciliate general esteem. He was not only supposed to be imbued with despotic principles, but his profusion had involved him in great embarrassments. During his visit to Gibraltar, two years earlier, where

he repaired with the Duke of Bourbon, accompanied by some of the young French nobility, in expectation of making his public entry into that fortress after its assumed surrender, he had acquired no military reputation.

His excesses might seem to derive some apology from the conduct of his wife, who, however destitute of personal attractions, yet was accused of great irregularities. The proofs were even reported to have been so obtrusive, as to induce the court of Versailles to inform her father, Victor Amadeus the Third, King of Sardinia, that it was determined to send her back to Turin, in order that he might confine her in his own dominions. But his answer instantly repressed the intention. "I educated my daughter," replied he, "in the strictest precepts of virtue and of religion. She never had transgressed those rules when I gave her in marriage to the Count d'Artois. If his example, or licentiousness, increased by the general dissolution of manners in the court of France, has perverted the mind and morals of his wife; let those who have produced the evil support its consequences! I will not receive the princess, nor permit her to pass my frontiers." So spirited and peremptory a refusal checked all further ideas of publicly disgracing her: but, after the birth of the dauphin in 1781, and of a second prince in 1785, she became almost extinct in the general recollection. Her husband no longer observed any measures towards her. At his beautiful retreat of "Bagatelle" in the "Bois de Boulogne," on the banks of the Seine, nearly midway between Versailles and Paris; where with great taste, and at a vast expense, he had assembled all that could minister to voluptuous enjoyment; the Count d'Artois, frequently accompanied by Mademoiselle Contat (at once the *Thais* and the *Thalia* of that period), passed many of his hours, unconscious of the gathering tempest. I have not seen, throughout Europe, an edifice where pleasure had concentrated more objects of gratification, heightened by the charms of sculpture, than were displayed in the apartments of "Bagatelle."

The Duke of Orleans, grandson to the celebrated and dissolute Regent of France,

was far advanced at this time towards his sixtieth year. Destitute of energy of character, or of talents, moderate, unambitious, retired, he is hardly known to posterity, except as the father of a man whose criminal ambition eminently contributed soon afterwards to the subversion of the house of Bourbon, and of his country. The duke had been long united in a second marriage with the Marchioness of Montesson, but the king refused to recognize her as Duchess of Orleans. Madame de Genlis, her niece, has commemorated the marchioness in various parts of her voluminous Memoirs. The splendid residence of the Dukes of Orleans, the "Palais Royal," placed in the centre of Paris, then contrasted strongly with the ruinous palace of the Louvre, and the deserted edifice of the Tuileries; both which structures, stretching along the bank of the Seine in neglected majesty, wholly unvisited by the sovereign, seemed to reproach his absence. The queen had indeed caused two or three apartments to be fitted up in the "Pavillon de Flore," at the extremity of one wing of the Tuileries; which commanded a charming view to the south, over the quays on both sides of the river. There she occasionally alighted, when amusement led her to visit Paris for a few hours; but, where she had scarcely ever passed even a single night, during fourteen years since her marriage. So totally abandoned by Louis the Sixteenth was his own capital, previous to the Revolution; and so unfit to receive him had the palace of the Tuileries become, in which he subsequently passed near three years; a nominal king, though in effect a prisoner, between 1789 and 1792! If the "Palais Royal" constituted, in 1784, the noblest inhabited fabric of the French metropolis; the palace and gardens of St. Cloud, which then belonged not to the crown but to the Duke of Orleans, presented a far more alluring aspect than the same magnificence of Versailles, or the joyless and melancholy expanse of Marly. Its beautiful, cheerful, and picturesque position, on a fine eminence overhanging the Seine, with the capital in full view, yet exempt from its inconveniences; the superb orangery (since become classic *revolutionary* ground, in

November, 1799, when Bonaparte there seized on the government, and extinguished the Directory);—lastly, the gardens and park, truly royal, extending on every side;—these features might fully justify the queen's predilection for St. Cloud. When, in addition to two such edifices, one situate in Paris, and the other placed at an inconsiderable distance from its gates, we add the prodigious patrimonial possessions of the Duke of Orleans, scattered throughout various provinces of France, from the shore of the British Channel to the mountains of Auvergne: we cannot hesitate in pronouncing him to have been the most powerful, wealthy, and elevated subject in Europe.

Removed by one gradation farther from the succession to the crown, the Prince of Condé might nevertheless be considered as hardly inferior to the Duke of Orleans, in all the attributes and accompaniments of grandeur. Descended as he was equally from the great Condé, and from the illustrious family of Montmorency, which occupies so high a place in the history of France; in him the military spirit of the Bourbon line had not become extinct, as it seemed in some measure to have done in the king, and in the Count de Provence. He had served with distinction in Germany, during the war of 1756, under the late reign. The "Palais Bourbon," his residence at Paris, situate on the southern bank of the Seine, in a much more airy and salubrious part of the capital than the "Palais Royal," might almost vie with it in size and splendour. At Chantilly, the Prince of Condé maintained a state scarcely less than royal, surrounded by every monument of feudal magnificence, combined with all the refinements of the eighteenth century. His only son, the Duke of Bourbon, was little known except by his passion for the chase; while the Duke d'Enghien, second in lineal descent from the Prince of Condé, whose savage execution took place in our own time, had only completed his twelfth year. We must go back to the thirteenth century, in order to find a parallel to this atrocious act of blood, when young Conradin, heir to the crown of Naples, was beheaded by the tyrant Charles of Anjou. The Prince

of Conti stood last in order among the collateral heirs to the throne ; but he had no issue by his consort, a princess of Modena, and that branch of the royal line has since become extinct.

In 1784, when nearly eight hundred years had elapsed since Hugh Capet was proclaimed King of France at Noyon, no less a number than fifteen princes, all of whom descended from him in the male line through Louis the Ninth (commonly denominated St. Louis), still remained ; every one competent to wear the crown. So uninterrupted a succession through so many centuries, might well inspire that veneration which "the hoar of ages" invariably excites in the human mind. Every circumstance dear to recollection, and powerful over the affections, conspired indeed to render sacred the Capetian race. Charles the Fifth, and Charles the Seventh, had each in turn rescued France from the English yoke. Louis the Twelfth is known in history by the title of "Father of his People." To Francis the First was due the revival of letters and of arts. Henry the Fourth had expelled the Spaniards from Paris, and extinguished the rebellion of "the League." The love of glory, and the national vanity, had been gratified to their utmost extent, by the conquests, the ostentatious largesses, and the magnificence of Louis the Fourteenth. A filiation of such length in masculine descent, almost holds to prodigy, and has no parallel among the ancient, or the modern crowned heads of Europe. We justly esteem as already old, the reigning house of Oldenburg, by which family the Danes have been governed in the male line ever since the middle of the fifteenth century. Yet, how recent is their elevation to the throne of Denmark, if compared with that of Hugh Capet in the year 987 ; a period long anterior to the Norman Conquest ! The circumstance appears even more entitled to admiration, if we contrast it with our own fugitive dynasties, which have followed each other in such rapid order, though all were perpetuated through females. To the three *Norman* princes, and the usurper Stephen, succeeded the *Angevin* or *French* sovereigns, whom we commonly call Plantagenets, though that name was, in fact, only a badge or dis-

tingtion of chivalry ; and who, amidst civil wars, caused by disputed titles, maintained themselves on our throne considerably above three hundred years. They were supplanted by a race of *Welsh* monarchs, sprung from a private gentleman of the Isle of Anglesea. We next passed under the dominion of a *Scottish* race, to whom a *Dutchman* was substituted, and we are now transferred to a *German* family. From Egbert down to George the Third, in the lapse of a thousand years, only one real *Englishman* properly so denominated, as sprung from a native stock, has reigned among us. I mean, the brave but unfortunate Harold, who, after struggling ten months against foreign invaders, fell by the stroke of an arrow, at the battle of Hastings, in 1066. Nothing except the yielding and passive conduct of Louis the Sixteenth, who would not resist or arrest insurrection, though he saw it organized for his destruction, could have overturned a throne so deeply established in opinion as was that of the Capets in France ! He was not beheaded, like Charles the First, after having endeavoured to defend his prerogatives. Louis, more weak than Charles the Simple, who was dethroned in the tenth century, and died a prisoner at Peronne, or than our Henry the Sixth seemed to tender his throat to the assassins.

Animal magnetism constituted at this time the rage in the French metropolis ; of which pretended discovery, Mesmer and Deslon claimed the merit. Scarcely could Plato or Epicurus have boasted of more numerous or devoted followers, than did these empirics. Their school was crowded with disciples, proselytes, or patients, of both sexes, and of all ranks. Seated round a table, amidst the appalling magnetic apparatus, with minds already prepared or subdued to the arts of the operator, they waited for the shock, or as it was technically termed, the *crisis*.

To the celebrated Beaumarchais, the Parisians owed the obligation of charming their leisure by a dramatic exhibition of extraordinary interest. I mean the "*Folle Journée*," or "*Le Mariage de Figaro*." The scene is placed at Seville. There is in the very name of Spain something that always awakens the ideas

of adventure, gallantry, and intrigue : — impressions which *Gil Blas* and *Don Quixote*, Le Sage and Cervantes, have tended to excite in the imagination. The “*Beggar’s Opera*,” when it first appeared in London, could not have been received with more enthusiasm, than was manifested for the production of Beaumarchais. *Figaro* attracted as many admirers as ever *Macheath* had done ; and Lavinia Fenton, who played the part of *Polly*, which character raised her to the rank of Duchess of Bolton, could not exceed the licentious graces displayed by Mademoiselle Contat, in *Suzanne*. I was present several times at the performance, with increased pleasure ; though, on account of various expressions or allusions contained in it, the author and the comedy lay equally under the displeasure of the court.

Among the objects of curiosity then to be seen at Paris, was the shirt which Henry the Fourth wore when he received his mortal wound from the hand of Ravallac, on the 14th day of May, 1610. It was exhibited at a booth on the “*Boulevard de Bondi*,” accompanied with every attestation that could identify it as the shirt of Henry ; which, having become at the time a perquisite of his first valet of the bedchamber, had been conveyed with care to his descendants, and on their extinction, was finally exposed to sale. The shirt was composed of cotton ornamented with a broad lace round the collar and the breast. But the circumstance that seemed most to prove its identity, was the sight of the two fractures or lacerations produced by the assassin’s knife. One was comparatively small ; while the other, corresponding with the region of the heart, disclosed a larger rent or orifice. We know that Ravallac gave the king two stabs : the first, on the ribs, when the weapon glanced off without inflicting a deep wound ; the second transfixed the heart, and deprived him of life almost on the moment ; he being suffocated in his own blood, before the coach in which he sat could reach the palace of the Louvre, at the distance of a few hundred paces. I have seen the shirt worn by Charles the First on the scaffold preserved at Lord Ashburnham’s seat, in Sussex ; which was transmitted to posterity by a colla-

teral ancestor of the present earl, who, as one of the grooms of the bedchamber, attended Charles on the 30th of January, 1649. Both these shirts appeared to have been originally almost steeped in blood, though time has discharged from them the crimson colour : but they do not produce a similar effect on the mind. Charles’s catastrophe, like that of Louis the Sixteenth, excites just compassion. Of Henry it may be asserted with truth, that though the defect of his character were great, he nevertheless occupies the highest place in our esteem and affection among the kings who have reigned in modern Europe. Notwithstanding the degree of idolatry which the French profess for his memory, we may justly remark, that in the lapse of more than two hundred years since his assassination, no prince of the blood royal has ever been christened by the name of Henry till Louis the Eighteenth so named the Duchess of Berri’s son. We learn from the “*Mémoires de St. Simon*,” and from other authentic sources, that even the bare mention of his illustrious grandfather was painful to the bigoted ears of Louis the Fourteenth. The deadly spot of Hugonotism, ineffaceable in the estimation of monks and jesuits, adhered to Henry, like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, even after his re-admission into the catholic church ; and cancelled or obscured his heroic exertions for the extrication of France from foreign and domestic enemies. Nor did Louis, environed with the pomp of Versailles, recollect without repugnance, how humble were the little courts of Pau and of Nerac, concealed among the mountains of the Pyrenees, in the distant province of Gascony ; where Henry passed his youth, an exile and a heretic, proscribed or persecuted by the last kings of the race of Valois.

Another monument which arrested my attention, was the castle of Vincennes. During the course of ten years since Louis the Sixteenth’s accession in 1774, many of the state prisons had been successively suppressed and extinguished ; a measure originating in the progressive spirit of political freedom throughout the nation, which required a relaxation of the ancient despotism. Among the objects of abolition and of retrenchment, these

receptacles of human misery presented themselves to the consideration of the Baron de Breteuil, minister of the interior. On his representation, it was determined to make a reduction in their number, throughout France, and the great tower, or "*donjon*" of the Castle of Vincennes was among the first of that description thrown open to curiosity. I visited it twice; the last time in company with the present Lord Gwydir, then Sir Peter Burrell. Several days had been employed, by order of the government, in erasing the inscriptions left on the walls of the various chambers or cells, before they were submitted in 1784 to the public eye. The genius of History seemed to accompany the visitor of this Gothic palace through the dark and winding passages; reminding him at every step, of the events that had taken place within its gloomy recesses. Here expired our Henry the Fifth in 1422, of a disease which had nearly cut short Louis the Fourteenth's career, but which the advanced state of surgical skill in the seventeenth century enabled him to surmount. Henry disappeared at the moment when he was about to ascend the throne of France, and in the full vigour of his age. Like Alexander in antiquity, he died at thirty-three; withdrawn by Providence, as if in mercy to the French and English nations. To the former, as by his decease, and the long minority of his feeble son, the Capetian line reconquered their heritage. Not less fortunately for us, since the greatest national calamities would necessarily have resulted from the annexation of England to the French monarchy. Under such circumstances, if the two countries could have permanently remained beneath the dominion of one sovereign, Paris must have become the principal seat of government, while London would have sunk, like Dublin, into the mere residence of a viceroy.

Here too, at Vincennes, Charles the Ninth of France breathed his last in 1574, before he had accomplished his twenty-fifth year. A prince, whose name, on account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which took place under his reign, is never pronounced without detestation; but, who possessed many qualities worthy the throne; courage, vigi-

lance, activity, energy, and a love of the fine arts in all their branches,—not less ardent than inspired his grandfather, Francis the First; if these noble seeds had not been choked and perverted to purposes of destruction, by his mother, Catharine of Medicis! I contemplated with no common interest, another vaulted apartment of considerable size, in which the "great Condé," his brother the Prince of Conti, and their brother-in-law the Duke de Longueville, were confined during near thirteen months, by Cardinal Mazarin, in 1650, and the following year. It is curious to reflect that the illustrious prince, who annihilated the Spanish bands at Rocroy, and whose triumphs constitute so brilliant a part of the French annals, should have passed much of his youth and middle life in prison, in exile, or in rebellion, amidst privations of every kind. My conductor did not omit to point out to me the parapet from which Francis, Duke de Beaufort, grandson of Henry the Fourth, by Gabriel d'Estree, effected his escape, in 1648, from this fortress, after having been shut up in it more than five years, by order of Anne of Austria, then regent of France. He occupied a distinguished place in the civil wars of the "Fronde," under Louis the Fourteenth's minority, but is otherwise hardly known to posterity. Among all the descendants of Henry by Gabrielle, the Duke de Vendôme alone, his great grandson, who, at the commencement of the last century, commanded the armies of Philip the Fifth in Spain with so much glory, seemed to inherit any portion of Henry's military talents. Philip remarking to him this circumstance, and observing that neither his father nor grandfather had been distinguished in the field, "Sire,"—answered the duke, "*c'est que je tire mon génie de plus loin.*"

Among all the attributes or instruments of despotism, there is not one which impresses the mind with more abhorrence, or awakens images of a more hateful description, than a state prison. Bonaparte, contemplated in the character of a destroyer, is not equally odious, as when we see in him a jailor. Perhaps we should not exaggerate, if we assume that in the progress of his flagitious in-

vasion of Spain, and in the calamitous retreat from Moscow, he sacrificed to his policy, to his ambition, or to his enmities, half a million of human beings.— Yet does he excite far more detestation, when his name is coupled with those of the Duke d'Enghien, of Toussaint-L'Ouverture, of Pichegru, and of Captain Wright; all of whom we suppose to have been sacrificed in different ways, by his secret orders, in the gloom of their cells. When Gray exclaims,

“Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,
With many a foul and midnight murder fed!”

we seem to behold passing before us the shades of those royal and noble victims, who in different ages have fallen beneath the dagger, or by more concealed and atrocious means. Such as the Tower of London is described by Gray, were the castles appropriated to the reception of state criminals under Louis the Thirteenth, when Cardinal Richelieu filled them with the first nobility of France. Many of the memoirs written during that period of time, and transmitted to us, were composed by persons immured in the Bastile, at Vincennes. The arbitrary temper of Louis the Fourteenth, inflamed, during the last thirty years of his reign, by a spirit of intolerant bigotry, maintained the same detestable system, and crowded with unfortunate individuals, the fortresses allotted for their detention. We may see in the charming Memoirs of Madame de Stahl, who was herself a prisoner in the Bastile, how full were its apartments between 1717 and 1720, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The conspiracies of various kinds, set on foot under the auspices of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, in order to dispossess that prince of the supreme authority in France, compelled him, contrary to his natural disposition, to immure his enemies in the various castles scattered throughout the French territories. Louis the Fifteenth, indolent, as well as unfeeling in his natural disposition; and towards the conclusion of his career, lost, like Tiberius at Capræa, to shame and to public decorum; allowed his ministers or his mistresses to issue “*lettres de cachet*,” on the slightest pretences. But the natural benignity of

his successor, however torpid, led him to reject all measures of severity. It was more in consequence of the relaxation of the royal power, than from the exertion of its despotism, that the monarchy was first shaken, and finally subverted. When, in July, 1789, the insurgent populace, aided by the “*Gardes Françaises*,” burst into the Bastile, they found throughout that edifice only seven captives. A century earlier, in 1689, if a similar insurrection had taken place, every subterranean dungeon, cell, and chamber, on the different floors, up to the *calottes* or circular vaulted rooms in which the towers all terminated, would have exhibited one or more unfortunate tenants. So much had the humane character of the monarch, aided by the spirit of the times, already mitigated the kingly authority, previous to the commencement of the French revolution!

Conversing, in the month of June, 1798, with Sir Sydney Smith, who was then in London, relative to his detention in the *Temple*, from which prison he had effected his escape only about four weeks; he assured me that in the room which had been occupied by Louis XVI. where he was himself confined during three-and-twenty months, there remained no inscription, trace, or vestige of that ill-fated prince,—so carefully had they been all erased. But, he added, that he had himself left, in a very obscure corner of the chamber, a short note addressed to Bonaparte; who, he doubted not, would, sooner or later, succeed him there. He repeated to me the words of the billet, which contained some advice to Napoleon, accompanied with very severe animadversions on the conduct of the Directory. Sir Sydney told me that the jailor or keeper of the *Temple* had allowed him to sup in Paris, not less than twelve different evenings, during his abode in that prison. On these occasions, he always pledged his word of honour to be there again by a certain hour, never exceeding half-past nine; and he fulfilled his engagement with scrupulous exactitude. Little difficulty, he said, was experienced in getting him out of the *Temple*; but very great precautions became necessary to secure his return into it, undiscovered.— Nearly about the same period, I had more than

one conversation with Lieutenant Wright, Sir Sydney's brave and unhappy comrade, who had been shut up with him in the Temple. As he was captured with Sir Sydney at the time when the frigate having grounded near the mouth of the Seine, not far from Havre de Grace, surrendered to the enemy; so he likewise recovered his liberty in May, 1798. On the 15th of the following month, I called on Mr. Wright at the Prince of Wales's Hotel, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, when he made me the following recital. "I was confined," said he, "for nearly two years, in the room where the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, had been immured. My first employment was to ascertain by a most minute and accurate search over every part of the chamber, whether either she, or her daughter, or the Princess Elizabeth her sister-in-law, had left behind them any memorial of their residence. After the strictest examination, I could discover only two such indications. The first was an inscription, as I apprehend, in the queen's hand-writing, and contained these few words:

'La tour du Temple est l'Enfer.'

Near it were two marks, one above the other, scratched on the wall, which, I imagine, indicated the respective height of her two children. The second inscription, which had been pricked or delineated by Madame Royale, was to this effect:

'Marie Therese Charlotte est la plus malheureuse personne du monde. Elle ne peut pas recevoir des nouvelles de son pere, ni de sa mere, quoique elle l'est demandé milles fois.'

No doubt, these lines were written subsequent to the separation of that unhappy family."

I copied them, as they here appear, from the original paper in Sir Sydney Smith's possession. The inaccuracies of expression, by which the princess used *recevoir* instead of *procurer*, and the word "*l'est*" where she should have written "*l'a*it," when venting her woes, like the daughter of Pandion, to the walls of her prison;—these errors cannot surprise, if we reflect that she was only

thirteen years and eight months old at the time when she accompanied her father and mother to the Temple. After that lamentable day, her mind could not have been in a state to receive many aids of education or improvement.

Before I quit the subject of the Temple, I cannot help remarking on the singular fact of Napoleon's having demolished that edifice to the last stone. I visited the spot where it once stood, three times in the course of the year 1816. Grass now covers the place; and small stakes, driven into the ground, from one to the other of which cords are stretched, mark the exact figure, as well as dimensions, of the two turrets where the king, queen, and royal family were confined. Not a remain of the ancient structure exists, more than survives of Babylon or of Troy. What were the motives that impelled the Corsican emperor to level it with the earth? Certainly, not attachment, or respect, or commiseration for the Bourbons, whom he persecuted, dreaded, and destroyed when they fell into his power. It can only be explained on the supposition, universally credited at Paris, that he regarded the castle which had immured the last sovereigns of the Capetian line, as a building of evil omen, on which he feared to fix his eyes; within whose walls, that had so often witnessed the piercing lamentations of the illustrious captives there detained, a change of fortune might at any moment confine himself. He therefore commanded and completed its demolition.

The English ministers of the year 1815 have incurred some censure for having transferred Napoleon, when he threw himself on their generosity, to a rock in the other hemisphere. But, what fortress could securely hold an individual of such colossal dimensions? Happily, we have no state prisons. Neither Dumbarton Castle, nor the Tower of London would have been a safe place of detention. A popular commotion might set him free at any moment, and place him at the head of a revolutionary army in the centre of the kingdom. The consciousness that he existed in the midst of us, must have operated of itself to produce insurrection. It was of the last necessity, to remove

him to a distance from Europe. But, to irritate him, after his fall, by perpetual insults; to send out a governor for the express purpose, and to accelerate his end by premeditated acts of unnecessary severity; for these infractions of humanity, our ministers must answer to posterity.

October. — A singular accident befell the king soon after my return from Paris to London, which, however, was happily unattended with any injurious consequences during the whole course of his reign, as he discharged scrupulously the great duties imposed on him by Providence, when he was placed at the head of the British empire and constitution; so he did not fail in regularly performing the minor obligations required of him in his kingly character. Among the latter functions, was comprehended the act of holding levees and drawing-rooms. With such punctual and unremitting accuracy did he receive the compliments of his nobility and gentry at St. James's, that, during winter, two weekly levees always took place; namely, on the Wednesday and the Friday; to which was added a third, during the meeting of parliament after Christmas, on Mondays, intended particularly for members of the house of commons. The queen generally held her drawing-room every Thursday throughout the winter, at which his majesty never failed to be present; thus devoting a large portion of four mornings out of seven, for a great part of the year, to this tiresome ceremony. It must, however, be owned that no prince ever seemed to suffer less, while so employed, than George the Third. Far from endeavouring to accelerate its termination, he always appeared desirous of prolonging it. I have frequently seen him detain the queen more than half an hour, after she had done the honours of the circle, and seemed extenuated with fatigue, while he engaged in an endless *tête-à-tête* with a foreign minister or an agreeable courtier. No princess in Europe conducted herself with more suavity, ease and condescension, in her own drawing-room, than did her present majesty. In that act, as in every other throughout her whole life, she has evinced excellent common sense, great command over

herself, and admirable judgment. During more than half a century that she has resided in this island, placed continually in most delicate and difficult circumstances, she has not made a single false step. In consequence of the frequency and regularity of levees, they were often thinly attended; and it was not unusual for the king, who always came early to St. James's, to find himself ready for commencing the ceremony before a sufficient number of persons had assembled for the purpose. He then usually sent out the groom of the bed-chamber in waiting, to reconnoitre the ground, and to report to him on the subject. His levees were held (most appropriately) in a bedchamber of very moderate dimensions, joining the closet, properly and technically so denominated, into which he generally retired when the levee concluded. That bed-chamber might with reason be deemed classic ground, as in it took place the birth of James the Second's son, in 1688. The foreign ministers ranged themselves at the levees of George the Third, from the fireplace, along the foot of the bed. With those representatives of crowned heads, his majesty rarely failed to enter into diffuse conversations; so that by the time he approached the door of the apartment, he commonly found a great crowd pressing for notice. As he talked with one individual, he cast his regards, from time to time, on the person who stood next; thus anticipating, and preparing himself, before he began a new dialogue.

I observed that an accident befell the king, which might have been followed by serious consequences. It happened in the following manner. Towards the beginning of October, his majesty, whose punctuality in holding his levees I have already noticed, leaving Windsor, set out on horseback from the Queen's Lodge, at half-past eight on a Wednesday morning, notwithstanding the very threatening aspect of the weather. He was only attended by Major Manners (now the general of that name), who happened to be his equerry in waiting, and a groom. Before they reached Colnbrook, it began to rain with violence; but the king, wrapping himself in his great-coat, pushed on at greater speed.

As he passed over Turnham Green, a countryman, dressed in a common smock-frock, mounted on a sort of cart-house, and advancing at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, encountered him. His majesty attempting to pass between him and a loaded wagon going towards London, received a blow on one of his knees from the man, and had nearly been thrown upon the wagon. Major Manners, who was close behind, and who saw the accident without being able to prevent it, riding up to the fellow, while he doubled his horsewhip, after some execrations, exclaimed, "You scoundrel, don't you see it is the king?" The unfortunate countryman, thus rudely accosted, remaining motionless and speechless, while Manners and the servant both seemed about to inflict chastisement on him; the king instantly interposed. "Don't strike him on any account," said his majesty. "He has hurt my knee; but it was altogether an accident. I shall receive no injury from it." So saying, he continued his journey towards London. General Manners assured me, that on looking back, so long as he could perceive the man, he remained still nearly in the same attitude and posture like a person overcome with amazement, in the middle of the high road. Before noon his majesty arrived at the queen's house, and his first endeavour was exerted to procure some arquebusade: but, in consequence of the violence of the rain, all the domestics assuming as certain that he would come in a carriage, and would drive straight to St. James's, scarcely any person could be found in attendance. A maid-servant having at length brought him the arquebusade, his majesty pulled down his stockings; and while Manners held the bottle, the king rubbed his knee, which was black, and had received a great contusion. But, after having plentifully bathed the part affected, he immediately got into his sedan chair, repaired to St. James's, dressed himself, and held his levee, precisely as though no misadventure had befallen him.

November.—In the autumn, the king availing himself of Lord Waldegrave's decease, who was colonel of the Coldstream regiment of Guards, conferred the command on his own second son,

Prince Frederic. . About a month subsequent, his majesty created him Duke of York and Albany; by the former of which titles he has since been known, instead of Bishop of Osnabrugh, as he was previously designated in common conversation. Desirous to remove him from the society of his elder brother, and at the same time to render him acquainted with Germany, particularly the Electoral dominions; George the Third, as early as the close of the year 1781, had sent him over to Hanover. From that city, which constituted his residence and his head-quarters, he made occasional excursions to the Prussian, Saxon, and Austrian courts; with a view principally to the attainment of military knowledge, in order that he might in due time fill the important post of commander-in-chief, destined for him by his father. George the Second had in like manner placed his second son at the head of the British army. That the present king, from a very early age, regarded Frederic with predilection, is a fact too well known to need any proof. Nor can we wonder at his feeling a preference towards a prince, in whose person, manners, and the leading features of his character or deportment, he beheld himself much more faithfully reflected than in the Prince of Wales.

The political sky being 'now calm, and the first minister confirmed in power, towards the conclusion of November two creations took place, on which the eyes of the whole kingdom were turned with interest. I have already had occasion to remark, that with the late Marquis of Rockingham, who died in July, 1782, expired the gradation or title of marquis in this country. During nearly two years and a half, that rank of the peerage was, if I may so express myself, blotted out of the Red Book of England, while three marquises then existed in Scotland. In Ireland the title had never been introduced. To this rank, therefore, Earl Temple and the Earl of Shelburne were now raised. The former nobleman, who stood in a close degree of consanguinity to the chancellor of the exchequer,—besides his hereditary claims, and his vast landed property, sustained by great parliamentary interest, might justly plead his recent services to the

sovereign. He first of all the nobility in the realm, having demanded an audience of the king, had disclosed to him the dangerous nature of Fox's "East India Bill," and its provisions as they regarded the crown; facts which impelled his majesty to adopt vigorous measures for arresting its further progress. The title of Buckingham was conferred on him; which as a dukedom awakens recollections that carry us back to the Tudor, and even to the Plantagenet times. It was revived by James the First, in the person of his favourite Villiers. Queen Anne bestowed, on Sheffield Earl of Musgrave, the dukedom, not of Buckingham, but of Buckinghamshire. In consequence of Lord Temple's being raised to the marquissate, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who had been previously accustomed to omit the last syllable, and to call as well as to sign himself *Buckingham*, became compelled to resume the former denomination and signature: a necessity with which he somewhat reluctantly complied. The Marquis of Buckingham, like his two younger brothers, possessed strong intellectual powers, sustained by a most retentive memory, by habits of application, and inexhaustible information upon almost every subject. While lord-lieutenant of Ireland, during the Earl of Shelburne's administration, I believe he gave as much satisfaction to the nobility and people of that island, as any man could do whose disinclination to wine or conviviality led him to pass little time at table, and to devote himself almost entirely to the labour of the cabinet. His faculties appear nevertheless to have been adapted more to ornament private life, than for conducting public business. By his hasty acceptance of the post of secretary of state in December, 1783, and his still more hasty resignation of it, scarcely forty-eight hours afterwards, he had nearly upset Pitt's administration before it was well constituted. To the office of first lord of the admiralty, he always anxiously aspired; but Fortune was not equally propitious to his wishes, as she had shown herself to those of the Duke of Richmond, in placing him at the head of the ordnance. During Pitt's long ministry, Lord Buckingham's talents were only once called out, as lord-

lieutenant of Ireland, after the Duke of Rutland's death; and he passed his life in dignified repose at Stow; residing little in London, nor appearing often in the house of peers. On the arrival of Louis the Eighteenth and his expatriated family in this country, when compelled to quit the Russian territories, the noble hospitality with which he received, lodged, and entertained those illustrious fugitives, excited high admiration. They were treated by him and the marchioness with the same honours and testimonies of respect (even to the formalities of royal etiquette, none of which were omitted), as if the king had been seated on the throne of his ancestors, and had visited England merely for amusement.

If the dignity bestowed on Lord Temple awakened attention, much greater speculation arose on the supposed motives of the minister, for elevating the Earl of Shelburne to the same rank in the peerage, by the title of Lansdown. An evident coldness, if not alienation, had long subsisted between him and Pitt; nor had Lord Shelburne taken any part in the discussions in the upper house of parliament, during the course of the late session. At the time of his resignation in February, 1783, reports injurious to his public character had been industriously spread by his political enemies. Pitt defended him, it is true, in the house of commons, with indignant warmth, from those aspersions; but it was naturally demanded by men attentive to the course of events, Why, if Mr. Pitt is convinced of the falsity of such imputations, did he not associate his former principal to the new cabinet, when he himself became first minister in the following month of December? I confess that this fact appeared to me, for a long time, difficult of solution or of explanation, except by supposing that Pitt had discovered reasons for believing the charges to be true, which he had antecedently reprobated, as destitute of foundation. But I am inclined, on more recent information, to consider the accusations as altogether calumnious. The elevation of Lord Shelburne from the rank of an English baron, to which dignity his father had been raised by George the Second in 1760, to that of a marquis, thus overleaping two gradations of the

British peerage, might be considered by his former political pupil as an ample remuneration for having originally brought him forward into administration. The title of Shelburne, it should be remembered, was only an *Irish* earldom. I know, indeed, that the marquise was understood to have been *given*, and to have been *accepted* as a *receipt in full* for all past demands; but that it did not produce any cordial co-operation or union between the giver and the receiver, became fully manifest by Lord Lansdown's subsequent conduct in parliament.

December.—As if Pitt had intended to show that the augmentation of *rank* conferred on Lord Shelburne, was designed to operate as an extinguisher on all prospective expectations of *employment*; the cabinet office of privy seal, which, ever since the Duke of Rutland's nomination to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, had been put into commission, was now filled up with the name of Earl Gower. That nobleman, who had previously occupied the post of president of the council, made way for Lord Camden; facilitating probably thereby his own elevation, within little more than a year, to the same rank which had just been bestowed on Lord Temple, and on Lord Shelburne. Early in 1786 he was created Marquis of Stafford. His abilities were moderate, but his person and manners had in them great dignity. His vast property, when added to his alliances of consanguinity, or of marriage, with the first ducal families in this country; the Rutlands, Bedfords, Dorsets, and Bridgewaters; rendered him one of the most considerable subjects in the kingdom.

At this time, having survived the tempests by which the capital and the court had been so long agitated, expired Dr. Samuel Johnson: a name which cannot be pronounced without veneration! I consider him as the most illustrious and universal man of letters whom I have personally known in my time; because I contemplate Burke more as an orator than as an author, whatever fame he may have acquired by his writings. Gibbon's reputation, however deservedly high, is limited to a single branch of composition, and to a single work. With Hume

and Robertson, I was not acquainted. Adam Smith, Jacob Bryant, and Horace Walpole—all of whom I knew—eminent as were their talents, could not, on the whole, sustain a competition with Johnson. Those persons, who, like Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, cannot dispense with elegance of manners, and who prefer urbanity before the greatest intellectual powers, must necessarily have estimated Johnson as “a respectable hottentot.” Such he frequently was when in company. Such I have, myself, found him. But such, likewise, as we know, was Swift, whose cynical and morose temper often set at defiance all the rules of polished society. With Addison, it has always appeared to me that Johnson may be more aptly compared, than with any other writer of eminence who flourished during the course of the eighteenth century. Both were moralists, both poets. Both have left us their travels; Addison, through Italy; Johnson, to the Hebrides. As the former composed only one tragedy, “*Cato*,” so the latter produced only a single tragic piece, “*Irene*.” If, as must be allowed, the superiority in that walk of composition rests decidedly with Addison; we shall probably be led to admit, on the other hand, that none of his poetical works, neither “*Blenheim*,” nor the “*Letter to the Earl of Halifax*,” elegant and classic as they are, can be placed in competition with the “*Imitations of the Third, and of the Tenth, Satires of Juvenal*.” “*The Rambler*,” though not equal to “*The Spectator*,” yet cannot be rated very far below it. And, after discussing their respective merits as men of genius, what shall we say to the labours of Johnson? His Dictionary stands alone as a monument of human ability, perseverance and knowledge. We can oppose to it nothing on the part of Addison. It is true that he wrote a comedy, on which experiment Johnson never ventured: but “*The Drummer*,” though it may serve to prove that Addison *could* woo the comic muse (just as “*The Mourning Bride*” may be cited to show that Congreve *could* compose a tragedy); yet does not serve greatly to augment the measure of his fame. Besides, “*Rasselas*” more than counterbalances it.

On the whole, I believe, that in 1818, the name of Addison may stand highest in general estimation: but I am by no means sure of its maintaining that pre-eminence a century hence. Notwithstanding his constitutional fear of dissolution, Johnson died at last with great serenity and resignation; preserving undiminished his faculties, at more than seventy-five; a prerogative denied by Providence to Swift. He was followed to the grave by Burke, who had not omitted to visit him during his illness; by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and by many other men of literary eminence. He has no monument erected to him in Westminster Abbey; nor did he indeed need any sepulchral honours, inscriptions, or panegyrics: Boswell has transmitted him to the latest posterity. The flat stone that covers his remains in Poet's Corner, on which I have lately stood, awakens involuntary sentiments of admiration and respect.

January, 1785. — We are now arrived at a period of time, which presents a striking contrast to the portion of George the Third's reign that we have hitherto reviewed. From the meeting of parliament, towards the close of 1780, down to its dissolution in March, 1784, the whole interval exhibits a scene of fermentation, approaching to convulsion. Twice the government had been wholly suspended. First, during six weeks subsequent to Lord Shelburne's resignation in February, 1783; and again, for a considerably longer space, while Pitt and the *coalition* contended for power. Five administrations had rapidly succeeded each other. Even when Pitt, having finally surmounted all opposition, might be said almost to dictate his pleasure to the new parliament; yet the troubled waves did not instantly subside. The great struggle carried on in Westminster, which was ultimately decided in Fox's favour, by "the interposition of female charms," far more than by his own exertions, or the efforts of his friends; had no sooner terminated, than his persecution commenced within the walls of the house of commons. Overborne by numbers, he could only appeal to the justice of another session, and to the operation of time on the minds of his opponents. The new "East India Bill,"

which followed, gave rise to the most acrimonious discussions. But, with the prorogation, a calm took place; and from the autumn of 1784, down to that of 1788, the sterility of political events may be said to equal their multiplicity and importance during the four preceding years. The court of George the Third — if a prince who led a patriarchal life in the bosom of his family could be said properly to have had any court — never furnished other than scanty materials; and parliament, subdued by the ability, or captivated by the eloquence of Pitt, no longer presented an arena on which the two candidates for power triumphed in their turn. Fox, supported only by a few steady adherents, still maintained indeed an unequal conflict; but, till the king's alarming seizure, and temporary privation of intellect in October, 1788, took place, administration scarcely acknowledged any limits to their influence over the legislative body.

25th January. — A species of compulsory unanimity characterized the opening of the session. The minister, probably mindful of the severe animadversions which had been thrown upon the prolixity, as well as on the ambiguity of the speech pronounced by his majesty, two years earlier, when the Earl of Shelburne presided in the councils of the crown, and when he was himself chancellor of the exchequer; seemed on the present occasion to have studied brevity, if not perspicuity. Lord Surrey nevertheless rising, not only demanded an explanation of various obscure passages contained in it; but arraigned its general composition, as presenting matter of strong disapprobation, or rather of alarm; while Burke accused the administration of renewing in their persons the "*Tyrii bilingues*" of Virgil. No division was, however, attempted. Every thing bent before the new minister; and such unquestionably would have been the spirit manifested by the house, if Pitt had limited his demands to measures of general or of national policy. The junction of Lord North and Fox, followed at a short interval by their "East India Bill," had excited such universal condemnation, that it became necessary for Pitt to commit some act by which he should diminish his high reputation

before his opponents could at all contend with him in parliament. During the whole period of time since the elevation of the Hanover family to the throne, no house of commons, in the lapse of seventy years, had been chosen on principles so pure as the body of men who met in 1784. Scarcely any money was disbursed by the treasury, at least on this side of the Tweed, for the purpose of securing elections. Enthusiasm and loyalty, or, as Fox pretended, imposture and delusion, rendered almost unnecessary such unconstitutional means of procuring support. It forms matter of regret, that Pitt should have lent himself to acts which could be interpreted as vindictive, or allied to the spirit of persecution. But, no sooner did he adopt those measures, than he instantly found the limit of his own ascendancy over the very individuals who on almost all other points followed him with a sort of implicit submission.

The scrutiny, granted by the high bailiff of Westminster, while he at the same time refused to make any return of members, as the precept enjoined him to do, formed in itself a violation of the constitution. It was besides most oppressive towards Fox, who ought to have been seated, leaving Sir Cecil Wray to seek redress by petition. Even Lord Hood seemed to forget his own dignity, while thus acquiescing in his exclusion from the house of commons, with a view to favour the ministerial purposes. Westminster remained wholly unrepresented. Meanwhile the scrutiny proceeded, though, of necessity, with a slow pace; the expense attending it, which was enormous, being supported by the Dukes of Devonshire, Portland, and the other great leaders of the Whig party; as Fox possessed no funds whatsoever, and scarcely could raise money sufficient for his personal subsistence. His creditors had even become so numerous or importunate about this time, that his effects and books being seized at his lodgings, contiguous to Brookes's, in St. James's street, and sold; he was reduced, during a few days or weeks, to take refuge at the house of a friend, Mr. Moore, in Sackville-street, Piccadilly. Dudley Long, who has since assumed the name of North, and who represented the bo-

rough of Grimsby in successive parliaments, enjoyed a distinguished place in Fox's friendship. He was, indeed, one of Fox's most steady adherents, and had been destined for the office of a supreme counsellor in Bengal, if the memorable "East India Bill" of 1783 had been carried into effect. Few men of his time possessed greater convivial powers, enlivened by wit. Fox, whose pecuniary embarrassments were universally recognized, being attacked by a severe indisposition, which confined him to his apartment, Dudley Long frequently visited him. In the course of conversation, Fox alluding to his complaints, remarked that he was compelled to observe much regularity in his diet and hours; adding, "I live by rule, like clock-work." "Yes," replied Dudley, "I suppose you mean that you go *tick, tick, tick*."

1st—9th February. — Welbore Ellis, the patriarch of the opposition, commenced the proceedings relative to the Westminster scrutiny, by moving for the attendance of the high bailiff at the bar. His examination, followed by that of his two assessors, Mr. Hargrave, and Arthur Murphy (the latter of whom has attained to higher eminence in our time, as a man of letters, than to legal distinction in Westminster Hall), — was accompanied by circumstances of great party violence. Corbett, the high bailiff, assailed by questions calculated to force from him disclosures favourable to Fox, manifested not only reluctance in answering, but ingenuity in evading inquiries. At the head of the ministerial advocates and defenders, stood forward Lord Mulgrave, who might be considered as in the high road to a British peerage. To that dignity he had indeed some pretensions, being descended in the maternal line from the celebrated Lord Hervey, the *Sporus* of Pope; as well as from the Annesleys, Earls of Anglesea. After having strenuously supported, during successive sessions, the Earl of Sandwich, then first lord of the admiralty; he had followed Dundas's example, by joining the new administration. While Murphy remained under examination, Fox perceiving his dislike to give evidence on certain points connected with the scrutiny, observed that "the gentleman seemed unwilling to make a plain answer to a plain

question." Lord Mulgrave instantly rising, severely animadverted on Fox's expression, as not only unbecoming, but insulting to Murphy. Far, however, from conceding or apologizing, Fox repeated it; adding, "The noble lord may assume, if he pleases, the office of my censor. There is no man in this assembly whose censure I hold in less consideration. But he never shall compel me to retract a single syllable of my assertion."

9th February. — Ellis having moved for an immediate return of the *precept*, the debate which ensued brought forward to public notice, for the first time, one of the most accomplished orators and individuals whom we have beheld in our day. I mean, Mr. William Windham. He had been chosen member for the city of Norwich, at the late general election, notwithstanding his well-known predilection for Fox, and his slender patrimonial property, which then scarcely exceeded twelve hundred pounds a year. His person was graceful, elegant, and distinguished; slender, but not meagre. The lineaments of his countenance, though they displayed the ravages of the small-pox, were pleasing, and retained a character of animation, blended with spirit and intelligence. Over his whole figure, nature had thrown an air of mind. His manners corresponded with his external appearance; and his conversation displayed the treasures of a highly cultivated understanding. Ardent in his love of civil liberty, for the preservation of which blessing, I believe, he would as cheerfully have shed his blood as did Hampden or Sidney; it was constitutional freedom that he venerated, not a republican and impracticable emancipation from limited monarchical government. Strongly attached to Fox by private friendship, as well as by political ties, he nevertheless quitted his leader, when Fox persisted to justify and to panegyrisé the sanguinary republic of France, in defiance of its enormities and excesses.

To Burke, Windham unquestionably bore some analogy; and on his shoulders may be said to have descended the mantle of Burke, when he finally quitted the house of commons. If Windham fell below him in general or in classic knowledge, he might be esteemed Burke's

equal in the splendour and variety of his imagery, his command of language, and his wild but finely sustained flights into the regions of fancy. In suavity of disposition, and control over himself, Windham was his superior; — for, either from irritability of temper, intensity of feeling, strength of prejudices, or violent of party spirit, Burke frequently became unmanageable, and exhibited a spectacle distressing to his friends. There was in Windham's eloquence, an eccentricity and originality of phrase peculiarly his own; picturesque, but full of energy: as, for instance, when in 1809, after the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley having been raised by ministers at once to the dignity of a viscount, Windham observed upon it, that "he disapproved of Sir Arthur's being thus elevated over a whole gradation of the peerage, because if he made two more such leaps, the *Red Book would not hold him*." Windham's talents, brilliant and various as they were, always however appeared to me more adapted to speculate, than to practical life; rather fitted for the university, than for the cabinet; better calculated to excite admiration in the house of commons, than formed, by wise counsels and measures, to sustain, or to extricate, an embarrassed empire. The ill-fated expedition under Sombreuil, sent to perish at Quiberon, in 1795; and the unfortunate selection of General Whitelocke for the command of the troops against Buenos-Ayres, some years later; are both to be imputed, eminently, if not exclusively, to Windham. I am of opinion, that if Burke had ever been admitted into the cabinet, he would have displayed a similar want of judgment. Neither the one nor the other were statesmen, though they abounded in genius, learning, fancy, and prodigious powers of declamation.

Pitt replied on that evening, not to Fox, but to Sheridan; whose charges or recriminations, pointed with equal wit and severity, forced the chancellor of the exchequer to rise in his own defence. Windham gave great promise of future eminence. Fox, after exhausting every argument drawn from the statute law of England, from the immemorial practice of parliament, and from general reason, applicable to the case, apostrophized his adversary in the most animated terms

"I too well perceive," observed he, "that the minister's object in sustaining the scrutiny, is only to persecute an individual whom he honours by making him the victim of private resentment. I have always emulated to stand fair with him. It has been my pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution: little suspecting that he would so soon desert his principles, and become the agent of that very secret influence which he had so long and so successfully laboured to overturn. I was always prepared to find in him a formidable rival, who in the race of glory would leave me far behind: but I believed him incapable of descending to be my persecutor."

"I protest," continued Fox, "when I heard that the brightest ornaments of England had fallen sacrifices to popular delusion; that Lord John Cavendish had lost his seat at York; that Mr. Coke and General Conway had been treated in a similar manner by their constituents; I regretted having been deprived of the distinction of suffering in such society. But, it is obviously intended to weary out my friends by expense. A sum of thirty thousand pounds a year will be swallowed up on the two sides. *My own last shilling may soon be got at—for I am poor. Yet in such a cause I will lay down my last shilling.* If ultimately I lose my election, it will be for want of money, not from want of a legal majority of votes; while Westminster will be deprived of its franchise, because I am unable to prosecute a pecuniary contest with the treasury." These concluding words contained so strong a charge against administration, that they could not remain without reply. Pitt having already spoken at great length, Dundas therefore presented himself to the house. After treating as a matter of derision, Fox's assertion, that he had been selected by ministers for an object of oppression, Dundas accused him with converting the electors of Westminster into instruments of systematic faction and sedition. Irritated at such an imputation, Fox declared it to be a direct falsehood: but his adversary, neither disconcerted nor betrayed into warmth, contented himself with firmly repeating his opinion.

About five o'clock in the morning, a division took place on Lord Mulgrave's

amendment to Ellis's motion; by which the high bailiff, though he was not precluded from making a *return*, yet received indirect encouragement to proceed in the scrutiny, accelerating as much as possible its progress. It now became evident how unpopular a measure the minister had adopted:—for, instead of the overwhelming majorities which throughout the preceding session sustained him upon every question, he could only carry the amendment by thirty-nine, though above three hundred members voted. Fox, no less than his friends, regarding such a division as a triumph, already prepared to renew the subject under another parliamentary form.

10th — 18th February. — Colonel Fitzpatrick having presented a second petition from the electors of Westminster, requesting to be heard by counsel at the bar, as they had new facts to state; it was opposed by Lord Frederic Campbell. He was the son of the beautiful Miss Bellenden, maid of honour to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline; and whose virtue resisted the seduction of George the Second, previous to his ascending the throne. Lord Frederic had already passed his fiftieth year, but he still retained all the graces that he had inherited from his mother. His figure united a symmetry with elegance; and his manners, noble, yet soft; dignified, yet devoid of any pride or affectation; conciliated all who approached him. Devoid of shining talents, he nevertheless wanted not either ability or eloquence in a certain degree, both which were under the control of reason and of temper. He had sat in many parliaments, and was attached to the crown, if not to the government, by a lucrative place, the lord registrar of Scotland.

When about forty years of age, he married the Dowager Countess Ferrers, widow of the unfortunate Laurence Shirley, Earl Ferrers, who expiated by a public execution, in 1760, the crime of having premeditatedly shot his steward. She had, however, been separated from him by act of parliament, some years earlier, on account of his ill treatment. Sir William Meredith, who made no inconsiderable figure in parliament, in

office, and in public life, during the first years of the present reign, was her brother. Miss Meredith, who, when young, possessed great personal attractions, walking with her sisters in the Mall, in St. James's Park, was accosted by a woman who demanded charity, offering at the same time to tell her fortune. On being repulsed for her importunity by Miss Mary Meredith (of whom I am now speaking), the woman, irritated, said to her. "You think yourself very pretty; but you are born to marry a man who will be hanged." Probably, this story, like other similar predictions, was made subsequent to the fact which it pretended to foretell. That a very singular and sinister destiny attended her through life, must, however, be admitted, when I add that she was burned to death in her bed, at Lord Frederic's seat of Coomb Bank, in Kent, together with the house itself. This melancholy event took place not more than eleven years ago, when she must have been about seventy. Her husband survived her nine years, dying in 1816, at above four-score; still elegant and distinguished even in decay.

21st February.—The question before the house being "that counsel should be heard at the bar, for the purpose of stating new facts," Lord Frederic moved an amendment to Fitzpatrick's motion, calculated to restrain "the introduction of any extraneous or offensive matter." A long debate ensued, government carrying the point by a majority of fifty-one; 203 sustaining administration, while only 145 supported Fox. The triumph was nevertheless dearly purchased, because it took place in contradiction to public opinion. During the course of the evening, a proposition was made on the part of Sir Cecil Wray, tending, as he asserted, to accelerate the termination of the scrutiny; but Fox rejected it with contempt. "I believe," said he, "Sir Cecil to be himself an honest gentleman, though the proposal now conveyed in his name is the result of unexampled impudence and effrontery." Erskine and Pigot being called in after the division, as counsel, the former, in their joint names, informed the Speaker, that "as they could not submit to the restraint imposed on them by the

recent decision of the house, they requested permission to withdraw from the bar. The high bailiff having, however, been again examined, the discussion was renewed; Fitzpatrick moving that "he should be directed to make an immediate return of the members chosen for Westminster." Here Pitt may be said to have first found the limits of his parliamentary supremacy; for he could only negative the motion by *nine*, though above 280 members voted on the occasion. Such a majority was, in fact, defeat.

Among the individuals who generally supported him, but who spoke as well as voted against him on that night, was Mr. Bankes, one of the representatives for Corff Castle: a borough of which he was known to possess the complete command, and to return both the members. He has indeed continued so to do for near forty-years; and at the hour when I am now writing, in April, 1818, he, together with his son, sit in parliament for the same place. Brought up with Pitt at Cambridge, nearly of the same age, and allied by the closest friendship, Bankes had received from the chancellor of the exchequer the most public, as well as flattering proofs of predilection and confidence. To him, in December, 1783, Pitt delegated his ministerial functions within the walls of the house of commons, during the short, but very critical period, that elapsed between his acceptance of office and his re-election for Appleby. Nor did Bankes prove himself incapable of so important a trust. His talents compensated by their calm solidity, for the want of brilliancy. His enunciation, slow, formal, precise, and not without some degree of embarrassment, was nevertheless always controlled by judgment, caution, and good sense. No man displayed more rectitude of intention, independence of mind, and superiority to every private object of interest, or of ambition. These qualities formed indeed the impediments to his elevation: for, whoever considers his ample patrimonial fortune, his intimacy with the minister, and his parliamentary interest, cannot doubt that he must have attained to the peerage at an early period of his life, if he had not himself obstructed his own entrance into that assembly.

We have beheld a banker transformed into a British peer, and placed by Pitt, in 1797, on the bench of barons. But he exhibited a very different degree of personal and political devotion from Bankes, whose attachment to his friend was always restrained and regulated by high public principle. I remember that, on the division of the 9th of February, and again on the 21st, after the agitation of the *scrutiny*, Robert Smith was one of the *tellers* on the ministerial side; while Bankes voted with Fox. Lord Mulgrave was on one, if not on both occasions, the other *teller*. Smith and Phipps reached the upper house. Bankes still remains a commoner. Pitt did not possess enlargement or nobility of mind enough to forgive him for exercising his parliamentary independence, when it came into collision with his own favourite measures. *Tout ou rien*, was his maxim; and like the goddess immortalized by Pope, he seemed on a day of debate to say to his followers,

"Here strip my children, here at once leap in,
And try who best can dash through thick and thin!"

In making these observations I am only impelled by truth: for, I believe, in the course of my whole life I never conversed during five minutes with Bankes, whose manners were altogether cold, repulsive, and destitute of amenity. He was not, indeed, the only member of the house whom a strong sense of justice and rectitude induced, though in contradiction to his ordinary line of conduct, to oppose by his voice, as well as by his vote, the continuance of the *scrutiny*. Martin member for Tewksbury, whose incorruptible integrity compensated for the mediocrity of his talents, followed Bankes's example. Such instances of defection eloquently spoke the general sense of the country on the treatment experienced by Fox.

16th — 24th February. — The expenditure of the public money in Bengal was brought forward as matter of criminality against ministers, by Francis, at this time. Pitt and Dundas defended the measures of the board of control; leaving to Major Scott the task of repelling the charges preferred against Hastings, for

profusion, oppression, and mal-administration of the revenues. In the progress of these investigations, Burke, availing himself of the ascendancy which his talents and eloquence conferred on him, endeavoured to silence his adversary, by questioning him relative to the nature of his connexion with the governor-general. Scott, while he by no means denied that he acted as Hastings's agent—a quality of which, he said, he was proud,—retorted on Burke, whom he accused of being himself virtually a minister of the Rajah of Tanjore. "I know as a fact," added Scott, "that he waited in person on the late chairman of the court of directors, on behalf of the rajah; and his near relative (William Burke) avowedly resides at this time as agent in the court of Tanjore." Thus attacked, Burke threw over himself, as he always did on similar occasions, the shield of denial; accompanied with solemn declarations of his own purity, disinterestedness, and superiority to every pecuniary consideration. After protesting upon his honour that he was not the rajah's agent, Burke subjoined, "True it is, I have acted with similar feelings towards many individuals; but I have never received any pecuniary compensation for my exertions. During a considerable number of years I was agent to the province of New York, and in that capacity I have negotiated with his majesty's ministers. I have stood up as the advocate and agent of the Nabob of Oude, of the Rajah of Benares, and of many other oppressed or plundered princes of Hindostan. But, my sole remuneration lies in relieving the distressed, and raising the unfortunate." Notwithstanding this affecting appeal to the passions, yet, as William Burke resided in the capacity of agent at the Rajah of Tanjore's *darbar*, transmitting to Edmund Burke intelligence, on which the latter spoke and acted; it seems difficult not to consider him as having been connected by close ties with the Gentoo prince in question.

28th February. — The subjects agitated relative to Bengal, and to Tanjore, formed nevertheless only preludes to the more important enquiry into the private debts of Mahommed Ali, Nabob of Arcot. Fox and Francis opened the subject to the house, with great ability; but the

"Atlantean shoulders" of Burke principally sustained the ponderous mass, under the weight of which, any other mind, memory, and energies than his, must have been oppressed or overwhelmed. His speech, though of intolerable length, yet displayed a body of information respecting the finances of the presidency of Madras, as connected with the Nabob of Arcot, which, I believe, no other individual in either house of parliament ever possessed. Mahommed Ali, one of the most able Asiatic princes who has reigned in our time, whose judgment, patience, and address, supported him on the *musnud* during nearly half a century; maintained a perpetual conflict either with the insatiable avarice and rapacity, or against the more oppressive policy and tyranny, of successive governors of Fort St. George. Having, in consequence of their exorbitant demands on his revenue, contracted a large debt before the year 1776; and being treated with severity bordering on insult, by Lord Pigot, then governor of Madras; he determined on appealing from these delegated authorities, to the fountain of political power. With that view, in hopes of obtaining redress, either from the king, or from the administration, as early as the year 1777 he sent to England, in quality of his *vacqueel* or minister, Mr. Macpherson, who has since exercised with so much integrity and ability the functions of governor-general of India after Hastings's departure, for which services he was raised to the rank of a baronet. On his return to Calcutta, in the capacity of a supreme counsellor, in 1781, the commission entrusted by the nabob to him was transferred to his friend, Mr. James Macpherson, the compiler of *Ossian's Poems*. In the month of August, 1783, Mahommed Ali, not only without any solicitation on my part, but without my knowledge or consent, named me his minister jointly with James Macpherson. The recent service which I had rendered to the Carnatic, and to the nation at large, by transmitting overland the first intelligence of the restoration of peace between England and France; which act had not been performed by ministers, nor by the directors of the East India Company; produced my appointment. That information

arriving at Madras in June, 1783, at a most critical period of time, the nabob, in consequence of the representations made to him on the subject, conferred upon me the nomination.

In the autumn of 1784, when the newly constituted East India Board took into their consideration the affairs of the Presidency of Fort St. George, three distinct loans or debts existed in that settlement, all of which had been successively contracted by Mahommed Ali. The two first, denominated the *Debt of 1767*, and the *Cavalry loan*, did not exceed, in the aggregate, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds: but the third, commonly called the *Debt of 1777*, amounted to two millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling. By its enemies, the terms "exorbitant, usurious, and fraudulent," were applied to this loan on every occasion. Nevertheless, as several years had already elapsed since it had been incurred; as the shares or bonds forming its security, had passed by sale into a variety of hands; and as the nabob, who contracted it, not only admitted its validity, but had granted *tuncaws* or assignments of various portions of his territorial revenues to particular creditors for their payment;—the India commissioners having maturely weighed these facts, sent out orders to acknowledge the three debts as valid engagements. They next proceeded to set apart certain portions of his highness's revenues, by regular instalments, for their gradual liquidation within a fixed number of years. In the execution of these measures, Pitt and Dundas were not only actuated, as I believe, by the purest motives; but, I consider them to have adopted a wise, healing, enlarged, and laudable policy. The settlement would probably have been thrown into convulsions similar with those that took place under Lord Pigot in 1776, if orders had been transmitted from England, declaring the nabob's debts illegal and void. Fox, nevertheless, either preferring abstract principles of justice before any measures of state convenience; or rather, carried away by the declamations and violence of Burke, whose motives, elevated and upright as they might apparently be, were usually tinged, in almost every act, with human infirmity or en-

mity ; — Fox unquestionably viewed these claims through a different medium. His " East India Bill " had, by one of its clauses or provisions, declared them unlawful, null, and irrecoverable, through any legal process, from the nabob. It was therefore natural for Fox, when they became subjects of parliamentary investigation, to protest against their validity ; and to reprobate the orders which have been transmitted to India, providing for their eventual liquidation.

His speech on the occasion, — for it was Fox who began the discussion, — though criminating the new East India Board, and arraigning their late determination in severe terms, yet abstained from any personal imputation on their motives. But Francis, who seconded Fox's motion for the production of papers elucidatory of the enquiry, by no means restrained himself within similar limits. Addressing the first minister and the treasurer of the navy individually, he admonished them that " their characters were deeply committed, as rumour loudly asserted that a *collusion* existed between the board of control and the creditors of the nabob." Dundas immediately rose, and in the progress of a very masterly, but concise speech, explained with admirable perspicuity the nature of the three classes of debt under examination ; justifying at the same time the measures embraced for their gradual extinction. After thus vindicating the general policy and utility of the orders sent out to Madras ; with that good humour which always characterized him, accompanied by manliness of mind, he adverted to Francis's accusation. " It is not the first time," observed Dundas, " that my conduct has been misrepresented. With similar truth, it has been asserted that I received from an honourable baronet a very large sum of money on a particular occasion. The fact is just as true as the pretended *collusion* of this day. But, as I slept perfectly serene under the former imputation, so, I trust, my temper will remain equally unruffled at the present moment." Sir Thomas Rumbold, to whom he alluded, was not only in the house at the time, but took a part in the debate, and even spoke in favour of Fox's motion. It was therefore impossible that Dundas could seize an occasion more favourable

for refuting the calumnious reports circulated respecting him, than the opportunity of which he availed himself.

When he sat down, the discussion being apparently terminated, the house appeared ready to divide ; but Burke, rising with evident marks of strong emotion, delivered an oration which lasted near five hours ; and which neither Demosthenes nor Tully could have exceeded in energy, eloquence, or animation. I speak with perfect impartiality, as I by no means coincided in opinion with Burke, whose prejudices and animosities almost always blinded his judgment, or obscured his superior intelligence. But, even when he most failed in producing conviction, he excited not less admiration of his resplendent talents. It would be a vain attempt to convey any adequate idea of the mass of knowledge which he displayed or submitted on that evening to his audience. Every species of information relative to the subject, that unwearied labour, combined with ability, could collect, he furnished with a lavish hand. Against the *Debt of 1777*, as originating in bribery and usury, he principally exhausted his invectives. Against Paul Benfield, who had been a member of the late house of commons, and who was supposed to own a very considerable proportion of that loan, Burke levelled such abuse, as no person in my time (not excepting Hastings, or Rumbold, or Sykes, or Middleton, or Rodney, or Lord Shelburne), ever attracted within the walls of either house of parliament. From base and venal subservience to Benfield, and his agent or representative in that assembly, Mr. Richard Atkinson ; Burke charged both Pitt and Dundas with systematically sacrificing their own honour, the interests of the state, and the revenues of the Carnatic. " This," exclaimed he, in his beautiful and allegorical language, which borrowed its allusions by turns from every source, sacred or classic, as they suited his purpose ; — " this was the golden cup of abominations ! This was the enchanted chalice of the fornications of usury and rapine, which was tendered to ministers by the gorgeous Eastern harlot ! A chalice which so many of the nobles, no less than the people of this devoted land, have drained to the very dregs ! But

do ministers suppose that no reckoning is to follow this lewd debauch? that no punishment will be demanded for such national prostitution? You have the act palpably represented before your eyes. Atkinson, who kept in this capital a public office, where the whole business of the late general election was managed, is Benfield's agent. The principal of the grand election-monger must of course be indemnified for his exertions. The claims of Benfield and his crew must be exempted from all enquiry."

After thus exhausting his rage on Benfield and Atkinson, he descended to arithmetical details, proving the share which the former of those individuals was asserted to possess in the *Debt of 1777*, "My best information," continued Burke, "places it at four hundred thousand pounds. This sum, increased by the scheme of the present ministers nearly one-third in magnitude, and bearing interest at six per cent., gives to Benfield an annuity of thirty-five thousand pounds a year, charged on the revenues of the Carnatic." Having next attempted by other calculations, founded on the usurious advantages which Benfield might derive, to swell his income to the enormous sum of nearly 150,000*l.* per annum; Burke exclaimed, "Behold here a specimen of the new and immaculate aristocracy created by our mirror of financial ministers! This is to constitute the support of the crown and constitution against the ancient, natural interests of Great Britain, the grand counterpoise against odious *coalitions*! A single Benfield outweighs them all! A criminal, who ought long since to have fattened with his offal the region kites, is by the board of East India control virtually invested with the administration of a great kingdom, and put in possession of an estate effacing the splendour of all the nobility throughout Europe!" —

"If this chain of circumstances does not lead the house necessarily to infer that the minister has paid to Benfield's avarice the services rendered to his ambition by Benfield's connexions; I know not any thing short of the confession of one of the two parties which can persuade you of his guilt. But, I believe, after such an exposure of facts, no man can entertain a doubt of the corrupt col-

lusion of ministers with the interest of the delinquents in India."

Burke, no doubt, supposed that charges and imputations of such deep atrocity must instantly call up Pitt or Dundas. But, so absurd, as well as unfounded, did the accusations appear, and with such ridicule or incredulity did the house consider the asserted complicity of the chancellor of the exchequer and the East India board with Benfield, merely in order to secure for the latter an ill-acquired fortune, that the treasury bench remained silent. Burke's violence recoiling on himself, a loud cry of *Question* arose from every part of the assembly. Not a word was uttered in reply, Pitt disdaining to refute allegations which his character sufficiently repelled. Even the numbers on the division attested how little conviction followed Burke's declamation, whatever wonder or respect might be excited by his eloquence. The opposition could only command sixty-nine votes, while administration was followed by one hundred and sixty-four. It was not thus that Pitt divided on the question of the Westminster scrutiny! *There* he found his power and his ability unable to prolong the contest, or even to secure a majority. But Burke, in 1785, however sublime were his endowments, had, by his intemperate abuse of them, sunk greatly in general estimation.

Paul Benfield, who, at more than one period of the reign of George the Third, acted a most conspicuous part on the great theatre of public life, and of parliament, was born at Cheltenham, in or about the year 1740, where his father exercised the trade of a land-surveyor. He had received little aid from education; but, having been sent out to Fort St. George, at an early time of life, in the capacity of an assistant engineer, he soon distinguished himself there, by executing some public works, which, while they acquired him professional reputation, laid the foundation of his prodigious fortune. He was subsequently transferred from the military to the civil service of the East India Company, and he then commenced his pecuniary transactions with the Nabob of Arcot. His extensive connections among the native bankers, or *soucars*, enabling him to command their assistance, he made great advances of

money to Mahommed Ali, for which he unquestionably received very high interest. The expedition undertaken by the Madras government, for the reduction of Tanjore in 1773, requiring on the part of the nabob ample pecuniary resources, Benfield principally supplied the necessary funds. But, as his highness's bonds were already fallen into discredit, and had sunk to nearly half their value, that prince found himself necessitated to make over to Benfield, by way of security, the crops or productions of certain districts in the Carnatic, or in the kingdom of Tanjore.

Thus far Mr. Benfield seemed to advance under favourable auspices: but, with the arrival of Lord Pigot in 1776, as governor of Madras, his prospects became overclouded. That nobleman, who condemned the expedition against Tanjore, and who suspected Benfield of secretly abetting the party who opposed his measures; not only seized on the territorial assignments made over to him by the nabob, but suspended him from the company's service. After Lord Pigot's imprisonment and decease, which speedily followed, Benfield still remaining deprived of his rank, determined to revisit Europe. This resolution he executed, arriving in London about the beginning of autumn 1779. Lord North was then deeply plunged into the gulf of the American war, while France and Spain occupied the British Channel with their combined fleets. The king and the first lord of the treasury had become equally unpopular. Parliament drew towards its sixth session, and the opposition anticipated the fall of administration with a sort of certainty. Under these circumstances of ministerial and national depression, Benfield, who had brought with him a very considerable sum of money, which he had destined for purposes of personal ambition, easily found means to offer his services to the government. His first object being to obtain, or to create, a parliamentary interest; he made such purchases at Cricklade, in Wiltshire, as gave him a considerable influence in that borough, for which he was returned one of the two members, when the new house of commons met in October, 1780. With a view to render him odious, as well as to

throw discredit on a ministry reduced to accept such assistance, the opposition loudly asserted that he brought *seven* individuals into the house. Burke increased the number to *eight*. In the course of his eloquent but most intemperate speech of the 28th of February, he exclaimed, "Paul Benfield did not disdain,—such was his affection for the rotten constitution of England,—to become a wholesale upholsterer for this assembly! He made no fewer than *eight* members (reckoning himself), in the *last* parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have infused into the veins of the *present*!" This assertion was, nevertheless, altogether exaggerated, as I know that he only brought in two friends in 1780, besides himself. After the dissolution of 1784, he neither obtained a seat, Cricklade having been disfranchised during the short existence of the Rockingham administration; nor possessed the means of introducing any person into that assembly. Atkinson, though he might be considered as Benfield's agent, did not owe to Benfield his election, nor acted by his impulse in a parliamentary capacity.

Early in 1781, Mr. Benfield, who had antecedently been restored to his rank in the company's civil service, by the exertions of government in Leadenhall-street, returned overland to Madras. Lord Macartney being nominated to the government of that settlement, embarked at the same time for the coast of Coromandel; and as Benfield had been able to render him some pecuniary services, which greatly facilitated his departure, it was natural to suppose that they might have continued on terms of friendship. But Benfield's temper, disposition, and character, exacting, dissatisfied, and ambitious, could not easily be made to harmonize with Lord Macartney; who, though a man of unimpeached integrity, of elevated views, and always attentive to the great public interests committed to his care, yet wanted amenity of manners, ductility, and powers of conciliation. A rupture took place between them; and Lord Macartney probably dreading the fate which had befallen his predecessor Lord Pigot, who was arrested and confined by some of the members of

his own council, determined, as a measure of precaution, to remove Benfield from the seat of government. For that purpose, an order was sent him to repair to Permacoil, a fortified rock not far removed from Madras; a detachment of the company's troops being there stationed, of which garrison Benfield was constituted paymaster. He soon afterwards, however, obtained permission to retire to Pondicherry; and on Lord Macartney's resignation of his office in 1785, Benfield, against whom no charge whatever had been preferred, was, by orders sent out from England, allowed to return to Fort St. George. There he remained during two or three years, occupied in realizing his large fortune; which, by the regulations adopted respecting the Nabob of Arcot's debts, was placed in a secure train of eventual liquidation. Finding, nevertheless, that the prejudices entertained respecting him precluded his elevation to any of those situations of high trust or dignity in the company's service to which he aspired, he resolved finally to leave India. On his second return to England in 1790, he either brought home with him, or left behind at Madras, secured in the *Debt of 1777*, a sum not falling short of Burke's calculation; I mean, four hundred thousand pounds.

It might have been expected that Burke, who had attacked him with so much virulence, only five years earlier, would have renewed the charges against him on his re-appearance in this country; especially when Benfield again took his seat in parliament, by the assistance of the treasury, as member for Malmsbury. But Burke was not only then engaged in the prosecution of Hastings: the French Revolution, which had taken place, occupied his whole mind; while it offered a more noble, as well as ample subject, for the exercise of his faculties. He likewise probably anticipated the separation, which finally happened between himself and Fox, as almost inevitably resulting from the different estimates formed by them respecting that event. Benfield, therefore, in order to repair his loss of Cricklade, purchased another borough, Shaftsbury; and had he possessed the moderation, as well as the patience, necessary for consolidating a

great fortune, he might probably (like so many other individuals returned from the East, whom it would be invidious to particularize), have gradually attained to honours, if not to employments. But the restlessness of his character, and the insatiable desire of augmenting his vast wealth, impelled him, instead of waiting the slow operation of time and events, to embark anew on the sea of mercantile adventure. Having formed a commercial connexion with a gentleman named Boyd, who, previous to the French revolution, was established at Paris, but who had been driven from that capital by the convulsions that followed it, Benfield and his new partner opened in London a species of banking-house. During the period between 1793 and 1796, when Pitt was necessitated to borrow annually large sums, in order to maintain the war against France; Benfield and Boyd became the principal contractors for those loans, by which they were known to have realized great profits. The money-market lay indeed in some degree under their control, and they were considered as its dictators.

Meanwhile Benfield, after purchasing Sir Thomas Rumbold's fine seat of Wood Hall in the County of Hertford, and the splendid mansion belonging to the Earl of Thanet in Grosvenor-square; bought likewise an estate producing nominally nearly thirty thousand pounds a year, situate in Demerara or Essequibo, on the continent of South America. But, at the moment when he seemed to be placed on such a stupendous elevation, or as Burke denominated him, to have become "the minion of the human race," he touched upon his fall. Benfield and Boyd having made large purchases in the public funds, at the time of Lord Malmsbury's mission to Lisle, in the sanguine anticipation of his success, and that negotiation for peace totally failing, the depression of the stocks occasioned by it shook their credit to its foundations. In this emergency, sixteen capitalists of the city of London came forward voluntarily with a loan of five thousand pounds each, in order to support the house. But the sum of eighty thousand pounds was found wholly inadequate to their wants. Bankruptcy ensued, followed by an extent issued on

the part of the crown against their effects. Benfield immediately withdrew to France, in the public funds or securities of which country he had invested considerable sums, previous to the war. At Paris he resided during several years, dragging on a miserable existence, unable with safety to revisit England, destitute of pecuniary resources, and literally wanting all the comforts of life. In that state of dereliction he there expired; his funeral expenses being defrayed by a subscription of the English resident in the French metropolis. Such was the singular destiny experienced by a man, who, whatever obloquy or censure might attach to the mode in which he acquired his fortune, could only have lost it by consummate imprudence and avidity. His history and his end remind us of Law, in the annals of France under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, during the last century. Like Benfield, Law closed his life in obscurity, if not in poverty, at Venice, after having performed so distinguished a part on the theatre of Europe. I return to the course of public affairs.

3d March.—The division which took place in the house of commons on the 21st of February, when ministers were only able to carry the continuation of the *scrutiny*, by so small a majority as *nine*, naturally induced Fox without delay to agitate anew that question. Sawbridge having moved that “an immediate return should be made to the precept;” Pitt not venturing again directly to negative it, proposed that “the house do immediately adjourn.” But even this indirect mode of defeating the proposition, he was unable to induce the house to adopt. Fox having carried the question upon immediate adjournment, against the administration, by a majority of *thirty-eight*, Pitt did not think proper to repeat his own disgrace, or to hazard a second division. I say, disgrace; because, however I may have voted in 1785, I now consider the whole business of the *Westminster scrutiny*, as one of the strongest acts of ministerial oppression and persecution which I have witnessed in my time. It demanded indeed all Pitt’s popularity, supported by the influence of government, and aided by the recent recollections of Fox’s “India Bill,” to surmount the disadvantageous impres-

sions excited in the public mind by the *scrutiny*. Fox, elated at his triumph, instantly moved “to expunge from the journals of the house all the former proceedings on the subject.” He desisted nevertheless from pushing the motion to a division on that evening, and a future day was named for the purpose. But Corbett, the high bailiff, did not delay more than twenty-four hours in making a return of Lord Hood and Fox, as members for Westminster. It would have been more honourable to Pitt’s character, as well as to the councils of the crown, if this tardy and reluctant act of justice had been earlier performed: but the hope of expelling the opposition leader from a seat so painfully eminent, overruled every sentiment of liberality, and even of policy, in the bosoms of ministers.

9th March.—The debate which arose on the adjourned question, of “expunging from the journals all the past proceedings,” was carried on in a very full house, and terminated at a late hour. Kenyon and Arden distinguished themselves by their defence of administration. Nor did Fox want the aid of the bar to sustain his cause. Scott, who at the hour when I am writing holds the great seal of England, spoke with admirable force against the *scrutiny*, which he denominated illegal, as well as repugnant to justice and to reason. Contrary to their invariable practice when addressing the house, while Fox compressed his matter, the chancellor of the exchequer was diffuse and laboured: so much did the nature of the subject influence their style of oratory! If reason and equity had alone decided the question, Fox must have carried it. Indeed, so sensible were the defenders of the measure that it needed adventitious support, and could not stand on its own proper merits, as to induce them to call on all those individuals who had originally voted for the *scrutiny*, to maintain their own consistency by continuing their sanction to its principle. “The object of the motion before us,” exclaimed the attorney-general (Arden), “is to make gentlemen confess their ignorance, or their corruption. And if we concur in it, we ought all to appear next week in Westminster Abbey in white sheets, there to do penance for

our past transgressions." Pitt, conscious, no doubt, how weak was the ground on which he stood, condescended to address his discourse more to the passions than to the reason and principles of his audience. He reminded them of the contemptuous terms which Fox had used towards those, who at the commencement of the session crowded the house, — "men with whose faces nobody was acquainted." And he earnestly adjured them "not to confide in those professions of respect, those meretricious blandishments, which the success of one day had inspired, to lure them into a dereliction of principle, a violation of law, and an unmerited self condemnation."

Fox, thus personally assailed, not only denied the charge, but added that "it was false, unwarranted, and solely calculated for the purpose of rounding the minister's periods, with a view of captivating the assembly." A personal altercation ensued, which was terminated by the speaker; who taking part against Pitt, as the rules of debate compelled him to do, observed that "no member possessed a right of stating words spoken in the course of a former discussion, unless they had been taken down at the time by the clerk at the table." The chancellor of the exchequer though pronounced disorderly from the authority of the chair, yet maintained his original assertion, as Fox did his denial; and the division taking place soon afterwards, the opposition could only number 137 votes, while administration counted 242. The victory was undoubtedly great; as, if ministers had been left in a minority upon such a question, which impugned the legality of their whole proceedings throughout the Westminster election, they must have sustained a proportionate loss of reputation. But the triumph did not extend beyond the threshold of the lobby, public opinion being decidedly adverse to the principle of the *scrutiny*. I constituted one of the ministerial majority on that night; a circumstance which does not, however, in the least alter my sentiments respecting the measure itself, when viewed dispassionately through the medium of time. Only 286 members had been present when the continuation of the *scrutiny*

was negatived; but 379 attended on the present occasion, when the decision involved, if not the duration, at least the character of the government. Satisfied with putting an end to the *scrutiny*, and admitting Fox to take his seat in the house as a member for Westminster, many of the individuals who supported him on the 3d of March voted with ministers on the 9th. They wished to control and to restrain, but had no desire to overturn the administration.

The revolution of a year was now nearly complete since Pitt had attained to the summit of power, though he had not yet accomplished the twenty-sixth year of his age. Nor, if we except the measure of the *Westminster scrutiny*, which was unquestionably marked with the stamp of persecution, had he in any respect incurred public censure, or disappointed public expectation. His youth, which had afforded to his enemies such ample matter of reproach; far from injuring him in general estimation, rather operated to throw a peculiar grace round his administration. In vain did his opponents enlist wit, poetry, and satire in their service. Yet we must admit that the portrait drawn of him in the "Roliad" is not destitute of resemblance. No man who has seen him in the house of commons during the early stages of his ministerial greatness, when about to mix in the discussion, can fail to recognise Pitt, though the likeness partakes of caricature, and is tinged with the enmity of party. I allude to those couplets beginning,

"Pert without fire, without experience sage;
Young, with more art than Shelburne glean'd
from age;
Too proud from pilfer'd greatness to descend,
Too humble not to call Dundas his friend;
In solemn dignity and sullen state,
This new Octavius rises to debate!"

I never peruse the two concluding lines without having Pitt before my eyes. They were peculiarly appropriate in 1784 and 1785, while he might still be considered in the infancy of his political power. When he became confirmed in office, he dropped much of the sullenness of his manner, substituting more dignity in its place. Those

persons who have not beheld Pitt before the French Revolution,—for that awful convulsion, proceeding with gigantic strides, and threatening universal subversion as it advanced, brought him down gradually nearer to the level of mankind,—cannot easily figure to themselves the species of elevation that characterised his deportment. He stood indeed *alone*, as his father, though only secretary of state, had done in the two concluding years of George the Second. Neither Addington, nor Perceval, ever stood *alone*. They were, it is true, invested with the same employments as Pitt; but they never occupied his *place*, either among their colleagues in the cabinet, or with the nation. Yet Perceval was the younger son of an Irish earl, a baron of England, whose illustrious descent might claim the respect derived from remote ancestry. Like Pitt, too, he had been bred to the bar, and possessed very eminent parts. But he wanted the name and the recollections which attached to the great Earl of Chatham's son. Nor did Perceval, after sustaining a siege of many weeks in the house of commons, against Fox, then master of a majority within those walls, finish by liberating the crown from thralldom, and reducing his opponents to a sort of political annihilation. These were Pitt's resplendent merits, both personal and hereditary, which placed him on an eminence that no other subject has occupied in my time.

Among the individuals who in 1785 enjoyed Pitt's private friendship and confidence, Dundas held the first rank. Thurlow, however great were his endowments, was too intractable, retained too many opinions, principles, or prejudices, and sometimes burst through all ministerial fetters or obligations with too much violence, to be cherished (as the "*Rolliad*" says, Pretzman was) in Pitt's præcordia. He could have easily replaced Lord Sydney with a far more able secretary of state. Nor were Lord Carmarthen's talents by any means brilliant; and he possessed too independent a mind for a man who aspired to the cordial friendship of the young minister. The marquis had indeed been originally brought forward, not by Pitt, but by Lord Shelburne, who named him

ambassador to the court of Versailles early in 1783, soon after the signature of the preliminaries of peace; though the change in administration which speedily followed it, prevented the accomplishment of his mission. Dundas brought to market qualities rarely combined in the same individual. Conviviality at table: manners, frank, open, and inspiring confidence: eloquence, bold, flowing, energetic, and always at command: principles, accommodating, pliant, suited to every variation in government, and unencumbered with modesty or fastidious delicacy. He could not only vote, but speak in support of measures against which he had declaimed and divided in the preceding session. Ambition, guided by judgment, enabled him to perceive that Pitt could, of all men, most surely and speedily open to him the doors of the cabinet and of the house of peers. To those situations he steadily looked, and for their attainment he considered no sacrifice to be too great. In the hours of private conversation, moistened and exhilarated by wine, when the minister gladly unbent his mind, Dundas won his way, and obtained a pre-eminence in his regard. It only terminated with their joint lives; and the minister's last moments were unquestionably accelerated, as well as embittered, by the impeachment of his friend, followed by its necessary consequences, his loss of office, together with his seat in the cabinet.

To Mr. William Grenville I may assign the second place in Pitt's favour and friendship, at this period of his political career. The ties of consanguinity cemented every other motive derived from mental endowments. Nature had bestowed on him no exterior advantages. His person was heavy, and devoid of elegance or grace; his address, cold and formal; his manners, destitute of suavity. Even his eloquence partook of these defects. In debate, he wanted Pitt's copious pomp of words, his facility and majesty of expression. The two cousins were equally distinguished by correct moral deportment; and the authors of the "*Rolliad*," who wanted neither malevolence nor wit in exposing the defects of those whom they selected for attack, were reduced to the

necessity of levelling their shafts, not against Mr. Grenville's intellectual, but at his ponderous physical formation. Even Sheridan, whose humour, however elegant and classic, was always dramatic, and who borrowed occasionally from Aristophanes, or from Lucian, as well as from Congreve and Foote, condescended sometimes in debate to use the same weapon. — Jenkinson stood third on Pitt's list of confidential adherents, though necessity and policy had unquestionably a greater share in the selection than inclination. Neither consanguinity nor conviviality produced the union between them; but circumstances, scarcely less powerful in their operation, attracted them towards each other. Jenkinson, though not eloquent, possessed a species of knowledge, without which Pitt could not advance a step in matters relating to trade, navigation, manufactures, and all the productions of human industry or labour submitted to taxation. He was the Mentor and the Palinurus, whenever those subjects came before the house. But he likewise was supposed still to retain an influence behind the curtain. The shadowy, undefined nature of that problematical power, which could only be matter of belief or of assertion, and which was supposed to have become far less formidable since Pitt's nomination to the offices which he held, did not the less secure to Jenkinson universal consideration. — Lord Camden, already far advanced in life, though he enjoyed a distinguished rank among Pitt's friends and supporters, was rather an object of his veneration, than associated to his labours or his pleasures. To the Duke of Richmond I should allot the fourth situation among the group who surrounded the chancellor of the exchequer. He exhibited at this very time the strongest proof of his attachment to that nobleman, and his high opinion of the duke's military talents, by not only defending his character, but by supporting his plans for fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth, when they were discussed in parliament with much severity. The duke had previously been made a member of the cabinet.

Beyond these four or five favoured individuals stood another phalanx, drawn up in a triple line. Those who com-

posed the *first* row were selected for high birth, at whose head was beheld conspicuous the Marquis of Graham; and near him, on the treasury bench,

——“The dark brow of solemn Hamilton”

attracted attention. Nor must we omit Mr. John Villiers, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, the “Nireus” of Pitt's forces, “comely with the flaxen hair.”

Within five years subsequent to this time, the minister, after conferring on him other temporary offices about the court, gave him a permanent and lucrative sinecure, by making him chief justice in eyre, north or Trent. — Parliamentary talents were demanded as a qualification for the *second* row, and among them Wilberforce might claim pre-eminence. The qualities of his mind and understanding lay beneath the surface; — for his countenance gave no indication of superior intellect. His person was mean, and his features were altogether destitute either of fine expression or of dignity. But he spoke with great perspicuity, as well as fluency, on every subject; and he spoke from an eminence, representing, as he did, the county of York. Attached to Pitt both from principal and from habits of intimacy, he nevertheless preserved all the integrity, rectitude, and independence of character, which could meet in a member of parliament, sustained by the most correct morals. Pepper Arden and Lord Mulgrave occupied the front rank in this division of the ministerial troops. Behind, were seen various individuals who have filled in our time, and who still continue to fill, the highest offices in the state. I allude particularly to the names of Addington, Dudley Ryder, the Earl of Orington, and Lord Apsley; all of whom, though they had not yet risen to speak in the house, were candidates for future employment. — The *third* and last line demanded neither birth nor talents: obedience, regular attendance, and unlimited devotion, sufficed. They constituted a numerous body, the

“Akandrumque, Haliumque, Noëmonaque,
Prytanimque,”

of the house of commons in 1785. I

will not enumerate them. Robert Smith, eventually promoted, first to the barons' bench in Ireland, and afterwards to the same rank of the peerage in England, by Pitt's friendship or gratitude, was justly esteemed, if not their leader, at least their example.

14th March. — Among the most unpopular members of administration, might be accounted the Duke of Richmond. His enemies accused him of domestic parsimony, contrasted with profusion of the public money, as master-general of the ordnance. His kitchen was said to be the coolest apartment in his house, both at Goodwood and in Privy Garden. Thus, the "Rolliad," apostrophizing him, exclaims,

"Whether thou go'st, while summer suns prevail,
T' enjoy the freshness of thy kitchen's gale,
Where, unpolluted by luxurious heat,
Its large expanse affords a cool retreat."

Nor did his present loyalty and attachment to the sovereign, against whom he had declaimed in a manner very personal, during the progress of the American war, afford less matter for ludicrous animadversion. But, more than either, his passion for fortifications, and the works by which he projected to defend our great naval arsenals against invasion, excited the vigilant attention of parliament. The subject was discussed with much asperity, when the ordnance estimates came under consideration; James Luttrell, surveyor-general of that branch of the military department, youngest of the four sons of Lord Carhampton, opening the business. During the contest between Great Britain and her colonies, while commanding the "Mediator," a forty-four gun frigate, Luttrell had distinguished himself both by the pen and by the sword. Nevertheless, his encomiums on the Duke of Richmond's plans did not produce conviction in the minds of his audience. Macbride, one of the two representatives for Plymouth, and a captain of the royal navy, to whom had been entrusted, in 1772, the commission of bringing off on board his ship the Queen Matilda of Denmark, then detained a prisoner in the Castle of Cronenberg; — this officer, a man of blunt manners and of rude eloquence, but possessing strong sense, and an accurate local knowledge

of the tract of ground in the vicinity of Plymouth which it was proposed to fortify, contradicted the principal facts alleged by Luttrell. Courtenay, who never omitted to avail himself of the aid of wit, as an auxiliary to reason and argument, assailed the Duke of Richmond's projected fortifications, with all the force of ridicule. Having observed how unfortunately it happened for his country, that his grace's passion for engineering should have manifested itself at so advanced a period of life; Courtenay then called on Barré to declare, whether the engineers convened by the master-general of the ordnance to meet at the Tower, for the purpose of discussing his estimates, had or had not given them any sanction? "Has Colonel Debbeige in particular," added he, "an officer so universally esteemed for probity and science, been called on to state his opinion respecting these fortifications?"

Barré, who was not unprepared for this appeal; probably indeed acting in concert with Courtenay, and with the Marquis of Lansdown; instantly presented himself to the Speaker's notice. His aspect, his reputation as a member of the house, but, more than either, his personal infirmities, attracted great attention. Long menaced with a privation of sight, Barré was now become totally blind; a circumstance to which he pathetically alluded, when he observed with an exclamation of deep concern, that "to his memory alone he could henceforward recur for assistance in stating or recalling facts." With even more personal acrimony than Courtenay or than Macbride had exhibited, he attacked the master-general himself, rather than his plans. After drawing an invidious comparison between the noblemen who had preceded the Duke of Richmond in that great office during several years, from Earl Ligonier down to Lord Townsend; "all of whom," he said, "were men of tried bravery, military knowledge, and experience;" he asked, "Can the present master-general state himself to have commanded armies, like his predecessors in that employment, and conducted them to victory? — It is demanded of me," concluded he, "whether I know Colonel

Debbeige? I know him well, know his honesty and worth. I am concerned to add that I know him to be oppressed." The officer in question, who was one of the six colonel-commandants of the corps of engineers, and whose reputation for professional ability stood high, having disapproved the duke's plans, had incurred his displeasure. And, as placability was not commonly supposed to constitute a prominent feature of his grace's character, it might be feared that the colonel, by this conduct, had sacrificed his fortune to his principles. The "Rolliad," adverting to these well-known facts, thus apostrophizes him :

"Learn, thoughtless Debbeige, now no more a youth,
The woes unnumber'd that encompass truth!"—
"Oh! learn on happier terms with him to live,
Who ne'er knew twice, the weakness to forgive!"

General Burgoyne having expressed a similar condemnation of the duke's projects, while not a word in their justification or support was uttered from any part of the house, Dundas himself remained silent, Pitt felt it indispensable to concede, for the present, to the weight of public opinion. Aware that he might be left in a minority, if he persisted in urging the question to a division on that night; the minister consented to allow the sum already granted (which amounted to fifty thousand pounds, destined for the fortifications), to remain untouched, till parliament should have come to an ultimate decision on the subject. But, having thus given way respecting the principal point, he stood forward to rescue his friend from the imputations thrown on his military skill. After reverting to Barré's quæres touching the master-general's personal services in the field, "Yes," answered the minister, "I will boldly assert that my noble friend possesses practical experience, though he never has commanded an army, nor led on troops to victory. I am happy to declare that he is a member of the cabinet. To my good fortune in being closely connected with a nobleman of his active virtue, of his recognized ability and experience in his department; but, above all, of his systematic economy in every matter that regards the public

interest; I attribute much of the national favour which has hitherto accompanied and honoured my administration." Relative to Debbeige, Pitt wisely observed a total silence. His whole panegyric on the duke seemed to be peculiarly levelled, not so much at Macbride, at Courtenay, or at Burgoyne, as against Barré; and through him, unquestionably at the Marquis of Lansdown, from which quarter he probably suspected that the attack principally originated. The fortifications, arrested in their progress, remained thus suspended till the ensuing session.

16th March — 11th April. — In consequence of the long duration of the American war, terminated by the emancipation of the thirteen colonies, many new and unexpected circumstances had arisen, commercial, as well as political, which demanded from ministers mature deliberation, or enlightened and patient consideration. Among these, none appeared to claim more prompt attention, than the state of convicts sentenced to the punishment of transportation; who, from the inability of conveying them across the Atlantic to their ancient destinations, had accumulated in the jails of the kingdom, to the number of several thousands. The cabinet seemed irresolute in deciding to what quarter of the globe they should be sent; and an island in the river Gambia, on the western coast of Africa, was at length selected for the purpose. Burke, whose active philanthropy, stimulated by enmity towards the ministers, rendered him vigilant to discover abuses, and eager to expose them; rising in his place, demanded "what was to be done with those unhappy wretches sentenced by the law to undergo transportation?" "I trust," continued he, "Gambia is not the place intended for their reception; a country of which it may be truly asserted, that there '*all life dies, and all death lives.*' The gates of hell are there open night and day, to receive the victims sent from hence. It may be denominated the capital seat of pestilence, plague, and famine. But, deprivation of life was not in the contemplation of the judges who passed sentence on them. This fact loudly calls for the attention of the legislature." Not discouraged by the inefficacy of his first appeal to

the house, he renewed the application soon after the termination of the Easter recess. Pitt endeavouring to elude his enquiries, and having treated him with some severity of animadversion, for introducing a subject foreign to the business of the day; Burke, unintimidated by the interference of the Speaker, who endeavoured to silence him as disorderly, retorted on the minister with extraordinary force of language.

"Seventy-five of these unfortunate men," exclaimed he, "I understand, are now on board a vessel in the Thames, which may sail before to-morrow's dawn. The wind will speedily carry them beyond the interference of parliament. I call upon the chancellor of the exchequer. His majesty, by his coronation oath, has sworn to execute judgment in mercy. He is the trustee of that solemn royal pledge. The jails are crowded far beyond all former precedent. There is a house in London which contains at this time precisely five hundred and fifty-eight. I do not mean the house of commons, though the numbers are alike in both; but, the jail of Newgate. Contagious distempers may ensue; and on every view of the subject, I again invoke the interposition of parliament!" This eloquent and pathetic appeal, though it failed to produce an immediate effect, and was not followed up by any specific *motion*, yet did not the less operate to redress the evil. The cabinet, compelled to abandon the pestilential banks of the Gambia, in the course of the subsequent year made choice of a portion of the earth better calculated for every object of policy and punishment, without losing sight of humanity. I allude to the settlement of Botany Bay, situate in the other hemisphere, in a happy latitude, on the eastern coast of New Holland. There, probably, in the course of two or three centuries, may arise, along the shores of the Pacific and Indian oceans, a vast empire, and a civilized, yet martial people; who, after subjecting the immense archipelago scattered by nature at the extremity of Asia, from New Guinea quite to Japan, will perhaps contest for the naval supremacy of the Pacific itself, with their countrymen established on the western shores of America. Such are the modes by

which Providence diffuses moral, as well as religious light, over the dark and savage portions of the planet; transferring knowledge, civilization, liberty, and science, successively from one extremity of the earth to the other, in the lapse of revolving ages. Who can say that before the year 2500 from Christ, Europe, and peculiarly the western nations of this favoured quarter of the globe, now so illuminated, may not sink into the condition of Egypt, of the lesser Asia, and of Greece;—countries to which we fondly turn our eyes, as the cradles of art, of poetry, and of history! May not England fall to the level of that spot, which has been so beautifully denominated,

"Land of lost gods, and godlike men!"

while Van Diemen's Land, or California (in whose vicinity, Swift, hardly more than a century ago, placed his Lilliput and his Brobdingnag, as if out of the reach of geographical pursuit), may enjoy freedom, arts, and letters!

11th April. — The state of the public revenue, after the termination of an expensive and disgraceful contest, in the progress of which we had suffered so great a defalcation of territory, necessarily engrossed universal attention. Pitt having stated, in a manner equally luminous and concise, the produce of the existing taxes; which he demonstrated to exhibit an increase, during the last year, of at least a million and a half sterling; concluded by announcing his confident hope of establishing a sinking fund, in the course of the ensuing session. That fund, arising out of the overplus of the revenue, he estimated at a million sterling. Fox instantly rose, and while he cautioned the house against too sanguine a reliance on financial calculations, which futurity might not realize, he expressed the most zealous co-operation in every measure for supporting the national credit. "I thank God," said he, "whatever difference of opinion may take place on other points, all parties are agreed in this respect! I trust, however, that the fund destined for so salutary a purpose will be made as ample as possible. One million a year appears to me too *small* a sum for producing extensive

benefit, when we calculate the chances against the duration of peace." Lord Mahon, on the contrary, maintained that if any fault could be imputed to his friend's plan, it lay in creating so *large* a fund for the redemption of the public debt. But the minister, far from yielding his assent to this last proposition, though coming from a quarter for which he professed much respect, avowed that he felt a difficulty in resisting the temptation to apply even a greater sum than one million to the object in question, if it could be obtained without too severely augmenting the public burthens. Yet when pressed by Dempster, in the course of the discussion, to commence immediately so beneficial an operation of finance, and not delay it to another session; he replied, that "he conceived it more wise, as well as safe, to postpone it for one year, as time would enable him to ascertain whether the favourable expectations which he entertained of an increase in the revenue should be justified by futurity." Having thus prepared the nation, as well as parliament, for the adoption of so salutary a measure, he deferred its completion to the spring of 1786.

18th April. — These financial regulations were followed by Pitt's third and last attempt to reform the representation in the house of commons. It was a day of much expectation, and produced a very full attendance, all being anxious to witness the extraordinary spectacle of the first minister moving such a proposition. Pitt performed it with his accustomed ability, set off by the attractions of a most seductive eloquence; observing, that "though he had twice failed in his preceding endeavours, yet he was encouraged to renew the experiment in consequence of two favourable circumstances." "The reform that I now propose," continued he, "coincides with the ideas of the best, as well as of the most moderate men; and the present assembly being newly elected, has not, like the last, put a negative on it." He then developed in the most lucid manner, his plan, the basis of which was, to purchase the franchises of thirty-six boroughs, so decayed, or so venal, as to be no longer worthy of sending representatives to parliament, and to transfer their

right of election to the counties. This great change, by which seventy-two members would be taken from an unsound part of the legislative body, and thrown into the more independent or upright portion of the house, it must be owned, was highly attractive in theory. The *motion* with which he concluded, for leave to bring in a *bill* to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament, was strenuously supported by the two members for the county of York; Duncombe seconding it, and Wilberforce maintaining it by plausible, if not solid arguments.

Powis, who rose at an early period of the debate, combined great powers of elocution with judgment and principle. His speech, brilliant, animated, and convincing, was not unaccompanied with wit, but under the control of reason. All the specious axioms of the chancellor of the exchequer, from which he deduced his asserted amelioration of the constitution, Powis attacked in succession. With peculiar propriety he reminded Pitt that it was not a county member, or the representative of some opulent city, who, only a few years preceding, had in that assembly moved, "That this house is bound to listen to the petitions of the people." "No," exclaimed he, "that *motion*, which would have done honour to the representative of the first county in England, was made by a person who then sat here for Old Sarum (Lord Camelford), one of those rotten boroughs destined by the present plan to be disfranchised. But, if this principle is to form the foundation of the projected reform, how happens it that the treasury, admiralty, and ordnance boroughs, are to be exempted from its operation?" — "Much stress has been laid on the corruption of the present times; yet, with what decency can the minister assert, in the face of so popular an assembly as he now addresses, that unless reformed, they do not express the sense of the country? A late administration, it may perhaps be pretended, was corrupt, and on its ruin was raised a government of opinion. A high opinion, indeed, we must necessarily entertain of ministers, who, as we know, *do not cherish or employ any individual that has been formerly an agent of corruption.*" This

pointed sarcasm, rendered more personal by the presence of Dundas and of Jenkinson, who were seated near Pitt, excited a burst of Hear him! "I will not," concluded Powis, "treat with any reserve, or respect, the *motion* before the house. Hostile as I regard it to the constitution, I will meet it in the teeth, and give it my unequivocal negative."

Nor was Lord North less able and eloquent on that evening, than Powis; but with his arguments, he mingled, as was his custom, more ridicule. Having remarked how few petitions had been presented to the house in favour of reform, the whole number not exceeding *eight*; "What," demanded he, "are we to infer from this circumstance? Is it apathy in the people? We were taught to believe that all England would with one voice support the plan for amending the national representation. Well may I exclaim with the man in *The Rehearsal*,

"What horrid sound of silence doth assail mine ear!"

Even Fox, though he supported Pitt's *principle*, yet resisted its *application* upon many points. While he spoke and voted with the minister, he did not the less forcibly point out the incongruities and contradictions which met in Pitt's proposition. "I cannot perceive," observed Fox, "any superlative excellence in the present house of commons, which can justify a suspension for six years, of the operation of the *bill* before us. No very flattering proofs of attention to the rights of the people have been exhibited by the majority within these walls in their support of the *Westminster scrutiny*."—"As little do I approve the means taken to carry into execution the principle, in various other respects. Never will I agree to admit the compulsory purchase from a majority of the electors, of a franchise which is the property of the whole body." Even upon the feature of the bill which seemed most formed to captivate, namely, an augmentation of the number of representatives for counties, Fox was not less severe. "I wholly disapprove," said he, "the idea of limiting parliamentary seats to men of ample fortunes, or of eminence in their professions. The

history of this country proves that we are not to expect from individuals in affluent circumstances, the vigilance, energy, and exertion, without which the house of commons would lose its greatest force and weight. Human nature is too prone to indulgence; and the most meritorious public services have always been performed by persons in a condition of life removed from opulence." The truth of these remarks, forcibly exemplified in his own person, and in that of Pitt, unquestionably made a deep impression.

The sentiment was not effaced by Dundas, who only excited a laugh at his own expense, when, rising as Fox concluded, he began with declaring that he considered it his duty to state the *reasons* which induced him to support the question; while Banks, whose independent mind revolted at every sacrifice of principle to private friendship, or to personal elevation, did not hesitate to oppose it. "I am," said he, "a thorough advocate of parliamentary reform, but I do not the less reprobate the proposition now before us. It carries contradiction on its face: for it sanctions the sale and purchase of that very franchise, which it declares at the same time never ought to become an object of traffic." So sensible was the minister to this observation, and to the quarter from which it came, that he immediately rose to obviate its effect. He did not, indeed, hesitate to avow that it wounded him deeply, "on account of the long and intimate friendship, mingled with just veneration, which he nourished for the person who thus attacked his measure." He even admitted the part of the *bill* in question to constitute a *tender* feature in its formation, though impossible to be erased or omitted when carrying the proposed reform into execution. Pitt addressed his short speech, which terminated the debate, exclusively to Banks; seeming, like Julius in the senate house, to exclaim, "*et tu, Brute, fili mi!*" Probably, Banks lost the peerage by his elevated line of conduct on this, and on other occasions; as Cardinal Mazarin observed of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who wished to marry Louis the Fourteenth, but who fired the cannon of the Bastile

upon him, "*Elle a tué son mari.*" The division, which did not take place till near four in the morning, rescued the constitution from Pitt's experiment. Two hundred and forty-eight persons, of whom I was one, negatived it: one hundred and seventy-four supported the minister. It was his last attempt to ameliorate our form of government. Time, reflection, and the awful example held out to mankind by France, subsequently restrained his ardour, finally inducing him rather to bear with the defects of the British constitution, great as they may be, than to risk its total overthrow. I am nevertheless decidedly of opinion, in 1821, that a temperate parliamentary reform must, will, and ought to be adopted.

About this time, in the spring of 1785, appeared those celebrated productions, denominated the "*Rolliad*," and the "*Probationary Odes*." The "*Rolliad*" assumed the shape of criticisms on an imaginary poem, and might be termed poetico-prosaic; while the "*Odes*," to the number of twenty or more, were poetical compositions, for the greater part Pindaric. Both abounded with classic allusions, and the keenest satire; decorated with the graces of verse, borrowing aid from the finest writers of antiquity; sparing no individuals, however elevated by rank, ability, or office; but levelling their shafts principally at the sovereign, at Pitt, Dundas, and Jenkinson. They obtained a prodigious circulation, from the union of taste, malevolence, learning, and wit, which illuminated every part of them; having passed through two-and-twenty editions in the lapse of about twenty-seven years, between 1785 and 1812. Their reputed author was Mr. Joseph Richardson, who, I believe, inhabited one of the inns of court, and followed the profession of the law. With him were, however, joined various other men of talents, who contributed their respective quotas. At their head I should place Mr. George Ellis, a man well known in the literary world, as well as in the diplomatic, and higher circles of society. But I have reason to suppose that General Burgoyne, Fitzpatrick, Mr. John Townsend (now Lord John), and others of Fox's friends or admirers, not only retouched some of

the passages: they furnished whole odes. I omit Sheridan's name, because he positively denied, in the house of commons, having had any participation in the productions. Even now, after the lapse of three-and-thirty years, though the far greater number of the individuals who are lashed or ridiculed in the "*Rolliad*," and the "*Probationary Odes*," have passed away; for I am one of the few survivors; yet they cannot be perused without exciting the most animated emotions.

The present Lord Rolle, then a commoner, and one of the two representatives for the county of Devon, constituted the hero of the "*Rolliad*." His figure was handsome, as far as mere symmetry of limbs and regularity or features can deserve that epithet: for Nature had denied him all pretension to grace or elegance. Neither was his understanding apparently more cultivated, than his manners were refined. He reminded me always of a Devonshire rustic; but he possessed plain common sense, a manly mind, and the faculty of stating his ideas in a few strong words. Representing a great maritime county, warmly attached to ministers, and looking constantly to the peerage as his reward, he nevertheless preserved the independence of his character. Whatever ridicule the "*Rolliad*" has affected to throw upon his family, by making him descend from Rollo the Norman, in the tenth century; his ancestors were men of property and consideration in the country of Devon, at least ever since the reign of Henry the Eighth. There had even been a British peerage in the line, Mr. Rolle's uncle, Henry, having been raised to the dignity of a baron, by George the Second, though the title expired in his own person. His nephew might therefore reasonably hope to revive it, by lending a steady support to administration; and he eventually obtained his object in 1796, after twelve years of hard parliamentary service. Rolle had early rendered himself obnoxious to the *opposition*; first, by the severity of his comments on Fox's recall of Rodney, in May, 1782; and subsequently, by his reflections on Burke's contempt of public opinion, in May, 1783, when, as paymaster, he restored Powell and Bembridge to their

respective offices, after the discovery made of their malversations. It is nevertheless probable that these two offences would scarcely have procured him the distinction of giving his name to the "Rolliad," if he had not aggravated them afterwards, by throwing out some pointed animadversions against Fox, during the session of 1784, when Rolle treated with contemptuous levity his complaints respecting the violated rights of the electors of Westminster. This last attack filling up the measure of his political transgressions as a member of parliament, subjected him to the punishment of being stretched on the rack of satire.

20th April. — Precisely at this period, Pitt moved the repeal of a tax which he himself had laid upon cotton in the preceding year, on account of the clamour excited by its operation among the manufacturers in the northern counties of the kingdom. Fox, while he seconded the *motion*, inveighed with acrimony against the financial system of the chancellor of the exchequer; and Sheridan brought forward an amendment calculated to show that the manufacturers being *aggrieved* by the tax, it was become *necessary* to explain and alter it. He added, "I passed part of last summer in Lancashire, and was an eye-witness to the exertions made by them to tranquillize their numerous workmen, as well as to preserve the general tranquillity of the country." Rolle, suddenly interposing at this point of the discussion, accused Sheridan with inflaming the public mind, and exciting by his speech general alarm or discontent. "I will not assert," continued he, "*who* was the person that went down to Lancashire in order to indispose the manufacturers against the taxes, and to promote tumult. Neither will I say *who* it was that distributed seditious and inflammatory handbills throughout the country. But, such was the fact; and if I could bring the proof home to the party whom I suspect, *I would take the proper steps to have his head stuck upon Temple Bar.*" An insinuation so serious, accompanied with such menaces, could not be allowed to pass unnoticed by those against whom they were directed. Fox observed, that the empty threat of sticking heads upon Temple

Bar merited no reply, as he believed there did not exist any law which made the distribution of handbills a capital offence. "I am ignorant, however," added he, "of the fact itself, and I presume the honourable gentleman is too much a man of honour to make an assertion which he knows he cannot prove."

Sheridan rising in his turn, vindicated himself from the charge of pronouncing inflammatory speeches. "With regard to the handbills," said he, "I really know nothing respecting them; but I can easily conjecture the reason of the soreness expressed on the article of publications. *Compositions less prosaic, though more popular*, I believe, have produced that irritability. I am aware that he may suspect *me* to have been the author of those productions, or at least to have had some connexion with them. I do assure him, however, upon my honour, that I never saw one line of them till they met my eye in the newspaper." The allusion to the "Rolliad," which was then in universal circulation, excited general laughter; and Rolle, incensed to the highest degree, notwithstanding Sheridan's denial, started up, exclaiming, "I hold the author of those works, let him be whom he may, as well as the works themselves, in sovereign contempt; but, *as the cap fits the two gentlemen, they are welcome to wear it.* With respect to the law prohibiting seditious handbills and their circulation, if no such act exists, there ought to be one enacted; and if I knew the person who has committed the offence, I would take the proper measures for bringing him to punishment." However pointed was this language, it had not hitherto discomposed a muscle of Sheridan's countenance, which rarely, indeed, manifested any symptom of anger or irritation. Assuming nevertheless a serious air, "While," observed he, "the gentleman shoots his bolts at random, I shall take no notice of them; but if he charges *me* with having any concern in circulating seditious handbills, I shall reply to him, both here and elsewhere, in very plain and very coarse terms." The conversation now terminated, Rolle remaining silent, and having only exposed himself needlessly by his interference, as the chancellor of the

exchequer did not come forward, either to justify his insinuation, or to cover his retreat.

May. — Great mutual asperity and personalities between Pitt and Fox characterized the whole session. There never perhaps existed a man in whose bosom the passions of jealousy, envy, or resentment, found less place than in Fox's, however vehement he might be when declaiming in the house of commons. Nor did Pitt possess less elevation of mind; but he wanted his antagonist's placability and prompt oblivion of political animosities. Pitt's principles were less pliant and accommodating; his manners more retired, and destitute of warmth; his temper was more irritable, and his expressions were more eloquently offensive. We must likewise consider that Fox, at thirty-six, beheld himself, in consequence of his own want of prudence and moderation, expelled from employment, necessitous, and surrounded with difficulties. Pitt, on the contrary, at only twenty-six, stood on the very pinnacle of royal and popular favour, invested with power, and sustained by official emoluments. It demanded, therefore, far more philosophy in the chief of opposition, than in the minister, to practice the advice of Horace to *Dellius*.

9th and 10th May. — In the irritated state of their feelings, scarcely any discussion arose which did not produce demonstrations of reciprocal animosity. Among the taxes which, in opening his *budget*, Pitt proposed to the house, was one to be raised on maid-servants, amounting to half-a-crown annually on each individual where only a single female was retained. Fox objected to it; adding, "I am not impelled to oppose this tax from any motives of a factious, or party description; for I had no participation in the measures which have rendered necessary such heavy burthens." The remark gave rise to an acrimonious conversation, in the course of which the chancellor of the exchequer made some very invidious reflections on the *coalition* between Lord North and Fox. That nobleman was not present; but Jenkinson being seated near Pitt on the treasury bench, Sheridan observed that "his friend had indeed formed a

coalition with the noble lord, which union he avowed, and was ready to defend; whereas the minister had formed a coalition, of which he took every occasion to convince the house he was ashamed." Jenkinson, thus designated, stood up, and after stating that he could not avoid taking notice of allusions which were evidently levelled at himself, added, "I by no means wish to deny that I supported many of Lord North's measures, during his administration; but, in the office which I filled as secretary at war, I was not responsible for the ministerial plans sent me from the treasury." Having vindicated himself on this point, by showing that he only performed a subordinate part during the American contest, he next adverted to the tax on female servants, which formed the subject of debate. With a degree of humour which I never knew him to display on any other occasion, "I apprehend," said he, "that this *Maid's Tragedy* is only played off as a performance calculated to expose the minister, rather than as a serious ground of complaint against the proposed tax, which is imposed with so light a hand, that no person can justly term it a grievance."

Courtenay, nevertheless, unwilling to let pass so fair an opportunity of attacking Pitt, and setting at defiance all ordinary rules of parliamentary decorum, presented himself to the Speaker's notice. Having first exhorted the chancellor of the exchequer to take warning by the fate of Orpheus, who fell a victim to his want of indulgence towards the other sex; he observed that the measure was directed against a commodity at which no other minister had ever ventured publicly to point. Adverting next to the memorable history of Wat Tyler's rebellion, "Then," said he, "for the first time in modern ages, was started the idea of taxing female commodities. But, it being alleged that the object of taxation was not yet arrived at sufficient maturity to become liable to such an operation of finance, an exciseman was despatched to examine into the affair. He having previously consulted the *then masters of the rolls*, that law-officer gave it as his decided opinion, that *such a scrutiny was legal*. It produced, however, as we know, a violent insurrection,

which could not be suppressed without much bloodshed." The allusion to Kenyon and the Westminster scrutiny was followed by a sarcasm levelled at Jenkinson, who had recently stopped up a number of windows in his country-house of Addiscombe Place, near Croydon, on account of the heavy additional duty laid on them by Pitt, in the preceding session.

"With respect," continued Courtenay, "to the opinion delivered from the treasury bench, that the tax on maid-servants is so light as not to be worthy of evasion, or to merit the name of a grievance; I can assure the house, that individuals, however exalted may be their rank, or however affluent their fortune, notwithstanding *they enjoy six or seven sinecure pensions, yet have not the less thought proper to block up most of their windows, in order to evade the commutation tax.*" — "Ireland," concluded he, "is a country to which, in common with the chancellor of the exchequer, I feel much attachment; and I can answer for it, that the present measure is not *an Irish proposition*. No act of administration, on the contrary, can render him more unpopular in the sister kingdom, than taxing such a commodity; and on these grounds I make no question of being supported by every Irish member." I have given the salient points of Courtenay's speech, which I heard him pronounce, because its personalities, when added to its indecorum, may convey some idea of the nature, language, and limits of debate in 1785. Such violations of decency, however highly seasoned they might be with Attic wit, and enriched by classic citations, — for no man better knew than Courtenay, how to invoke at will, Horace or Juvenal, Pope or Prior, — yet, from the greater refinement of the present times, would scarcely be tolerated within the walls of the house of commons in 1818.

But the great feature which characterized the session under review, was the attempt made by administration to form a commercial union with Ireland. It is commonly known in our parliamentary history by the name of "The Irish Propositions;" and to *them* Courtenay made allusion, when he asserted that "a tax on servant-maids would not

by any means be *an Irish proposition*. Unquestionably, after the political emancipation of Ireland from British supremacy, and all legislative control, which took place in 1782, the wish to re-unite the two countries by the chain of mutual benefits, and an equal participation of the advantages of trade, was worthy of a patriot minister. But, if the project did honour to its authors, the means by which they intended to realize it did not appear to have received all the previous consideration requisite for a subject of such magnitude, intricacy, and vast national importance. Pitt, when he undertook so arduous, as well as complicated a work, demanding an intimate acquaintance with all the ramifications of trade between the two kingdoms, had not, however, the presumption to trust solely to his own knowledge. On Jenkinson he principally, and almost exclusively, relied; only reserving to himself the task of explaining the project, and decorating it with all the graces of persuasion. We may safely assume that the peerage to which Jenkinson was elevated in the succeeding year, constituted the remuneration stipulated for his assistance in maturing and supporting this favourite measure of the minister. Mr. Orde (since raised likewise to the British peerage), then secretary for Ireland, opened it under the form of *propositions*, in the house of commons of that kingdom, early in the month of February; and after the interval of about a fortnight, they having been assented to in the Irish parliament, Pitt regularly introduced the business from the treasury bench. The propositions, or articles of commercial union, eleven in number, were read; and the great principles on which reposed the system itself, received all the illustration which could be derived from eloquence. Far, however, from yielding an immediate assent to the plan, however seductive in theory, Lord North, Fox and Eden, while they professed a desire to receive further elucidation, and to reserve their final opinion till they should be better informed, nevertheless started, even in this early stage, many doubts respecting the policy and the practicability of the measure itself.

Throughout the months of March and

April, various discussions took place relative to it, in all of which the impediments to its completion seemed to multiply and gain strength. The minister, Fox observed, had begun in the wrong place, by communicating the propositions to the Irish parliament, before they were laid on the table of the English house of commons; — a remark which, I own, appeared to me to be just. Very early in March, petitions began to pour in against it; first, from Liverpool; next, from Manchester; and about the middle of the month, Mr. Stanley, one of the representatives for the county of Lancaster, presented a petition transmitted to him by his constituents, with eighty thousand annexed signatures. Such an opposition, not made by individuals within the walls of the house, to whom factious motives might have been imputed, but originating among the commercial and manufacturing classes, might, it was natural to suppose, have compelled the administration to pause before they pushed forward their plan. Every obstacle or remonstrance which arose, appeared nevertheless rather to irritate, than to convince, or to arrest, the chancellor of the exchequer; who reluctantly, and after considerable difficulty, acquiesced in allowing the different petitioners to be separately heard by counsel at the bar of the house. Nearly twelve weeks unavoidably elapsed in these examinations; throughout the whole of which time, Jenkinson performed, if not the first, certainly the second part. Nor was it till the month of May was considerably advanced, that Pitt brought forward the *propositions*, now augmented from eleven to twenty-seven, as well as modified and altered upon many material points.

12th May. — Few debates which have ever arisen in either house of parliament, can compete in importance or in interest with the discussion of that memorable evening. The attendance bore a proportion to the magnitude of the subject; the numbers on the division exceeding, I believe, any which had been witnessed within those walls since the concluding weeks of Lord North's administration. Pitt opened the subject with consummate ability; but, as it appeared to me, with the oratory of a sophist, or a rhetor-

ician, rather than in the temperate and well-matured language of a wise statesman. On the contrary, Fox, though, in my opinion, too diffuse (a fault which distinguished almost every speech that he made on great occasions), yet exhibited a far more unprejudiced, comprehensive, calm, and sound intellect, than his adversary. He appealed solely to the reason and understanding of his audience: while the chancellor of the exchequer, confident of being supported by an overwhelming majority, seemed to think that he might substitute his own will in the place of those commanding motives of state policy, which ought alone to have determined his conduct. After exposing under various aspects the contradictions, the pertinacity, the injurious consequences, and the political errors that met in the ministerial plan, Fox reverted to topics of a personal nature. Jenkinson formed the object of these observations, which laid bare to inspection the concealed network by which, as Fox asserted, the minister was held in dependence on the secret adviser of the sovereign. The board of trade, abolished in 1782, having been erected anew within three years after its suppression, under the denomination of a "committee of council for the superintendence of commerce," Jenkinson was placed at its head. Fox directed all the severity of his animadversions against this appointment, which again called out Jenkinson into public and active employment under government, after he had remained ever since Lord North's resignation, without office, in a species of political eclipse.

These remarks were followed by others, calculated to exhibit the minister as a mere puppet, controlled by an unseen but superior power. "Until of late," exclaimed Fox, "he has affected to disclaim any connection with *certain obnoxious characters*. In a high tone, he disavowed and reprobated all friendship with *the individual who has long been suspected of exercising an unconstitutional influence over the government of this country*. Such was his language at the time when a momentary popularity, founded on delusion, placed him, as he conceived, above *the degradation of such an alliance*. The case

is now altered. He has involved himself by his temerity, his confidence in his own ability, and his presumption, in a dilemma relative to Ireland, from which he knows not how to extricate himself. *Misery makes us acquainted with strange companions.* Now that he begins to feel his weakness and insecurity, his expressions are less inflated, and his proud rejection of obnoxious associates is heard no more.

"Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul
uterque,
Projicit ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba."

He is now reduced to invoke assistance on any terms, and from any quarter. The *Irish propositions*, ill digested, and framed for the surrender of every object dear to the people of Great Britain, have excited universal alarm. He is fallen from his elevation. Hence it arises, that *the light of influence has condescended to shine down upon him with unusual lustre. He has been openly comforted and caressed.*"

It might have been supposed that a minister accustomed to meet, and to repel, every accusation which the ingenuity of party could fabricate, and little disposed to give quarter when misrepresented or attacked, would have risen to efface the impression made by Fox's speech. I own, I anticipated it with a sort of certainty. He nevertheless sate silent. His conduct had been different on the 12th of January, 1784, when, under a similar imputation, he instantly denied his knowledge of any secret influence. But he was not then supported by a majority. Jenkinson indeed attempted to answer Fox's objections to *the propositions*; but he neither noticed, nor did he resent, nor still less did he deny, the imputation of maintaining a secret communication with the sovereign. He observed indeed, that personal allusions had been made to himself; only adding, "No charge can, however, be brought against me, except a steady adherence to the party with whom I am connected in politics." The discussion having already been protracted almost till five in the morning; and sixteen new *resolutions* having grown out of the original eleven, to the proba-

ble operation or effect of which the far greater part of the members present were necessarily strangers; an immediate adjournment was moved by Lord North. A violent cry of *Question* arising from the ministerial benches, Fox attempted to arrest their impatience, by representing, that if they persisted to force a division, they must make up their minds to wait several hours longer before it took place. "The question," added he, "is big with destruction to the empire; and I therefore beseech the minister, for the honour of this assembly, as he values the prosperity of the two countries, as he respects his own character, to allow us to pause, and to resume the debate on a future day!" Some moments of suspense took place, Pitt declining to make any rely; when Dundas rising, observed with a smile, that the appearance of the morning was pleasing in the highest degree. "The house," continued he, "seem to be in good spirits; and there is no impediment to prevent the right honourable gentleman from entertaining us, if he thinks proper, with a speech of two or three hours. The circumstance is one to which this audience is accustomed, and it cannot be doubted that they will listen to him with pleasure."

A refusal to adjourn, rendered still more irritating by the mode and language in which it was conveyed, called up Rigby, formerly the friend and ally of Dundas, though now enlisted under the banners of the *coalition*. He reprobated the conduct of ministers on the occasion; but he no longer excited the attention with which, during Lord North's administration, he was heard whenever he mixed in debate. Lord Surrey and others, nevertheless, sustaining Fox's demand of immediate adjournment, and Pitt persisting in sullen silence, Powis declared that the state of his health would not permit him to remain any longer in so crowded a house. He demanded, therefore, time, as indispensable for enabling him to comprehend and examine the new *propositions* submitted to their consideration. Having asked whether many gentlemen present were not in a similar predicament, he added, "If they are, they will not act conscientiously unless they vote with

me. They must be, on the contrary, traitors, lost to every principle of honour and of honesty, if they vote with the minister on a question of such national importance, which they acknowledge that they do not understand." Pitt, who dreaded the effect of Powis's appeal, having observed, that, "notwithstanding this ostentatious display of conscience, honour, and honesty, he believed there were many individuals present of as pure integrity, and as respectable characters, who could conscientiously vote with him upon the question," Powis rose a second time. "It is not my intention," replied he, "to encroach on the special prerogative arrogated by the chancellor of the exchequer; the right of using *insulting language* to members of this assembly. As little do I mean to invade his peculiar privilege of using sarcastic expressions towards all those who differ from him in opinion, together with every other *personal affront* suggesting itself to an irritable and inflammatory temper. But I will repeat, that those persons who do not understand the *propositions* any more than myself, cannot conscientiously vote for the question."

Fox having likewise depicted the difficulty of comprehending a subject so complicated, added, "*He* must possess an intellect not given to the general race of mankind, and infinitely superior to any that *I* can claim, who pretends, on so transient a view of the present measure, to decide upon its merits. If, without understanding it, he blindly supports it, he is guilty of such a violation of his duty as no subsequent penitence can expiate. He sacrifices the commerce of his country to the *whistling of a name*. The minister who can stake his official existence on the success of the question before us, must be lost to all sense of character: while he who servilely acquiesces, sinks below the situation of a senator, and disgraces the name of an Englishman." Notwithstanding these severe denunciations, two members had the courage to rise, and to avow that they stood precisely in the predicament described; namely, of not understanding the *propositions*, and yet being ready to vote them, upon grounds of confidence in the administration. The *first*, who

is now one of the greatest and wealthiest nobleman in the kingdom,—an earl, decorated with the order of the *garter*, and distinguished by the personal favour of the regent,—was then the eldest son of a Yorkshire clergyman, rector of Swillington in the same county, of very limited fortune, though of ancient descent; and who had been raised to the baronetage, early in the present reign. I mean, the late Rev. Sir William Lowther. His son, a man of very moderate parts, was one of the representatives for the county of Cumberland; a distinction which he owed to the protection of the Earl of Lonsdale. By him, to whom Mr. Lowther was distantly related, he was finally adopted; Lord Lonsdale never having had any issue by his marriage with Lady Mary Stuart, daughter of the celebrated Earl of Bute.

The *second* person who ventured to make the same avowal, Sir Gregory Page Turner, was distinguished by great eccentricities of deportment; such, indeed, as to call into question, on some occasions, the sanity of his mind. I confess, nevertheless, that Fox's and Powis's severe animadversions on the conduct of those individuals, who entrusted their political conscience to ministerial direction, appeared to me unjust, as applied to the subject under debate. Probably, among the four hundred and thirty-six members who finally divided on the question, not thirty-six were competent to form a sound estimate of the utility, or pernicious nature, of the *propositions*. So vast a scope did they embrace, and so difficult was it to adopt any well-matured opinion respecting their consequences to the two countries. Under such circumstances, what other course could a popular assembly pursue, than to follow the authority of men who during successive months had applied their faculties to the object? I am unable, even now, after the lapse of three-and-thirty years, to say whether the *Irish propositions* would, or would not, have been productive of benefit to the two kingdoms. Yet I incline to think that the Irish nation, though they might have sacrificed their independence on particular points of commercial regulation or legislation, would have received solid compensations of many kinds for

any such renunciation. But ignorance pervaded equally the ministerial and the opposition benches, though only two individuals then rose to make the confession. A third member, Humphrey Minchin, one of the representatives for Oakhampton, soon afterwards followed their example. Minchin possessed extensive information, was versed in parliamentary business, and performed a conspicuous part among the opposition leaders. On the 30th of May, he moved to adjourn the consideration of *the Irish propositions* for three months. — "Throughout the whole progress of this most important measure," said he, "I have daily attended, and listened to every conversation respecting it. But I have not hitherto voted once; and the reason is,—I am not ashamed to make the avowal;—" *it has not been in my power to understand the resolutions.* I am however able to add, that I by no means stand alone in this predicament. *Many men of undoubted abilities, in as well as out of this assembly, are in the same situation. Nay, I believe I may safely assert that the bulk of the people in both countries are in a state of equal ignorance relative to the true scope, import, and above all, the results to be expected from the propositions.*"

Nine-tenths of the house of commons possessed neither leisure nor ability, nor inclination to investigate so deep a subject, even had more time been granted for the purpose. And could it be expected that they would nullify their own votes? The demand, however specious, Fox well knew, was destitute of solidity; calculated rather to afford matter for declamation than for just accusation. — Eden, who upon all questions of commerce or manufactures, occupied among the opposition the same place which Jenkinson filled under administration, terminated this long debate. Vainly, however, did he adjure the minister to postpone, even for a day, the consideration of so momentous a subject; though he reminded Pitt of the precipitation with which the vote respecting *the Westminster scrutiny* had been carried, and of the disgrace that succeeded. "At nearly as late an hour as we are now debating," said Eden, "in the triumph of party, was that ill-fated victory obtained; a

measure which, even in the opinion of those who carried it, as well as in the estimation of the public, can never be mentioned except in terms of shame or of indignation." The treasury bench making no reply, the division immediately took place. It fully equalled the ministerial expectations; two hundred and eighty-one members blindly supporting Pitt, while Fox numbered only one hundred and fifty-five who voted for the adjournment. I believe, during the whole time that I sat in parliament, I never remained till so late an hour in the house. When I passed the Horse Guards in my way home, the clock pointed to half-past eight. During the discussions respecting Wilkes, in the first years of the present reign, as I have been assured by old members, the debate lasted, on one, if not on more than one occasion, till nine in the morning.

19th May. — The asperity and recrimination which characterized the early stages of *the Irish propositions*, by no means diminished in violence as that measure advanced towards its completion. Burke, after comparing the situation of the British government relative to Ireland, with the position of England and America in 1774; the mother country in both cases attempting, through the medium of parliament, to raise a revenue by legislative regulations; attacked Pitt in a very sensitive part. Observing Jenkinson seated on his right hand, "The chancellor of the exchequer," exclaimed Burke, "mounted aloft on the shoulders of his right honourable friend, seems to set at defiance all argument, and to despise every remonstrance. *I envy not the statue its pedestal, nor the pedestal its statue: one is well adapted to the other.*" Fox pursuing the simile, "If," said he, "following the example of the present minister, I had sought, when in office, the species of support illustrated by *the pedestal and the statue*, I should not on the present day be accused of having manifested personal ambition or temerity, during the time that I occupied a share in the government. But I seek not for such support. My only *pedestal* is the British constitution." Though Jenkinson remained silent under these imputations, with which he was perhaps

not wholly dissatisfied, yet Dundas did not allow them to pass unnoticed. While answering Fox, he remarked that the *pedestal* and the *statue* which Burke's fancy had formed, must have been founded in some mistake. "I conceive," added Dundas, "he alluded to the *pedestal* on which the late secretary of state attempted to place himself, and to bury under it the constitution of his country. We seek only constitutional support. The support to which he and his friends trust, is not so constitutional: but, such as it is, I will not specify it; for it is unfit to be mentioned here." The allusion thus made to the Prince of Wales, could not be misunderstood. Pitt, nevertheless, conscious that such an insinuation did not admit of proof, with great ingenuity attempted to give it a more general and undefined application.

"I rise," said he, "to say a few words respecting a subject which, on this evening, has assumed a most poetic and picturesque appearance. I mean, the happy idea of a *statue* and a *pedestal*. After having derived so much advantage from it in *argument*, I hope its inventor will allow us to see it under a different dress; as it seems highly calculated to gratify another sense, if decorated with proper *colouring*."—"With respect to a *constitutional support of a nature unfit or indelicate to mention in this house*, the most constitutional support which I can conceive, is the confidence of the crown, of parliament, and of the nation. But, if a set of men could exist, who having stormed the cabinet, and distributed among themselves the several departments of government, should form a regular system for degrading their royal master to a cypher in the state;—if they should then endeavour to secure possession of their power by erecting a new and *unconstitutional* executive authority;—I desire to ask whether the *support* which they seek can, with any sort of regard to parliamentary decorum, be mentioned in this assembly?" Having extricated Dundas by so dexterous an explanation of his speech, Pitt proceeded to defend the measure under consideration. Nor did the house desert him, as one hundred and ninety-five members supported administration on

the division. Fox could only number ninety. But the party, however outvoted in parliament, took their full revenge in ridicule, wit, and poetry. *The statue* and the *pedestal* were exhibited under various forms. One of the "Probationary Odes," published at this time, thus describes Pitt and Jenkinson."

"Lo! hand in hand, advance th' enamour'd pair;

This, Chatham's son, and that, the drudge of Bute.

Proud of their mutual love,

Like Nisus and Euryalus they move;

To glory's steepest heights together tend,

Each careless for himself, each anxious for his friend,

Hail! associate politicians!

Hail! sublime arithmeticians!

Hail! vast exhaustless source of Irish *propositions*!"

20th — 30th May. — The session was principally, if not solely protracted, by the perilous attempt to frame a commercial union between England and Ireland. Pitt's *fourth proposition*, which stated that "the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in both countries, and binding Ireland to adopt all such regulations as Great Britain should enact," appeared to be subversive of the legislative independence of the former kingdom, though many ingenious reasons were adduced by ministers to prove the contrary. Lord Beauchamp, who took a leading part in the debate which arose on this *proposition*, moved an amendment to it. He occupied no mean place in the ranks of opposition, and spoke, whenever he addressed the house, if not with eloquence, at least with knowledge of the subject. His person, elegantly formed, rose above the ordinary height; and his manners were noble, yet ingratiating. Few individuals in either house of parliament could feel a deeper interest in maintaining and cementing the union of the two countries; he being heir to a vast patrimonial property situate in Ireland. Like most, or all the members of his family, he was accused of loving money; and before he completed his thirty-fourth year, he had married two of the richest heiresses of high birth to be found in England. The

first, who was a daughter of Lord Windsor, could boast of few personal attractions; but the second, besides the gifts of fortune, had received from nature such a degree of beauty as is rarely bestowed upon woman. Lady Beauchamp, in 1785, though even then no longer in her first youth, possessed extraordinary charms. At the present time, in 1818, when she numbers over her head nearly sixty winters, she is still capable of inspiring passion. That she does indeed inspire passion in some sense of the word, must be assumed from the empire which she maintains at this hour over the regent; — an empire depending, however, from the first moment of its origin, more on intellectual and moral endowments, than on corporeal qualities, and reposing principally on admiration or esteem. We may reasonably doubt whether Diana de Poitiers, Ninon de l'Enclos, or Marion de l'Orme, three women who preserved their powers of captivating mankind even in the evening of life, could exhibit at her age finer remains of female grace than the Marchioness of Hertford retains at the present day. — Lord Beauchamp's amendment could only procure thirty-six supporters, while one hundred and ninety-four voted with government. But it was not till the last days of May, that the *resolutions* having finally passed the house of commons, the Marquis of Graham carried them up to the bar of the peers.

June. — Among the members who occupied throughout the session no inconsiderable portion of notice, must be accounted Beaufoy. On all subjects connected with commerce, he displayed a great variety of information, and his intentions were always directed to national benefit. Strongly attached to the administration, he nevertheless preserved his independence of character, and might be esteemed rather a friend, than a follower, of the minister. Few persons appeared so attentive to the aids of dress as Beaufoy, who rarely or never took his seat except attired with more than ordinary care. Indeed, it was commonly said, that whenever he intended to speak on any question, he prepared his figure for the act, not less than his mind; under a conviction that his oratory produced a more favourable impression, and

was assisted by external elegance of appearance. His delivery, measured, grave, and sonorous, was as far removed from the precision of Banks, as from the fluency of Wilberforce. He possessed much command of expression, and even dignity of language; but there was in his manner something theatrical, which diminished the effect of his eloquence. I have been assured that he received lessons of enunciation from old Sheridan, who gave lectures on the study and practice of oratory as a science.

Beaufoy manifested on every occasion the most deeply-rooted prejudices against Lord North, as the conductor of the American war: a circumstance which, when added to his predilection for Pitt, procured him a distinguished niche in the "*Rolliad*." That production thus describes him.

"Lo! Beaufoy rises, friend to soft repose,
Whose gentle accents prompt the house to doze.
His cadence just a general sleep provokes,
Almost as quickly as *Sir Richard's* jokes.
Thy slumbers, North, he strives in vain to break;
When all are sleeping, thou wouldst scarce awake,
Tho' from his lips severe invectives fell,
Sharp as the acid he delights to sell."

In order that the allusion contained in the last line might not be mistaken, the "*Rolliad*" subjoins, "This accomplished orator, although the elegance of his diction, and smoothness of his manner, partake rather of the properties of oil, is, in his commercial capacity, a dealer in vinegar." *Sir Richard* was designed for *Sir Richard Hill*, as *Sir Joseph* always signified *Sir Joseph Mawbey*, throughout the "*Rolliad*."

Nor was this the only mention made of Beaufoy in the satirical compositions of that period which emanated from Fox's party. In one of the "*Political Eclogues*," published towards the end of 1786, entitled "*Margaret Nicholson*," he is introduced. The eclogue in question (written as a parody on the "*Daphnis*" of Virgil, where Menalcas and Mopsus contend in alternate verse), presents Wilkes and Jenkinson congratulating each other on the king's recent escape from assassination. Beaufoy was accustomed sometimes to entertain the

cabinet at his house in Great George-street; in allusion to which fact, Jenkinson exclaims,

"Twice every year, with Beaufoy, as we dine,
Pour to the brim—eternal George—be
thine

Two foaming cups of his nectareous juice,
Which,—new to gods,—no mortal vines
produce."

A circumstance which I witnessed at this period of the session, may serve to show the thorough information possessed by Beaufoy on matters of trade, and the enormous frauds which were then practised on the revenue. Beaufoy having presented a petition to the house from the dealers in tobacco, praying relief in various matters interesting to themselves, and to the country at large, detailed the mode in which tobacco was smuggled into the kingdom. "A vessel laden with that article," said he, "comes up the Thames to Gravesend, where a custom-house officer rows on board her. As soon as he sets his foot on the deck, he walks to the ladder conducting to the captain's cabin, where he writes in chalk, *Have you any tobacco for me?* The captain no sooner peruses these words, than, after first erasing them, he replies in the same way, *I have. What is your price?* The officer, using a similar previous precaution, answers, *Five guineas a hogshead*; to which the captain (still taking care not to allow the question and the answer to remain at the same time, as a testimony against him of this illicit correspondence), simply chalks on the ladder, *Agreed*. The bargain being thus concluded, on the ensuing night the ship is got up as far as Limehouse, where barges are held ready for conveying the tobacco on shore. Before the next morning, I am assured that thirty hogsheads are frequently landed, and the revenue consequently defrauded to the amount of two thousand pounds." Beaufoy's recital much amused the house; but Pitt, rising as soon as he had concluded, observed, that "after such an exposition, so interesting to the trade and revenue of the country, late as it was in the session" (I believe it happened on the 10th of June), "he should think it his duty to move for leave to bring in a *bill* for the future

regulation of the trade in tobacco." Within a few days subsequent, he carried his intention into effect.

At this time arrived in London, from the banks of the Ganges, where he had so long occupied the highest place, Governor-general Hastings. He will fill too distinguished a place in these memoirs not to trace the leading features of his character. When he landed in his native country, he had attained his fifty-second year, after having resided during the far greater part of his memorable life either on the coast of Coromandel or in Bengal. In his person he was thin, but not tall; of a spare habit, very bald, with a countenance placid and thoughtful, but, when animated, full of intelligence. Never perhaps did any man, who passed the Cape of Good Hope, display a mind more elevated above mercenary considerations. Placed in a situation where he might have amassed immense wealth without exciting censure, he revisited England with only a modest competence. Animated by the ambition of maintaining, perhaps of extending, the dominions of the East India Company, he looked down on pecuniary concerns. Mrs. Hastings, who was more attentive to that essential article, brought home about forty thousand pounds, acquired without her husband's privity or approval: but she had the imprudence to place it in the hands of a London merchant, who shortly afterwards proved bankrupt. The fact, not the loss, chagrined Hastings, when the circumstance became known to him. At this hour, in 1818, he subsists, principally or wholly, on the annuity of four thousand pounds a year conferred on him by the East India Company; driving nearly four miles to church on Sundays in a one-horse chair, and exhibiting no splendour in his domestic establishment. When Major Scott quitted Bengal, the governor-general presented him a bond for ten thousand pounds intended as a remuneration for the office of his future agent in England. The bond, bearing interest, when reclaimed by Scott, was paid; but not without causing inconvenience, or, I might say, pecuniary difficulty, to Hastings.

The only individual related to him by consanguinity, who came out to Bengal

while he remained at the head of government, was a gentleman in the military service of the Company. His name was Gardiner. I believe he never attained beyond the rank of subaltern; and he fell in the storming of Fort Gualior by Colonel Popham, about the year 1780. Previous to the attack, Gardiner made his will on a drum-head. It began thus. "Whereas I have the honour of being related to the governor-general; and whereas I possess no fortune, have incurred many debts, and have besides a mistress with two children; I hereby bequeath my debts, my affairs, my girl, and my two children, to the protection of Mr. Hastings." The governor-general took the persons thus made over to him under his immediate care, paid the demands, and fulfilled the will. He displayed a magnanimous mind, as much superior to revenge as above the desire of accumulating riches. Lacam, a man whom I well knew, and who planned the formation of a harbour at Saugur, not far from the mouth of the Ganges, was patronized by Hastings. Conceiving the project to be calculated for public utility, he even lent Lacam a large sum of money for the purpose of carrying it into execution. Nevertheless, when, in 1774, Clavering, Monson, and Francis arrived at Calcutta, Lacam joined them in their hostility to Hastings's measures, regardless of his preceding obligations to the governor-general. The gentleman who related this fact to me added, "I pressed him to compel Lacam to repay the money, after experiencing such proofs of his ingratitude."—"I cannot," replied he. "Why?" was my answer. "Because," rejoined he, "Lacam is my enemy."—"Yet," added the person who communicated to me the anecdote, "I believe, at that time, Hastings was not worth ten thousand pounds."

In private life, he was playful and gay to a degree hardly conceivable, never carrying his political vexations into the bosom of his family. Of a temper so buoyant and elastic, that the instant he quitted the council board, where he had been assailed by every species of opposition, often heightened by personal acrimony; oblivious of these painful occurrences, he mixed in society like a youth on whom care had never intruded.

How classic was his mind, how philosophic, how alive to the elegant images and ideas presented to us by antiquity, his imitation of Horace's

"Otium Divos rogat impotent!"

may best evince. He composed it on his return home to England, while on board the vessel which brought him from Bengal. His allusions to Lord Clive, and to Alexander Elliot, the first of whom lived "to hate his envied lot," while the last perished prematurely in the Cuttack country (a part of the Coromandel coast then little known), just as his public career commenced;—these two exemplifications of the inanity of all human affairs, and of the misfortunes which pursue us through life in different shapes, are perhaps finer allusions than the Roman poet's

"Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem;
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus."

The conclusion, addressed to Lord Teignmouth, then Mr. Shore, admirably delineates his own moderate desires, and objects of noble solicitude.

"For me, O Shore, I only claim
To merit, not to seek for fame,
The good and just to please:
A state above the fear of want,
Domestic love, Heaven's choicest grant,
Health, leisure, peace, and ease."

This invocation seems to have been ultimately realized in his person, after surviving not only the impeachment, which met him on setting foot in his native country, but likewise the far greater number of those distinguished individuals who originated and conducted the parliamentary prosecution against him. Yet it may not be unworthy of remark, as a singular fact, that his colleague and opponent Sir Philip Francis, as well as his successor in the government-general of India, Sir John Macpherson, are both now living, three and thirty years subsequent to the events under our consideration.

I do not mean to defend every political act of Hastings, while placed at the head of our affairs in Bengal. Still less is it my intention to deny that a desire

to augment the territories of the East India Company may have impelled him, on some occasions, to advance beyond the limits of a pacific and moderate system of policy. The infraction of the treaty of Poorunder; the severities exercised against the inhabitants of Rohilcund; the treatment of Cheyt Singh, and of various begums or princesses of Hindostan: — all these proceedings, if separately considered as detached from his general administration, furnish matter of historical censure and condemnation. But even these facts derive some justification from the circumstances which produced them, or are far overbalanced by the splendid proofs which he exhibited of firmness, energy, and resources of mind. His situation, from 1775 down to 1782, while Lord North was engaged in the American war, demanded the greatest exertions. From England he could derive only a precarious support. Around him he beheld hostility, aggravated by treachery or incapacity. It was in the beginning of 1778, that, in order to extricate the presidency of Bombay, he planned the adventurous march from the banks of the Jumnah to Surat, across the whole peninsula of India. Goddard executed this bold, wise, and hazardous enterprise, with scarcely seven thousand native troops under his command; traversing hostile, and almost unexplored portions of that continent, for the space of above eight hundred miles, nearly at the same period of time when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, and Egerton capitulated at Wargaum to a Mharatta army. Bombay, then an insulated settlement, remote from aid, involved in an unfortunate and disgraceful contest, which had reduced it to the verge of bankruptcy, was relieved by Hastings. In 1781 he extended similar protection to Madras, after the memorable irruption of Hyder Ally, and the defeat sustained by Fletcher and Baillie. How much admiration does his conduct at Benares, during the rebellion of Cheyt Singh, justly excite! Surrounded by enemies, open or concealed; protected only by a few companies of sepoys whom he was unable to pay, and without the means of obtaining timely support; his courage, calmness, and prudence triumphed over the insurrection. Peace with our Asiatic and

European foes ultimately took place. Public credit was preserved; and when Hastings quitted Calcutta, on the 1st of February, 1785, universal tranquillity reigned throughout our territories in the East.

That a man who had performed services so resplendent, should, instead of finding himself decorated with honours on revisiting his native country, meet an impeachment; — that he should be compared by Burke to Verres, and by Courtenay to Cortez; — may at first view produce surprise. But, on closer inspection, the causes of such an extraordinary fact become apparent. Hastings had excited numerous, as well as powerful enemies, while resident in India. At their head stood Burke and Fox. The former, though he might be impelled by principle to prosecute a great public culprit, — for such he appeared to Burke, — yet mingled much personal animosity, and many prejudices, with his moral disapprobation. Fox stood pledged to Burke's opinions on almost every point respecting India. Both had, during successive sessions, made Hastings's administration the perpetual subject of their crimination. They could not easily therefore recede; and Major Scott, the governor-general's avowed agent, with consummate imprudence, incessantly goaded them to bring forward their charges. All the friends of Clavering and of Monson joined them. A far more implacable and able adversary was beheld in the person of Francis; whose accurate local information upon all matters which had taken place under Hastings's government enabled him to probe every vulnerable part, and to expose every latent error. Such a phalanx, to which Sheridan joined his transcendent talents and eloquence, was never perhaps drawn out in array against any individual.

Hastings, whose whole life had been passed in Asia, and who very imperfectly knew the ground at St. James's, or in Westminster, ignorantly supposed that his public merits would at least balance, if not obliterate, any acts of severity, or any strong measures to which he might have had recourse, for the purpose, not of enriching himself, but of replenishing the exhausted treasury of Bengal. Other

motives of action, besides love of justice, moreover animated the chiefs of opposition in bringing Hastings to the bar of the house of peers. They well knew how favourable an opinion the king entertained of his services, and how graciously he would be received by his sovereign. If Pitt refused to concur in the articles of impeachment, they would have accused him with a base subservience to "the Bengalsquad;" with protecting delinquents, and obstructing the progress of a parliamentary prosecution against a criminal of the first magnitude. His concurrence in the prosecution might injure him essentially at court, and deprive him of many supporters in both houses. Nor could Dundas, who, when chairman of "the secret committee" instituted in 1781, had so affirmatively reprobated various acts of the governor-general, now decline to join in impeaching him, without exposing himself to the reproach of inconsistency:

The parliamentary history of the present reign offered moreover no slight encouragement to Hastings's enemies. Lord Clive, the *Albuquerque* of the eighteenth century, the conqueror and the founder of our empire on the Ganges; after his return was attacked in the house of commons, and narrowly escaped impeachment. Rodney was pursued with similar violence. On the 14th of May, 1781, Burke inveighed against Rodney in language of the utmost asperity, for his treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. The sufferings of the Jews settled on that island, were held up by Burke to public abhorrence, in terms as forcible as the severities exercised by Hastings on Cheyt Singh, or on the Princesses of Oude. Though defeated by a large majority of nearly two to one, yet he declared his determination of bringing Rodney to a public account; and was only prevented from executing his design by the splendid victory obtained over De Grasse, on the 12th of April, 1782. Lord North himself was saved by that victory from impeachment. If the engagement in question had proved as indecisive as Keppel's action of the 27th of July, 1778;—and if the combined fleets of France and Spain had consequently prosecuted their expedition

against a victorious British fleet, could not have made a long or an effectual resistance;—Lord North would infallibly have been sent to the Tower.

The Earl of Sandwich, whom Fox accused of *treachery*, and who was designated by him on the 23d of January, 1782, as "the faithful servant of the King of France, desirous to perform good service to his masters of the house of Bourbon," must have been involved in Lord North's misfortunes or punishment. So must Lord George Germain. I heard Fox and Burke both declare, on the 28th of November, 1781, that "he would speedily atone for all his crimes on the public scaffold, a victim to the just vengeance of an undone people." Burke added, "A day of reckoning will soon arrive. Whenever it comes, I shall be ready to impeach the American secretary of state." It may justly be questioned whether Jenkinson would not have been impeached, as the pretended agent of an unconstitutional influence, if affairs had taken a disastrous turn, after Lord North's resignation. Lastly, Lord Melville, in 1806, was, like Hastings, arraigned at the bar of the upper house; and I have been assured, that if the *first* article of his impeachment had been divided into *two* separate charges, instead of being put to the vote as *one*, there would have been a majority against him on *both*. Many peers who did not think him guilty of the *whole* charge collectively, and therefore acquitted him of it, yet would have condemned him on *one* or on the *other* of the allegations. Erskine who then held the great seal, was believed to be well aware of this fact; but to have felt no disposition to punish with severity a native of Scotland and a member of his own profession. Pitt was already dead; and the new coalition having got into power, their object was accomplished. In 1785, things were differently disposed. Only four days after Hastings arrived in London, Burke rising for the express purpose, gave notice that "he would prosecute the enquiry into the governor-general's administration, and support the charges advanced during his absence. The actual session being too far elapsed to allow of his bringing forward the business before parliament would rise, he

must necessarily postpone it till that assembly should be again convoked."

July.—Early in the month of July died the Earl of Portmore, at the advanced age of almost eighty-five. He had been very handsome in his youth, and being a youngerson, was commonly known under the reign of George the First by the name of "Beau Colyear." I have dined in company with him when nearly fourscore; and even at that late period of life he retained his activity of body, with many personal graces, and the most polished manners, set off by a green riband. Sir David Colyear, his father, who distinguished himself under William the Third, was raised by that prince to the peerage of Scotland. His mother, the celebrated Catherine Sedley, mistress of James the Second, had been created by him Countess of Dorchester; but the patent being only *for life*, the *English* earldom did not descend to her son. I believe there is no instance, since the Restoration, of a similar creation. Indeed the *right* of creating a peer or peeress *for life* (or, as it is denominated in France, *a brevet*), is not, I apprehend, acknowledged to reside in the crown at the present time. Soon after his father's decease, Lord Portmore married, in 1732, Juliana, Duchess Dowager of Leeds. They lived together above half a century, and she survived him more than nine years, dying in 1794, at ninety. When young, she had been a friend of the celebrated Lady Vane; and is mentioned in the memoirs of that extraordinary woman, published by Smollett, in his novel of "Peregrine Pickle." The Duchess of Leeds exhibited in my time a melancholy example of human decrepitude; frightful in her person, wholly deprived of one eye, superannuated, and sinking under infirmities. She outlived her first husband, Peregrine, Duke of Leeds, more than sixty-three years; he having died in May, 1731. Her jointure amounted to three thousand pounds per annum; and she consequently drew from the Leeds estate the incredible sum of one hundred and ninety thousand pounds during her widowhood. Lord Portmore's patrimonial property being very small, he sold one thousand pounds of the duchess's jointure, almost immediately after their marriage. The remaining

two thousand pounds a year formed the largest portion of their income.

No part of Pitt's ministerial machinery exposed him to comments so severe, or to ridicule so pointed, as the selection of Arden and Macdonald for the post of attorney and solicitor general. The master of the rolls, however fiery in his temper, or coarse in his manners, was universally acknowledged to be a lawyer of profound professional knowledge. But Arden's merit seemed to consist principally in the strong predilection manifested towards him by the chancellor of the exchequer. Not that he was destitute of considerable talents: but his person, ignoble; his countenance, which, though it did not absolutely want a nose (like Sir William Davenant's face), yet had only a very defective feature of that name; his manner flippant, noisy, and inelegant, excited animadversion. Nor did he compensate for these defects by any superior jurisprudential acquisitions. Unsupported by Pitt's favour, never would Arden have reached the heights of the law. As little would Macdonald have attained that eminence by eloquence, energy of character, or great endowments of mind. His connexions of birth and of alliance, rather than his legal ability, finally made him chief baron of the exchequer. But, less fortunate than Arden, he never could force the doors of the upper house. A baronetcy has formed the termination of his career, and covered his retreat from public life. It was already evident in 1785, that Scott must outrun every competitor at the bar. Three years afterwards he became solicitor-general; and perpetually advancing, still holds, in 1821, the great seal of England.

Notwithstanding the late period of the session, a *bill* was brought into the house of commons at this time, for "regulating the duration of polls and *scrutinies* in the election of members of parliament." I believe the solicitor-general moved for leave to introduce it; but it was drawn up by the attorney-general; its object being to prevent a repetition of the delays which had recently occurred in Covent-garden. Fox opposed it through every stage, as it assumed for its basis the legality of the late *scrutiny*: while Sheridan, Windham, and Eden, assailed the unfortunate attorney-general; pointing

out the gross errors, ignorance, or incongruities, which pervaded almost every clause. Courtenay coming forward at the close of the discussion, completed his embarrassment, and oppressed him under the coarsest, most insulting irony. After observing that he could no longer sit silent, from the strong emotions of his sympathy at the sight of a great man in distress, Courtenay remarked the malicious species of warfare carried on against Arden. "The present attack," said he, "is not made by gentlemen of his own profession, but by individuals who seem somehow or other, to have acquired more accurate ideas of law, and of the constitution, than his majesty's attorney-general. I trust, however, that he will not sink into despair, but will consider himself in the situation of Sancho Pança, when he was beat with the shoemaker's last; Don Quixote having satisfactorily proved to the disconsolate squire, that the meanness of the instrument erased the disgrace of the chastisement." — "The learned gentleman's candour," continued Courtenay, "merits particular praise: for he ingeniously owns his ignorance of the very statutes on which he founds the necessity for introducing his *bill*. All is fair, liberal, and open in his proceedings; and unless it had been universally known that he is attorney-general, no man could ever have suspected it from the professional ability which he has displayed throughout the present debate." Little or no reply was attempted, either by Arden, or from any individual on the ministerial side of the house, to these sarcasms, which greatly amused the audience, but did not affect the division. Eighty-nine votes supported the government. The opposition could only muster forty-four, and Arden's *bill* finally passed with all its defects.

During the whole month of June, the *Irish propositions* made little progress in the upper house. Lord Stormont and Lord Loughborough loudly demanded from ministers some information; in particular, an explanation of the reasons which had induced the cabinet to transmute the *eleven propositions* originally laid before the house of commons into *twenty*, as they *now* appeared on the table, altogether distinct in their principle. But scarcely any light could be

obtained from the members of administration. Lord Sydney, whose official province it was to dispense it, excused himself from giving details, on account of his apprehension that he might unintentionally let fall some fact or remark which, by misconstruction, would be prejudicial to the two countries. Nor did the chancellor appear disposed to fill up the void left by the secretary of state for the home department. The five remaining cabinet ministers observed a similar line of conduct. Earl Gower rarely indeed mixed in debate; and Lord Howe, except on professional subjects, when he was compelled to rise, never violated his habitual taciturnity. Lord Camden, who subsequently came forward with equal eloquence and knowledge of the subject, either had not as yet qualified himself to take part in the debate, or reserved himself for a future occasion. The Marquis of Carmarthen, ever since he made his memorable attack on Lord Sackville, in February, 1782, as if overcome by that effort, seemed hardly to have recovered the use of speech. The Duke of Richmond, indeed, by no means lay under a similar imputation; but, either from inability to comprehend the *propositions*, like Mr. Lowther, Sir Gregory Page Turner, and Mr. Minchin, or disapproving them, I believe he never once opened his lips from the moment of their first introduction till they finally passed. Under these extraordinary circumstances, Lord Carlisle, not without some reason and some wit, remarked, that while seven of his majesty's confidential servants were present (strange to relate), not a particle of information could be extracted from them. "I lament," added he, "that the Nile flows not here; and though we have the *septem ostia Nili*, their channels are dried up: far from fertilizing the soil, they dispense no drop of moisture."

8th July. — As the measure advanced, Lord Sydney however found his tongue; and opened the debate, if not in a luminous manner, at least with much more comprehension of the subject than I had ever expected from him. Lord Camden at the same time, like Priam, buckling on his armour, appeared in the front ranks. On the other side, Lord Stormont and Lord Loughborough ex-

posed the injurious, or rather, destructive consequences, which, it was justly to be apprehended, might flow from precipitation. But the feature of that evening's discussion which excited the deepest interest, was the part taken by the Marquis of Lansdown. Since his elevation to the high rank of the peerage, which had been conferred on him towards the close of the preceding year, he had rarely attended in his place, and scarcely mixed in public life. Withdrawn to his seat of Bowwood in Wiltshire, but always attentive to the progress of events; and having stationed two sentinels in the house of commons, namely, Barré and Alderman Townsend; he remained like a lion couchant, ready, if occasion presented itself, to re-appear at any moment on the stage. Rising when Lord Stormont concluded, he delivered his opinion at very considerable length. Few noblemen possessed a larger stake in the sister kingdom than himself. The tenor of his speech seemed to justify those persons who accused him of systematic insincerity or duplicity: for while he spoke strongly in favour of the *propositions*, answering Lord Stormont's objections, and urging immediate decision; he at the same time laid a broad ground for impeaching ministers, if, from want of due caution, they should plunge the empire into embarrassment. On comparing the different passages of his discourse, they appeared to be, not the composition of one man, but rather of two individuals animated by opposite intentions or convictions. Nor could it escape observation, in how different a manner he alluded to the Duke of Rutland, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, from the sarcastic and almost contumelious expressions which he used when mentioning the English chancellor of the exchequer.

"I repose," said Lord Lansdown, "the fullest confidence in the ability of the noble duke who is placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, as well as in the talents of his secretary. Their *property* constitutes no mean security for their conduct, in a transaction so pregnant with momentous results. With respect to our own ministers, they must be sunk in the most criminal infatuation, if they have not maturely prepared this great system; if they have not as-

certained all its bearings and tendencies, and consulted every source of knowledge."—"I cannot pretend to assert what are the actual dispositions and wishes of the Irish respecting the measure. *I am just from the woods. I have no correspondences;*" but, as far as the information of a common man extends, I consider all delay as most dangerous. If, my lords, this measure is not wise and proper, what other can be substituted for it? We may find fault with the system? *We may say that the author is too young, and is ignorant of the duties that are demanded by his situation. We may conceive that if we were placed in his office, we could do no better; and that if another had remained a little longer in his employment, all points depending between England and Ireland would have been adjusted. Perhaps we may exclaim, How, in God's name, did this man twist himself in to be a minister! But we must take matters as we find them, and deliberate maturely before we come to any decision.*" When we appreciate the spirit which pervaded Lord Lansdown speech; the pointed allusion made to Pitt's want of property, contrasted with the ample security afforded to the country in that particular by the lord-lieutenant, and by Mr. Orde; together with the personal reflexions on the mode by which Pitt attained to power;—when we consider these circumstances, it is not possible to doubt of the hostile sentiments by which the marquis was animated towards the minister. He may be said to have exhaled his chagrin by this attack, which only proved the extent of his animosity. Administration, with whom he nevertheless voted, carried the question on that evening by more than two to one, and the house went into a committee on the *propositions*.

18th July. — If the debate of the 8th of July excited great attention from the appearance and speech of Lord Lansdown; the discussion which arose ten days later in the same assembly awakened still stronger interest. Lord Sackville, who during near forty years had acted so distinguished, though, under many points of view, so unfortunate a part on the theatre of war, and of state;

who, after the business of Minden, and the loss of America, had nevertheless been raised by George the Third to the peerage, as a remuneration for his services; and who, approaching the close of life, had now, with undiminished energies of mind, withdrawn in some degree from politics; this nobleman, who fills so considerable a space under two reigns, was beheld for the last time engaged in active exertion. From the commencement of *the Irish propositions* as a ministerial measure, he had invariably deprecated and lamented their introduction. Though he did not, like the Marquis of Lansdown, possess any landed property in Ireland; yet, the long residence which during his youth he had made in Dublin, when added to the intimate knowledge which, as secretary, he had acquired under the Duke of Dorset his father, respecting the people, parties, and interests of that country, entitled his opinions to great respect. He had besides recently visited the island, and its capital, in the summer of 1784. Early in the month of June, he left London for Stonelands Park in Sussex; where he remained during the period that *the propositions* were delayed in their passage through the upper house, by the petitions of the manufacturers. But, on a day being fixed for considering *the report* from the committee; when the last favourable opportunity of opposing the measure would, as he well knew, present itself; he determined, though by no means in a state of good health, to attend in his place.

About seventy peers were present on that occasion: but the ministerial defence was conducted almost solely by the chancellor.

Lord Sackville depicted in language of force, but of moderation, the calamitous effects which he foresaw, or believed, would result to both nations from *the propositions*. "The matter is trivial to myself," continued he, "in comparison with many of your lordships. I can only be interested for posterity. Whatever may be the issue of our deliberations, my own personal concern is small. I am arrived at that period of life when it would ill become me to be deeply affected by any decision of this house. But I see before me many peers to

whom the system may be productive of most important consequences. They, I make no doubt, will live to curse the day that gave it birth. I perceive in its aspect incurable jealousies and endless discord. Should a rupture take place between the two countries, though it is not difficult to see which would prevail, yet the result will be alike fatal to both. I implore your lordships to act with caution, and not lightly to come to a vote which admits of no recall." Having endeavoured dispassionately to prove the erroneous or injudicious principles on which the system reposed, he urged the expediency of substituting in its place *a union* of the two kingdoms. Lord Lansdown, when touching on this point, in the course of his speech, a few days earlier, had declared such a measure, however desirable it might be, as presenting almost insurmountable impediments to its completion. On the contrary, Lord Sackville represented it as, if not easy, yet practicable; and productive, whenever it should be effected, of invaluable advantages to both nations. He examined and answered the objections set up to the attempt; nor did he spare the minister, while engaged in discussing the question. With great perspicuity, he demonstrated how impracticable it would be found to unite the English and Irish people on *commercial* principles in any solid or permanent bond; while he showed that where all their dependance was placed in one and the same *legislature*, every source of suspicion, distrust, and jealousy would be permanently extinguished.

His conclusion was highly impressive. "I look forward, my lords," said he, "to this happy consummation with the utmost anxiety; and shall be rejoiced to see commissioners appointed by his majesty for negotiating so important a work. *It will not probably take place in my time. Nevertheless, I hope that the period when it shall be effected is not very distant.* Happen whenever it may, the event will ensure to both kingdoms inestimable and lasting benefits." — "I trust the present measure may still be suspended, and that we may be impelled to direct our whole attention to that *union*, so desirable by the wise of each country. And if *the*

resolutions before us could only be withdrawn, should no other peer in this assembly be found to undertake it, *old as I am, I will move for an address to the king, praying that steps may be taken for accomplishing that union, on which depends the prosperity, not only of England and of Ireland, but of the whole empire.*" If we consider that these words were the last ever pronounced by Lord Sackville in the house of peers, they may be regarded as almost prophetic; and assuredly they entitle him to be ranked among the most enlightened British statesmen of the eighteenth century. Pitt, though he either did not then perceive their wisdom, or wanted sufficient magnanimity and expansion of mind to adopt the union recommended by Lord Sackville, in preference to his own rash, as well as ill-digested system; yet ultimately realized the plan pointed out by that nobleman. Fifteen years did not elapse without his recurring to the expedient which in 1785 he treated with neglect. Nor is it to be accounted among the least singular facts of our own time, that a man who by the sentence of a court-martial had been rendered incapable of serving the crown in a military capacity, and on whom, as a minister, the unpopularity of the American war peculiarly rested, should yet, when in his seventieth year, lay the first stone, as a peer, of the union between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Sackville may indeed be said, with nearly as much truth, to have exhausted his last breath in the senate, as did the great Earl of Chatham. Both spoke with extraordinary energy, in contradiction to measures which they deprecated as pernicious to their country. Both survived the exertion a very short time; — the latter nobleman, only a few days; the former, not six weeks.

Never was any act less dictated by a spirit of faction than Lord Sackville's conduct on the 18th of July. All his inclinations, as I know, leaned towards government. He had most disinterestedly and firmly supported Pitt in January, 1784, when his aid was very essential in both houses of parliament to a young first minister struggling against a powerful majority. Subsequent to

that period, he had continued to be animated by the same principles. His majesty had not in his dominions a more loyal, attached, and grateful subject. With more than one member of the existing cabinet he lived on terms of friendship. I allude to the chancellor, and to Lord Sydney. The remark might be extended to Lord Gower. On the contrary, he cultivated no intimacy with any of the adherents of the *coalition*. Some coldness even existed between Lord North and him, on account of the manner in which that nobleman had to a certain degree sacrificed or abandoned him, from the exigency of affairs, during the last weeks of his convulsed and expiring administration. Lord Sackville, in opposing the *Irish propositions*, was only impelled by his conviction of their inexpediency and dangerous tendency; — a conviction founded on local knowledge, and confirmed by reflection. Yet the spirit of party attributed his conduct to personal feelings of ambition or discontent. Satirical prints were exposed to sale in the shops, where he appears haranguing the house of peers, and encouraging them to attack the *Irish propositions*, while Lord Stormont and Lord Derby, in the back-ground, halloo and support him. But his mind was superior to such considerations, at a moment when he probably anticipated his departure from all sublunary deliberations, as not remote, however unapparent to common observers. In fact, during the course of the debate, he was so much indisposed as to be compelled more than once to leave the house. I breakfasted with him on the following morning in Pall-Mall, previous to his return to Stonelands, which was my last interview with him, as I set out for Paris soon afterwards, and did not return till he was no more. Nor had I then any suspicion or apprehension of his approaching dissolution, though I remarked that his voice was feeble, and that he did not hold himself as upright as was his custom. There was something more serious and kind than ordinary in his manner of parting with me. Possibly he thought, though I made no such reflection, that we might not meet again. He had declined in strength for

several weeks, owing to the effects of a medicine which he was habituated to take with a view of alleviating the pain occasioned by the disease of the stone. This medicine, a species of lixivium, unquestionably produced the effect intended; but, by corroding the coats of the stomach, it abbreviated, or rather terminated, his life.

19th — 25th July. — The motion made by Lord Sackville on the 18th of July, to postpone for four months the consideration of the *Irish propositions*, having been negatived by a great majority; only thirty peers supporting, while eighty-four opposed it; the *resolutions*, when voted, were brought down to the house of commons. One, and only one, discussion took place there on the subject; but no division was attempted. Eden, Fox, and Sheridan recapitulated their former arguments against the measure. On this occasion, Jenkinson coming conspicuously forward, expressed his decided belief that, whatever irritation might be excited against the system at the present moment, yet, as soon as it should be thoroughly understood, there would not be found a man in Ireland, possessing a sound understanding, who could refuse it his assent. Pitt repeated the same opinion, in still stronger terms. Fox, was not, however, deterred by these declarations from reiterating all his objections. With great force of reasoning, he demonstrated the contradiction and incongruity of the two systems; one, opened in the Irish house of commons by Mr. Orde; the other, originating here; each opposed to the other, in many of their most important principles. Where, he demanded, was to be found the present necessity for this commercial arrangement between the two countries? Ireland did not require it; and wantonly to bring forward so vast a measure, of which no man could predict or ascertain the consequences, appeared to be in itself an act of temerity as well as of danger. "If," concluded he, "by the operation of influence and corruption, the *resolutions* can be forced through the Irish parliament, yet so violent is the detestation of the Irish people towards them, that the nation will unquestionably effect their repeal within a short time."

Previous to the commencement of the

debate on the 25th of July, Pitt moved a long address to the crown, highly approving, or rather panegyricizing, the *commercial resolutions* adopted by the house. Sheridan exhausted his talents for ridicule on this panegyric, which he denominated a manifesto, and not an address. "It is," continued he, "an impudent libel on the British and the Irish parliaments, and a libel on the throne." — "That the *resolutions* are unpopular here, daily experience must convince. That they are still more unpopular in Ireland, I can assert from indisputable authority. The whole transaction, throughout every stage of its progress, has been a trick and a fallacy. It was my intention to express my sentiments in a still more deliberate manner than I have done in this house, and I have only to lament my own want of industry in not composing a commentary on the *propositions*. If I had done so, as I fully intended, I would not have acted in a concealed manner. My name should have been affixed to the performance." To this mainly, severe, and eloquent philippic, no answer was attempted from the treasury bench. Pitt and Jenkinson sat silent; but the address passed without any division. The chancellor of the exchequer, confident in the success of his system, and not doubting of its favourable reception in the Irish parliament, instantly moved for leave to bring in a *bill* for "finally regulating the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries." Nor did he desist from his determination in compliance with Fox's remonstrances, who warned him, that by so premature and precipitate an act, he violated the decency due towards the legislature of Ireland, they having as yet no cognizance of the *resolutions*. Pitt nevertheless continuing inflexible, the question was put from the chair, and carried in the affirmative; after which an adjournment took place.

28th July — 2d August. — It might naturally have been supposed that the minister, who, after more than five months of unremitting exertion, had, in defiance of so many impediments, carried his measure triumphantly through the two

British houses of parliament, would have well ascertained that he should not meet with a defeat on the other side of the Channel. But the event proved that his expectations rested on a fallacious or insecure foundation. Only ten days after the adjournment at Westminster, when Mr. Orde opened the system in the Irish house of commons, an opposition of the most determined nature was experienced by government. Grattan, — a name distinguished above all others in the annals of Irish eloquence and Irish patriotism during the course of the eighteenth century, — supported by Flood, Burgh, and many eminent members of that assembly, levelled his severest animadversions on the ministerial *propositions*. Curran, then young, and who has since risen to such celebrity in the sister kingdom, gave shining proof of his talents in support of the same cause. 'These illustrious orators, who so long "held the bar or senate in their spell," thundered against Pitt's system, as subversive of the national dignity and freedom. Not that government wanted advocates of equal ability. at whose head I should place Fitzgibbon, then attorney-general, since created Earl of Clare in Ireland, and raised by Pitt to the British peerage in 1799. But the unpopularity of the measure, which appeared to strike at the legislative independence of Ireland, overcame every effort to sustain it. After a debate, protracted till nine on the ensuing morning, when two hundred and thirty-five members voted, *the propositions* were only carried by *nineteen*. Even that small majority could not be regarded as permanent, and diminished on every division. Under these circumstances, Orde, in whom was vested the executive administration (for the Duke of Rutland was only a name), yielding to the torrent, moved an adjournment. Never was a ministerial defeat more signal! The system of commercial settlement, reared with so much difficulty, dissolved at once, leaving no wreck behind. It was, if possible, more odious among the Irish *people* than in the *parliament*; and the illuminations by which Dublin testified the national exultation, completed the humiliation of the government.

When we dispassionately examine this great plan, through the medium of

time, we must admit that the conception was grand, the design laudable, and the advantages expected to result from it such as might do honour to the most enlightened or patriotic minister, if he could have realized them for the common welfare of both islands. Nor is it to be doubted that Pitt's motives in originating the measure were elevated, pure, and indicated no vulgar ambition. But neither can we deny that throughout the whole transaction we recognize much temerity, miscalculation or error, presumption, and inflexibility. These qualities, which generally characterize youth, will find some apology on reflecting that the chancellor of the exchequer had scarcely completed his twenty-sixth year when *the propositions* were sent up to the house of peers. Conquerors have laid waste the earth, and favourites have exercised supreme power, at very early periods of life; but I believe there is no instance of the first minister of a free country being placed so early on such an eminence. 'The first Earl of Mansfield, when speaking of Pitt, on another occasion, to which I shall allude in the course of these memoirs, said, "He is not a great minister. He is a great *young* minister."

'The same excuse cannot be made for Jenkinson, who acted as the guide of Pitt, and who appears to have participated in his credulous anticipation of the favourable reception which *the propositions* would experience in Ireland. But *his* share of the glory, or the obloquy, was only inferior and subordinate. He was not a member of the cabinet. Nor can we doubt that he had already made his bargain with the first minister, and received, in return for his assistance and support, the promise of a British peerage; though, from prudential considerations, its accomplishment was postponed till the ensuing year. He might even esteem his reward more certain and secure from a discomfited, than from a triumphant, first lord of the treasury. Pitt, if he had carried every point in Ireland with the same facility as in England, might possibly, when solicited to realize Jenkinson's expectations, have replied with *Richard*,

"I am not in the giving vein to-day. —
Thou troublest me. I am not in the vein."

Fox did not hesitate at least to assert in various of his speeches, that Jenkinson's favour was manifested more openly to the minister, in proportion to, and in consequence of his distress, arising from the difficulties into which he had plunged himself by bringing forward *the propositions*. Dundas possessed so flexible and accommodating a political conscience, that no sacrifice of opinion affected *his* nerves. A man who in 1782 could speak and vote against parliamentary reform; without hesitating in 1783, and in 1785, to support by his voice and his vote, the same measure, moved by the same individual; was necessarily composed of pliant materials. The season of the year, when parliament was not sitting, and when many months must elapse before it would probably be again convoked for business, covered the ministerial defeat sustained in Dublin, which became insensibly obliterated from the public mind. *The Irish propositions*, though they occupied all attention, in 1785, seemed to be scarcely remembered in 1786. Fox, it is true, alluded to them in terms of the strongest reprobation, on the first day of the ensuing session; when he advised the chancellor of the exchequer to declare explicitly, his determination never more to revive a measure so odious to the trading interests, manufacturers, and merchants of both kingdoms. But, subsequent to that mention, they sunk into political oblivion.

August. — Some days previous to the adjournment of the two houses, I left London for Paris. Since my visit to that capital in the preceding year, Marie Antoinette had given a second heir to the throne, created Duke of Normandy, afterwards the unfortunate Louis the Seventeenth; if, indeed, he can be properly ranked among the French kings. But this auspicious event, which naturally should have endeared the queen to the nation, did not restore her popularity, and she laboured under great and general prejudices entertained against her. Nor had the finances, conducted by Calonne, assumed a prosperous appearance. The ministry remained unchanged; Vergennes, though only at the head of the foreign department, constituting the master-spring of the administration, as the first

Mr. Pitt had done among us, under George the Second. Choiseul, the most vigorous minister whom the French had beheld since the prosperous periods of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, unless we should except the Marshal de Belleisle; — Choiseul was no more. He expired in retirement, though not in disgrace, some months earlier; passing the close of his life in a splendid but philosophic retreat, worthy of Lucullus, or of Cicero, at his palace of Chanteloup, near Amboise, on the banks of the Loire, in one of the most delicious parts of France. During my stay at Paris, public attention was principally engrossed by the memorable transaction of *the diamond necklace*, in which Madame de la Motte performed so important a part. I happened to be at Versailles on the very day, the 15th of August, when the Cardinal de Rohan, at the time that he was preparing to celebrate mass in the chapel royal, was arrested by order of the king. Such an event taking place in the person of a member of the Sacred College, an ecclesiastic of the highest birth and greatest connexions; related, through the kings of Navarre, to the sovereign himself, and grand almoner of France; might well excite universal amazement. Since the arrest of Fouquet, superintendent of the finances, by Louis the Fourteenth, in 1661, no similar act of royal authority had been performed: for we cannot justly compare with it the seizure and imprisonment of the Duke du Maine in 1718, by order of the regent Duke of Orleans as an accomplice, in the conspiracy of Prince Cellamare. The Cardinal de Rohan's crime was private and personal, wholly unconnected with the state, though affecting the person and character of the queen.

Prince Louis de Rohan, second brother of the Duke de Montbazou, had attained his fifty-first year when the calamitous adventure in question took place. He was a prelate of elegant manners, unceasingly pursuing pleasure, yet nourishing a restless ambition. His talents, though specious, were not regulated by judgment. Credulous, and easily duped by necessitous or artful individuals, who rendered him subservient to their purposes; his vast revenues, arising from the bishoprick of Strasburgh, the abbey

of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, and other ecclesiastical benefices, laid him open to solicitations of every description. Previous to his attainment of the episcopal dignity, while only coadjutor of Strasburgh, he had been employed in the diplomatic line; and filled the post of ambassador from the court of France, at Vienna, under the reign of Marie Theres, during a considerable time. After his return home, an ardent thirst of power impelled him to attempt reaching the ministerial situation left vacant by Maurepas. Nor was the expectation altogether chimerical; and we may reasonably doubt whether the Cardinal de Lomenie, who, scarcely five years later, attained it, proved himself more capable of extricating France from her embarrassments, than was the Cardinal de Rohan. But Louis the Sixteenth had imbibed very strong prejudices against him, and the queen held him in still greater aversion. Yet, in defiance of these impediments, his efforts were directed to acquire her favour. He was besides not insensible to her personal charms, and entertained the presumptuous hope of rendering himself acceptable to her. The queen, who at this time had not completed her thirtieth year, possessed great attractions, loved admiration, and was accessible to flattery. Other cardinals had presumed to address their vows to preceding queens of France, — the Cardinal of Lorraine, to Catherine of Medicis; Richelieu, to Mary of Medicis, after the death of Henry the Fourth; and subsequently to Anne of Austria; Fleury, to the consort of Louis the Fifteenth. Without drawing the slightest inference from the fact injurious to Marie Antoinette's honour, it may be assumed as certain that the cardinal regarded her with predilection, not merely as the arbitress of his political destiny, but as an object of personal attachment.

Among the numerous individuals who then frequented Versailles, with the view of advancing their fortune, was Madame de la Motte Valois. Her descent from Henry the Second, king of France, by one of his mistresses, a Piedmontese lady of noble extraction, named St. Remy, having been accidentally discovered and incontestably proved, she became an object of royal notice. A

small pension was bestowed on her; and Mademoiselle de Valois, aided by these propitious circumstances, was soon afterwards married to a gentleman of the name of La Motte, one of the Count de Provence's body guards. His functions retaining him at Versailles, near the person of that prince, she became well known to the Cardinal de Rohan, whose character, inclinations, and foibles, she appears to have studied with no ordinary attention. In 1785, she had nearly passed the limits of youth, and she never possessed beauty; but her total want of moral principle, when added to her poverty and habits of expense, induced her to adopt the most desperate expedients for recruiting her finances. A circumstance which took place about this time facilitated their success. — Boëhmer, a German jeweller, well known at the French court, possessing a most costly diamond necklace, valued at near seventy thousand pounds sterling, obtained permission to exhibit it to her majesty; hoping that she might become the purchaser of so superb an article of female ornament. The queen was not, however, captivated by its splendour, and immediately declined the proposal. Madame de la Motte having received information of the fact, took the resolution of fabricating a letter from the queen to herself, authorizing her to make the purchase. In the letter, that princess was made to express a determination of taking the necklace at a certain indicated price; under the express reserve, however, that the matter should remain a profound secret, and that Boëhmer would agree to receive his payment by instalments, in notes under her own hand, drawn on her treasurer, at stipulated periods.

Furnished with so specious an authority, Madame de la Motte repaired in person to the cardinal. Having in confidence submitted to him Marie Antoinette's pretended letter, she then expatiated on the invaluable occasion, which at length presented itself to him, of acquiring that princess's favour, and conferring on her an indelible obligation. She concluded by urging him to see Boëhmer, and to accelerate by his assurances of the queen's approbation (the proof of which fact was before him),

the termination of the affair. Credulous as the cardinal proved himself to be throughout the whole business, and peculiarly open to deception as he was on all points that appeared to facilitate his attainment of the queen's particular regard; he nevertheless refused to embark in it, without previously receiving from her own mouth the requisite authority. Madame de la Motte and her husband, who foresaw the impediment, had already provided against it. There resided at that time in Paris a female of Italian extraction, aged twenty-four, by name Mademoiselle d'Oliva, who performed at one of the theatres. In her figure she bore a considerable degree of resemblance to Marie Antoinette. Her they induced, by a sum of money, to personate the queen; assuring her that it was only a frolic, which could lead to no unpleasant or serious consequences. She consented, received from Madame de la Motte instructions how to conduct herself, and was held in readiness for acting the part assigned her.

All the preparations being thus arranged, Madame de la Motte acquainted the cardinal, that however reluctant her majesty might be to come forward personally on such an occasion, she nevertheless felt the propriety of his eminence's scruples. In order to remove them, and at the same time to give him a proof of her deep sense of his service in procuring her the necklace, she therefore had resolved on granting him an interview in the gardens of Versailles. But, as a discovery must inevitably bring the whole transaction to the king's knowledge; — a disclosure which she deprecated; — it became indispensable to adopt certain precautions. With that view she had fixed on a shady and retired spot, at a little distance from her own apartments in the palace near the orangery; to which place, under cover of the evening, she could repair, muffled up in such a manner as to elude notice. Their interview, she added, must necessarily be very short; and she absolutely refused to speak a single word, lest she might be overheard. Instead of verbally authorizing the cardinal to pledge her authority to Boëhmer, it was therefore settled that she should hold in her hand a flower; which on his approaching her

to know her pleasure, she would immediately extend to him, as a mark of her approval.

However much we may wonder that he could acquiesce in so gross a deception, or could consent to take part in such a mysterious, obscure, and hazardous intrigue; yet it cannot be doubted that he became a dupe to the artifices of the unprincipled female who planned the whole scheme of plunder. The delusion thus projected was carried into effect with complete success. On the evening appointed, Mademoiselle d'Oliva, dressed in such a manner as to personate the queen, her face concealed, and protected by the shades of approaching night, being stationed at the place agreed on, Madame de la Motte conducted the cardinal to it. As soon as he approached the supposed princess, he entreated to be informed by her majesty, whether it was her desire that the affair confided to Madame de la Motte should be negotiated and concluded by him, as her representative? To this demand the female figure assented, according to the pre-determined arrangement, by extending to him the flower, accompanied with an inclination of her body. The cardinal, delighted with such a reception, was preparing to put himself on one knee, and to kiss her hand; when her conductress, alarmed lest a too near approach might enable him to detect the imposture, interposed, exclaiming that there were persons at a small distance, by whom they would be discovered. In his eagerness to retreat, the cardinal slipping, had nearly measured his length on the ground, and the party broke up with precipitation.

Convinced that he had now received an unquestionable assurance of Marie Antoinette's approbation, and had secured her future favour, with all its important results, by the service which he should render her, the cardinal no longer hesitated to pledge himself to Boëhmer. Having procured from him a deduction of above eight thousand pounds on the price demanded; promissory notes or bills for the remainder, exceeding sixty thousand pounds, drawn and signed in the queen's name, payable at various periods by her treasurer, were delivered to Boëhmer by Madame de la Motte. She then received from him the necklace.

Her husband having obtained leave of absence, under pretence of visiting the place of his nativity, Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne, carried off the diamonds, quitted France, and arrived safe in London, where he disposed of some of the finest stones among the jewellers of our metropolis. His wife, trusting to the cardinal's interest, rank, and ecclesiastical dignity, for protection; as well as to conceal so disgraceful a business, whenever it should be discovered; remained at Bar. The unfortunate prelate, placed in a situation not unlike that of *Malvolio* in "Twelfth Night," when he is duped by *Maria*, and supposes himself distinguished by *Olivia*, continued in unsuspecting security at court. But the day on which the first of her majesty's promissory engagements became due (amounting to about seventeen thousand pounds) having elapsed without any notification of payment from her treasurer; Boëhmer expressed some surprise at the circumstance, to a friend who held an office in the queen's household.

When the information was communicated to that princess, her amazement and consternation are not to be adequately depicted in words. So difficult to believe was the fact, that several days elapsed before her enquiries satisfied her of its reality. As soon, however, as the part which the Cardinal de Rohan had performed in it became fully ascertained, she laid the whole matter before the king. Louis, not less astonished than herself, after consulting with some of his ministers on the steps necessary to be adopted, finally determined to arrest the cardinal. Unquestionably, it would have been wiser if he had drawn a veil over the transaction, and had left the imprudent prelate to the consequences of his own fault. He was conducted to the Bastille, invariably maintaining that he had acted throughout the whole business with the purest intentions; always conceiving, however erroneously, that he was authorized by her majesty, and was doing her a pleasure by facilitating her acquisition of the necklace. Madame de la Motte, Mademoiselle d'Oliva, and some other individuals, suspected or accused of being implicated in this enormous robbery, were consequently conveyed to the same

fortress. Among them was a very celebrated adventurer or impostor, Count Cagliostro, who had, however, I believe, committed no other crime except the act of casting the Cardinal de Rohan's horoscope. Notwithstanding the palpable ignorance and innocence of the queen relative to every part of the affair, yet such was the malignity of the Parisians, and through so prejudiced a medium were all her actions viewed, that a numerous class of society either believed, or affected to believe, her implicated in the guilt of the whole transaction. I shall have occasion to resume the subject in the course of the year 1786.

Having thus enumerated the leading circumstances connected with the *diamond necklace*, one of the most extraordinary events which took place in any European court during the course of the eighteenth century; I am tempted to recount an adventure in which I was deeply and personally engaged, that may appear almost equally incredible with the story of the Cardinal de Rohan. Its nature and delicacy have hitherto prevented me from divulging it to the world, though nearly half a century has already elapsed since it happened; but I may without impropriety transmit it to posterity. If the tragical recollections connected with Marie Antoinette must ever agitate the human mind; the history which I am about to relate respects a princess whose misfortunes and premature end warmly interested her contemporaries, and will be perused with emotion in future times. I mean, the Queen of Denmark, Caroline Matilda, consort of Christian the Seventh, and sister of George the Third. Her fate bore indeed some analogy to that of Marie Antoinette. Both possessed personal attractions; but no comparison could be made between the Austrian and the English princess. The former had received from nature an air of majesty, an elegance of form, and a grace altogether peculiar to herself. Caroline Matilda, though not deficient in manner, affable, and full of condescension, yet possessed only the ordinary accompaniments of youth, set off by a good complexion, pleasing features, and *embonpoint*. Both were accused of gallantries. Both were precipitated from the throne, imprisoned,

and subjected to the most severe interrogatories. Here, indeed, the parallel terminates; as the powerful interposition of the British crown, sustained by a British squadron, rescued the Danish queen from undergoing the punishment which the hostile invasion of France only drew down upon the unfortunate consort of Louis the Sixteenth. After premising these facts, I shall commence the recital without further preface.

Returning through Pomerania, in the autumn of the year 1774, from a tour round the Baltic, I passed two days at a country palace of the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, detained by his obliging hospitality. Adolphus Frederic the Fourth, eldest of the four brothers of George the Third's queen, was then about six-and-thirty years of age; unmarried, slender in figure, of an austere complexion, agreeable in his manners; receiving English gentlemen, who occasionally, though rarely, visited his summer retreat, with peculiar attention. I had the honour to dine twice with the duke, during my short stay in his territories. At table, surrounded by his little court, composed of young and agreeable individuals of both sexes, he amused me by recounting some particulars of the English who had from time to time been his guests. The Earl and Countess of Effingham were among the number. "They were always seated," said he, "opposite each other at dinner; and no sooner was the dessert placed before us, than my lord, ordering his lady to open her mouth, threw *dragées* (sugar-plumbs) into it across the table, with surprising dexterity." The fact, extraordinary as it may appear, was related to me by the duke; and those persons who remember, as I do, the nobleman to whom I allude, will admit the eccentricity of his deportment, dress, and character. He died in the island of Jamaica, where he was sent governor. — On quitting Strelitz, I directed my course to Zell; impelled by a desire to see and to pay my respects to the young Queen of Denmark, who then resided in the castle of that name. I experienced from her majesty the most gracious reception. As I had visited Copenhagen in the spring of the same year, she made various inquiries respecting her two chil-

dren: I mean, the present reigning King of Denmark, and the Duchess of Holstein-Augustembourg. The queen herself was then only in the twenty-fourth year of her age. Sent, as she was, at sixteen, to a dissolute court, and married to Christian the Seventh, whose vices rendered him unworthy of her; surrounded by bad examples, and abandoned to her own control, before the empire of reason could operate; — Caroline Matilda had not completed her twenty-first year, when she found herself a prisoner in the castle of Cronenberg. She was not indeed a captive at Zell, where she had a court, and enjoyed apparently personal freedom; but, nevertheless, she could by no means be regarded as a free agent. Her own sister, the hereditary Princess of Brunswick, acted by directions of George the Third as a spy on her conduct; usually coming over to Zell every Wednesday, and returning to Brunswick on the ensuing Saturday. I know the fact from the queen's own mouth. There was in the aspect of the castle of Zell, its towers, moat, drawbridge, long galleries, and Gothic features, all the scenery realizing the descriptions of fortresses where imprisoned princesses were detained in bondage. It was the age of those exhibitions, when I travelled in Germany. At Stettin, while dining with the Prince of Anhalt Dessau, a few days before I arrived at Zell, I had seen the Princess Royal of Prussia, Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, first wife of the late king, Frederic William the Second, who was there confined for her gallantries. Robert, Duke of Ancaster, then Marquis of Lindsey, a young nobleman of extraordinary eccentricity of character, and capable of undertaking any enterprise, however desperate or dangerous, was so touched with her misfortunes and imprisonment, that in 1777 he planned her liberation. And he would certainly have attempted it, if the design had not been discovered and prevented. The Princess of Tour and Taxis, Augusta Elizabeth, was about the same time immured, during many years, in a castle of Wirtemberg, by her brother, the reigning duke of that country.

Often, as I was placed opposite to the Queen Caroline Matilda at table; Sophia

of Zell, consort of George the First, from whom she lineally descended, recurred to my recollection. It was, in fact, the same story in the same family, acted over again at the distance of eighty or ninety years. Sophia suffered indeed a much severer and longer captivity, for very problematical offences: but both expired under a dark cloud; and both now repose, side by side, in the great church of Zell, without any monument to commemorate their existence. After a stay of three days in that city, I set out for Hamburg. Previous to my departure, her majesty desired me, if I should see Mr. Mathias, then the British minister to the Hanse Towns, to enquire of him how soon she might expect the company of the French comedians to arrive, who annually visited Zell. On the evening of my arrival in Hamburg, being invited to supper at the house of one of the principal burgomasters or senators, I there found myself among a crowd of the Danish nobility of both sexes, who, on account of their adherence to the exiled queen, resided at Altona. Having been disgraced, and compelled to quit Copenhagen, they took refuge in this town, which stands on the territory of Denmark, though only separated from Hamburg by a space of some hundred yards. As I had so recently seen and conversed with that princess, they availed themselves of the occasion to put many questions to me respecting her. I answered them with frankness, not sparing my animadversions on the treatment which she had received from the party by whom she had been dethroned. One gentleman, nearly related to the lady at whose house I was entertained, called on me at the hotel where I lodged, three days afterwards. He had been keeper of the privy purse to Christian the Seventh, during the tour which he made in 1768 to France and England. Our conversation turning on the revolution of January, 1772, he gave me a confidential account of all the circumstances which produced and accompanied that tragical event. At the French comedy, on the subsequent evening, where we met, he requested leave to wait on me next morning, in a manner which seemed to indicate that he had some communication to make of importance.

On Saturday, the 1st of October, he renewed the subject of the exiled queen. Being encouraged by my replies, he ventured, not without some hesitation, to ask me if I should be disposed to *render her service*? As I perfectly comprehended the nature and objects of the question, I instantly answered that I was ready to engage, hand and heart, in her cause. "You are then," said he, "the person whom we want. I am deputed by a body of men, who are desirous and able to replace her on the throne, and to invest her with supreme power during the king's incapacity. We cannot proceed a step without previously ascertaining whether her majesty is willing to return to Copenhagen; and the difficulty of opening any communication with her, beset as she is with spies, is such that we have not hitherto been able to surmount that impediment. Your arrival offers a means to approach her. Will you undertake the commission?" Having reiterated my assurances that he might dispose of my time and all my efforts, in any way or manner which could contribute to effect the object; "I am satisfied," said he, "and will make my report without delay to those by whom I have been sent. Expect to hear further from me."

Two days subsequent to this conversation, he introduced me to the young Baron de Schimmelman, eldest son of the baron of that name, one of the most wealthy and powerful individuals in Denmark. Having brought him to my apartments, and joined our hands, he withdrew, leaving us alone. The baron, with great emotion, then opened to me the motive of his visit, first demanding if we were secure from being either overheard or interrupted. When I had tranquillized him on both particulars, he briefly stated the reasons which impelled him, and the persons with whom he acted, to attempt the restoration of the Queen Caroline Matilda. He protested that no sentiments of private interest or ambition, and still less of revenge, stimulated his conduct. Nor did he disguise the dangers of the enterprise. But the deplorable condition of his country, under a king fallen into a state of total imbecility; the administration of which kingdom was committed, by its rulers, to a ministry without vi-

gour or capacity; demanded, he said, the exertions of every good subject to effect its extrication. He candidly admitted the errors and imprudence which had produced the catastrophe of January, 1772; but he added, that adversity had no doubt instructed the young queen.—Above all he deplored the rupture of that ancient political connexion between Denmark and England, which had followed the severe treatment experienced by a British princess, sister of George the Third.

After thus justifying the principles by which he was actuated, he assured me, that so soon as her majesty should have signified her consent to, and her co-operation in the measures necessary to be adopted for her restoration, she should receive from the party with whom he was connected the most convincing proofs of their ability to replace her on the throne. “My affairs,” concluded he, “call me to Copenhagen, where my presence may be eminently useful to the cause. But I will to-morrow introduce you to the Baron de Bulow, and from him you will receive your instructions.” With the last-named nobleman (to whom Monsieur de Schimmelman made me known on the evening following our interview) I settled every part of the plan. Bulow, though a Danish subject, was of Hanoverian extraction, and joined to great caution, calmness as well as ability. He had been master of the horse to the queen, and enjoyed her confidence. No man could be better acquainted with her character, virtues, and defects. “Our first objects,” observed he, “are limited to knowing that she is disposed to return to Copenhagen; where, during the king’s incapacity, and the minority of her son, she must be invested with supreme authority. It would be attended with too great risks to commit any matter to paper, as you might be intercepted on your road to Zell. We must therefore leave you to draw up a proper letter for her majesty, conformable to our ideas, subsequent to your arrival there. The mode and time of effecting its reception by the queen must likewise be submitted to your own judgment. But every possible precaution should be adopted to prevent suspicion. In particular, beware of the Princess of Brunswick, who,

though sister to the queen, is attached to the interests of the family with which she is allied by marriage. Her husband’s aunt, Juliana Maria, Queen Dowager of Denmark, now governs that country, in conjunction with her son Prince Frederic. The only credentials which I can venture to give you, are the impression in wax of a seal: but, the instant that her majesty sees it, she will know that you are come from me, and she will lend implicit confidence to all you lay before her. If she consents to co-operate with us, she will of course endeavour to interest her brother in the cause. Without his approbation, if not his aid, we cannot long maintain, though we may effect, a revolution. These points constitute the outline of your instructions: but, in a negotiation of such difficulty, as well as peril, much of the execution must depend on circumstances, and your own discretion.”

Having at length in repeated conferences matured all our ideas, and having likewise calculated the time which my mission would require, as well as fixed the day, hour, and place when and where I should meet the baron on my return to Hamburgh, I prepared for my departure. Taking the direct road to Zell, instead of that leading through Bremen, by which I had arrived at Hamburgh, I reached my destination on the morning of the 9th of October; and learned as soon as I alighted from the carriage, not without concern, that the hereditary Princess of Brunswic was then on a visit to her sister. Having nevertheless written to the Baron de Seckendorf, one of the queen’s chamberlains, through whom all presentations were made to her; I acquainted him, that as I was on my return to England by Hanover, I had been charged by Mr. Mathias with a letter for her majesty. I received soon afterwards, as I had anticipated would probably happen, an invitation to dine at court on the same day. No sooner had I accomplished this first object, than I drew up a letter to the queen, in which I briefly but accurately enumerated all the particulars which have been already stated in the present narrative. The names of the two principal persons by whom I was deputed to wait on her, and the *credential* entrusted to me, I reserved till I

should receive her answer. One very embarrassing circumstance yet remained. The etiquette of the court of Zell was, that all strangers who had the honour of being admitted to the royal table were received by her majesty in her drawing-room, a short time before dinner. When the ladies and gentlemen who composed her household had assembled, the queen repaired thither; the persons present forming a small circle, till dinner was announced. In this circle, with the eyes of so many individuals directed, towards me, among whom, as I knew would be the Princess of Brunswic, I must, of necessity present my letter. Its contents might agitate the queen; perhaps so powerfully, as to excite an emotion in her manner or countenance, capable of betraying the nature of my errand. In order to obviate such a disaster, I adopted therefore the following expedient.

After drawing up my letter, I wrote on a sheet of paper, so placed that she must of necessity cast her eye upon it, before she could peruse any other part of the enclosure, these, or nearly these words. "As the contents of the present letter regard your majesty's highest and dearest interests; and as the slightest indication or suspicion of its nature might prove fatal to its object; it is earnestly entreated that your majesty will be pleased to reserve the perusal till you are alone. It is particularly incumbent to conceal it from her royal highness the Princess of Brunswic, who will be present at its reception." When I had finished all my preparations, I repaired in a sedan chair to the castle, at half-past one, as the queen sat down at two to table. The company, consisting of ten or more persons of both sexes, were already met; and in a few minutes, her majesty, accompanied by her sister, entered the apartment. She advanced with a quick step towards me, and holding out her hand, "I am glad to see you here again," said she; "I understand that you have a letter for me from Mr. Mathias." "I have, madam," answered I, "which he wished me to deliver to your majesty. I believe it regards the company of comedians who are preparing to arrive here." At the same time I presented it, and the queen

instantly withdrew to one of the windows, a few paces distant, in order to peruse it. The Princess of Brunswic then accosted me, asking a variety of questions relative to Hamburgh. I contrived to answer them, though my attention was internally directed towards the queen; who, after reading the lines prefixed, hastily put the letter into her pocket. She then rejoined us, — for I was standing out of the circle, engaged in conversation with her sister, — and attempted to mix in the discourse. But her face had become of a scarlet colour, and she manifested so much discomposure, that I felt no little uneasiness lest it should excite remark. Fortunately, at that moment dinner was announced, and we followed the two princesses into the eating-room. The whole transaction did not last more than five or six minutes, from its commencement to its close. The queen and princess were always seated at dinner in two splendid arm-chairs, towards the middle of one of the long sides of the table, separated by a space of nearly two feet from each other. I was placed opposite to them. During the repast her majesty soon recovered her gaiety and presence of mind, keeping me in continual conversation, as did the princess. But no sooner was the dessert served, than the former pushing back her chair, drew out my letter; and holding it in her lap, read it from beginning to end; raising her head from time to time, uttering a few words, and then resuming her occupation. This act of imprudent curiosity and impatience naturally alarmed me. However, we soon repaired again to the drawing-room, where the royal sisters having taken coffee, while the company stood round, afterwards retired. I returned to the inn, and waited till I should hear from the queen.

Scarcely had night closed in, when the Baron de Seckendorf arrived. "I am sent," said he, "by her majesty, who has been pleased to select me as a person entirely devoted to her service, and whom she has entrusted with the secret of your letter. She enjoins me to assure you that she has perused it with the strongest emotions; that she is fully disposed to believe every word

which it contains, and not less ardently impelled by duty, as well as by inclination, to comply with its requisitions. Most willingly would she grant you an audience this very night; but the attempt, while her sister is in the castle, would be attended with too much hazard, if not with certain discovery. She therefore desires you to deliver to me the *credential* which you have brought with you, and to communicate to me the *names* of the two individuals by whom you have been deputed to address her. She will transmit you, through me, her answer without delay, well knowing how improper it would be to detain you here, and how many suspicions it would occasion." Thus authorized, I without hesitation gave the baron the proofs demanded. On my part I made two requests to her majesty; first, that she would return me the letter which I had addressed to her, in order that by putting it into the Baron de Bulow's hand, he might be satisfied that I had thoroughly comprehended, and faithfully as well as accurately conveyed, the important message confided to me: secondly, that as circumstances precluded me from being admitted to an interview with her, she would send me some *credential*, which, like the impression of Bulow's seal, might testify her full consent and approbation to the project for her restoration. On the following day, Seckendorf brought me an explicit verbal reply on her part to the propositions, which I had made; declaring that she was not only ready to co-operate with the Danish nobility in every effort for effecting the object in question, but would, whenever it should be thought advisable, address her brother, his Britannic Majesty, to entreat his powerful support. At the same time he delivered into my hand the impression of a seal, affixed by herself, bearing the initials of her name, Caroline Matilda, together with a superscription in her own hand-writing; both which testimonials the Baron de Bulow would recognize, whenever they were submitted to his inspection. She added her anxious wishes for my speedy return, using proper precautions to conceal my next arrival at Zell. Lastly, Seckendorf restored to me the letter which I had addressed to the queen.

Having thus accomplished all the practical objects of my mission, I set out immediately for Hanover. Then taking a cross road through an unfrequented part of the electorate, I arrived on the southern bank of the Elbe, and passed over from Harburg to the city of Hamburg. On the day previously settled with the Baron de Bulow, I went to the place of rendezvous; a public walk in the most populous quarter of the town. I had not been there more than a few minutes, when I perceived him. As soon as he saw me, he turned; and I followed him through a number of streets, till he mounted the ramparts. Having reached a remote bastion, he stopped, embraced me, and demanded news of my success. I minutely recounted every particular, concluding with the *credential* delivered me by Seckendorf from the queen, which I presented him. He instantly knew her superscription, as well as cypher. After a long conversation, we parted; but not till we had fixed on another meeting, at which it was finally determined that I should return a third time to Zell. "My associates," said Bulow, "to whom I have communicated the results of your late visit, are perfectly satisfied with every part of the negotiation. But before we can with prudence proceed to effect the projected revolution, it is indispensable that we should receive the approbation, and if possible, the aid, of his Britannic Majesty. We trust that the queen will despatch you as her agent to England, and will support with all her exertions the application to her brother. Without that co-operation we shall want our best guarantee for the permanence of our success. Our means are fully adequate to produce the change in the government, and to place the queen Caroline Matilda at its head. Besides our numerous and powerful friends in Copenhagen, we have the Viceroy of Norway in our interests, and the two Governors of Gluckstadt and Rendeburg, which cities constitute the keys of Holstein and Sleswic. We want only the name and protection of George the Third, to secure us from every possible reaction."

Feeling strongly the justice of Bulow's opinions, I instantly prepared to set out anew for my former destination. In conformity to his ideas, I sketched the

outline of another letter to the queen ; but, so ambiguously drawn up as to be wholly unintelligible, in case that any accident should befall me on my journey. Previous to my departure, the baron, whom it deeply imported to know from my own mouth, after quitting Zell, every circumstance attending my reception, and the part which her majesty would take in facilitating the enterprise, determined, at whatever personal risk, to meet me before I should quit Germany on my way to England. But, as my return a third time to Hamburgh, must have been most imprudent, if not dangerous, we adopted another plan. On the road between that city and Zell, about midway, stood a solitary post-house, called Zahrendorf, in a wood of the same name. No place could be better chosen for our interview, its situation precluding all probability of discovery or interruption. Having therefore calculated the time requisite for my mission with as much accuracy as possible, we fixed on Zahrendorf for our rendezvous ; agreeing, that he who arrived first should wait the appearance of the other.

My arrangements being now completed, I commenced my third visit to Zell ; but, apprehensive of exciting observation if I should be seen so frequently to take the same road, I made a circuit by the city of Lunenburgh. Arriving in the middle of the night at Zell, on the 24th of October, I gave a French name to the sentinel at the gate, describing myself as a merchant. Then proceeding round the walls, I drove, not, as before, to the great inn in the principal street of the place, but to an obscure public-house, situate in the suburb of Hanover, denominated the "Sand Krug." The Baron de Seckendorf having gone on the preceding day to Hanover, I despatched an express to hasten his return. I learned, however, with no small satisfaction, that the Princess of Brunswic was not at Zell ; and before I awoke on the ensuing morning, Seckendorf presented himself at my bedside. I delivered him the letter which I had drawn up for the queen, communicating to her the wishes and opinions of the Danish nobility engaged in her cause. Scarcely four hours afterwards, Seckendorf came again to me. "The queen," said he, "having

thoroughly weighed the contents of your despatch, is determined to see you without delay. Her sister's absence favours her design. Go instantly to the 'Jardin Français,' not distant from hence. In the centre stands a small pavilion. Her majesty, attended only by one lady, who is wholly devoted to her interests, will be there in a very short time. You may then converse unreservedly upon every point." I followed his directions, and had not been more than ten minutes in the pavilion, when I saw the royal coach drive up to the garden-gate. The queen alighting, sent it away, together with her domestics ; but, the weather being fine, she preferred walking, rather than remaining in the pavilion. She then entered on business, having first assured me that she could rely on the fidelity of her attendant ; while, as she was entirely ignorant of the English language, her presence would not interpose any restraint on our conversation.

"I was," proceeded she, "perfectly prepared for the contents of your letter, and I am ready to comply with every demand made in it. To the king my brother I will write in the most pressing terms, laying before him the plan for my restoration, expressing at the same time my conviction of its solidity ; and urging him to contribute towards its success, not only by his consent and approbation, but, if necessary, by extending to it pecuniary assistance. I trust his Britannic Majesty will receive you graciously, and admit you to his presence. But, as there must be intermediate persons to whom the negotiation will necessarily be committed, I shall address letters to two noblemen in London. The first is the Earl of Suffolk, who, besides that he fills the post of secretary for the foreign department, has always shown me distinguishing marks of attention. He is the only member of the cabinet from whom I have received any such proofs of regard. I have no doubt that he will give you a favourable reception. But I shall likewise write to another individual, who is at this time in England, and warmly devoted to my interests, I mean, the Baron de Lichtenstein, marshal of the court of Hanover. He enjoys not only the king's personal favour, but is admitted constantly to the private parties at the queen's

house, which afford him facilities of approaching his majesty, not open to any of the ministers. Nevertheless I shall not disclose the affair either to Lord Suffolk or to Lichtenstein; simply stating to each that you will wait on them from me, on a matter of consequence; adding, that they may give implicit confidence to every fact which you shall lay before them in my name, and on my behalf. As, however, the composition of my letter to the king demands time and consideration; being likewise well aware of the danger which may arise from your remaining here; I have resolved on not detaining you. My three letters shall be transmitted to England, by the regular Hanoverian courier, in the course of a few days; and on your arrival in London, you will find the ground prepared for your appearance. Assure the Baron de Bulow, when you meet him at Zahrendorf, that I will exert every effort to accelerate the happy conclusion of the enterprise." The queen finished by giving me some secret instructions, in case of my being admitted to an audience of George the Third. She then allowed me to withdraw. Our conversation, which lasted about an hour, impressed me with a strong conviction of her capacity.

Returning to the inn, I prepared for my departure as soon as night should allow me to quit Zell; and I got to Zahrendorf at one in the afternoon on the following day. The Baron de Bulow was not arrived, and I patiently waited therefore his appearance. About four o'clock he came, wrapped up in a cloak which concealed his person, alone on a common post-wagon. According to our preconcerted agreement, he enquired if there were any travellers in the post-house: and the master acquainted him that a person was above-stairs, he sent up a compliment, requesting leave to join my company. We remained together till one on the ensuing morning, when he quitted me, and returned to Altona by the same conveyance. I pursued my journey soon after daylight; and from the town of Niënburg, which I reached in twenty-four hours, I wrote by the post, under Seckendorf's cover, to her majesty, informing her of Bulow's satisfaction at the measures adopted by her. I then took the road to Osnabrugh and Munster;

continued my route through Cleves, to Nimeguen, and descended the river Maese to Rotterdam. It was not till the 16th of November that I arrived in London.

Next morning, having repaired to Lord Suffolk's residence in Downing-street, his private secretary acquainted me, that his lordship being then confined by a severe fit of the gout, unless my business admitted of communication through a third person, I must defer it till the secretary of state should be able to grant me an interview. I therefore proceeded immediately to the Baron de Lichtenstein's lodgings in Chisleigh-court, Pall-Mall. He received me with great cordiality. "The Queen of Denmark," said he, "has written to me, and refers me in her letter entirely to *you* for information upon every point; but the king has been pleased to communicate to me her majesty's despatch to himself, which renders me master of the whole affair. It is one of no slight importance, and will require mature consideration. Meanwhile I will inform his majesty of your arrival. As he permits me to form one of his small evening circle, I enjoy the means of laying before him many matters, and of receiving his orders. Be assured of my zeal in every particular which can affect the honour, or the interests, of the Queen Matilda." At our next meeting, which took place a few days afterwards, he delivered me the king's commands. "His majesty," said Lichtenstein, "having considered the nature and delicacy of the mission entrusted to you, enjoins you not to return to Lord Suffolk. The business must be managed and negotiated exclusively through *me*. Nor will the king admit you to any personal audience; because, though all cordiality has ceased between him and the Danish court or government ever since his sister's arrest, yet, as the relations of peace and amity still subsist between the two crowns, he wishes to retain the power of denying, in case of any unforeseen accident, that he has seen or received an agent sent for the purpose of effecting her restoration. But it is his majesty's pleasure that you should transmit to him through me a full and minute account, on paper, of the whole transaction. He will then be better ena-

bled to form a judgment on the part which it may become him ultimately to take in it. I shall write to her majesty on the subject, and exhort her to patience. You ought to do the same, both to her and to her friends in Denmark. Time must be allowed for deliberation."

In consequence of Lichtenstein's directions, I drew up a narrative of the business, which he delivered to the king; and I wrote both to Seckendorf and to Bulow, in the spirit that the baron had indicated. Great impatience was nevertheless displayed in the replies made me from Zell, as well as from Altona. Lichtenstein meanwhile continued the negotiation at the queen's house, though with so little apparent progress that I more than once despaired of a successful issue; his majesty expressing an insuperable reluctance to commit himself by any act which, if it became known, could be construed as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the courts of London and Copenhagen. Towards the middle of January, 1775, the affair however assumed a more auspicious aspect; and on the 3d of the following month, the baron delivered to me, in Chidleigh-court, a paper containing *four* articles. They were drawn up in French, by the king's permission, and with his sanction.

By the *first*, his majesty declared that the attempt to restore the queen his sister to the throne of Denmark had his approbation and consent; only annexing to it a stipulation, that in case of its successful issue, no act of severity should be exercised against any of the individuals who were actually in possession of power. They were simply to be ordered to retire to their respective palaces, or places of residence. By the *second*, his majesty promised that as soon as the revolution was effected, his minister at Copenhagen should be directed to declare that it had been done with his co-operation. By the *third*, though he refused to make any pecuniary advances for facilitating the enterprise, yet he guaranteed the re-payment of such sums as should necessarily be expended in procuring the Queen Caroline Matilda's return to Denmark. By the *fourth*, he engaged that when the revolution should be completed, he would maintain it, if

requisite, by the forces of Great Britain.

This paper the Baron de Lichtenstein signed, and having enclosed it in a cover, sealed the packet with his coat of arms. I was then directed to carry it, first to the queen at Zell, who would instantly recognize his signature and seal. Her majesty was empowered to open and peruse the articles; after which they were to be sealed up anew by her, and committed to my care. Finally, I was commissioned to convey them to the Baron de Bulow at Altona.

Having received this deposit, I left London on the same night for Harwich; landed on the 6th of February at Helvoetsluys; and pursuing my journey with as little delay as the inclemency of the season admitted, by the straight road to Hanover, I reached Deventer without much impediment. But, here my difficulties commenced. On Sunday morning, the 12th of February, at daybreak, I got to the bank of the little river Dinkel, which there separates Westphalia from the Dutch dominions. In a wretched hut, where men, women, oxen and pigs were all crowded together, and in which no sustenance was to be procured, I found the royal Hanoverian courier, stopped on his way from England towards the electoral capital. He had been detained above forty hours by the inundation of the Dinkel, which, from a rivulet, had become, in consequence of the late incessant rains, a most formidable flood. He dissuaded me from attempting to cross it; but the landlord offering to mount one of the four horses that drew the carriage, and assuring me that the deep part of the river did not exceed twelve or fourteen paces, where the horses must swim, I determined to risk the passage. Every precaution being taken, we drove off from the inn about noon. I got into the carriage, put my despatches into my bosom, and we plunged into the stream. The violence of the current had much subsided, in consequence of the suspension of the rain. In less than one minute the danger was over, and we touched the ground. I soon arrived at Bentheim. Nevertheless I was overturned on the same night, not far from the town of Rheine, in the bishopric of Munster, and compelled to return for

shelter to that place; but I escaped without injury, though one of the glasses of my carriage was broken by the shock.—Still greater obstacles awaited me beyond Osnabrugh, at the river Weser, which was swelled to a prodigious size. The country on every side presented the appearance of a deluge. My carriage being, however, placed in a boat, I passed over in about an hour and a half. After encountering great inconvenience, peril, and delay, I got to Hanover on the 16th of February; and the succeeding night arrived at Zell. In traversing Europe from the frontiers of Lapland to Naples, I never underwent any dangers or fatigues which could enter into comparison with those that attended me while carrying my despatches to Caroline Matilda.

On the ensuing morning I acquainted Seckendorf that I was returned to my concealment at the inn in the suburbs. He received me with testimonies of joy, and assured me that the queen's impatience to converse with me on the subject of my mission to England would not allow her to postpone it beyond the same afternoon. The Princess of Brunswick being happily absent, left her mistress of her actions. She had in her service a *valet de chambre*, named Mantel, a German, of approved fidelity, to whom was entrusted the commission of conducting me to her. I delivered to the baron the packet confided to my care by Lichtenstein, which he carried to her majesty. According to the directions given me by Seckendorf, I quit-
 ted the "Sand Krug" on hearing the castle clock strike the hour of four, wrapped in my great-coat, and walked to the drawbridge. In the great quadrangle I found Mantel. He led me nearly round the castle, through private passages; and opening the door of a room into which he admitted me, he left me alone. It was a spacious apartment, the windows of which commanded a view over the gardens of the castle; and I had scarcely leisure to cast my eye round, when the queen entered without any attendant. My interview with her lasted till near a quarter past six, during all which time we stood in the embrasure of one of the windows. As I had then an opportunity of closely

examining her countenance and person, it being broad daylight, I shall add a few words on that subject, though I have elsewhere described her. Her charms consisted principally in her youth and *embonpoint*. Like the king her brother, she betrayed a hurry in her articulation, when agitated or eager; but which peculiarity rather augmented, than diminished, her attractions. Her manners were very ingratiating; noble, yet calculated to win those who approached her. Indeed, towards me, who was engaged at the hazard of my life in endeavours to replace her on the throne, it was natural that she should express much good-will and condescension. I say, to replace her *on the throne*; because it was not merely the crown *matrimonial*, to which she would have been restored. Christian the Seventh being in a state of hopeless imbecility, it necessarily followed, that if she returned to Denmark, she must have been invested with the supreme authority as *regent* during her son's minority.

The queen began our conversation by lamenting that her brother had not admitted me to an audience, as it might have afforded me the occasion of stating to him facts and circumstances which could never be so well related or impressed by the pen. Nor did she express less concern at his refusing to support her cause, and aid her return to Copenhagen, with immediate pecuniary assistance. She hoped, however, that the other stipulations which I had brought from England might satisfy the party engaged in her interests. With great animation she assured me, that no sentiment of revenge or enmity towards the Queen dowager, Prince Frederic, or any of the individuals who had arrested and imprisoned her would ever actuate her conduct. The mention of their names naturally lead her to speak of the memorable night, the 15th of January, 1772, when she fell a victim to her imprudence and want of precaution. I would have avoided such a topic, for obvious reasons; but she entered on it with so much determination, that I could only listen while she recounted to me all the extraordinary occurrences which befell her; not omitting names and par-

ticulars respecting herself, of the most private nature. I am, however, far from meaning that she made any disclosure unbecoming a woman of honour and delicacy. Soon after six, she prepared to leave me, as her absence, she said, might excite enquiry. Mantel then returned, and conducted me to a chamber in a distant part of the castle. There I remained till night closed in; when he led me to a private staircase, by which I descended into the great court, and got back, undiscovered, to my quarters.

Having received from Seekendorf, on the following day, the paquet which I had brought over from England, enclosed by the queen in a second cover, and sealed with her cypher, I set off for Hamburgh, the country being still inundated on every side. I reached that city nevertheless on the 21st of February; but, on account of the precautions necessary to be adopted, Bulow and I did not meet before the 23d; when I delivered him the articles, which he perused several times, not without some expression of disappointment. "They must, however," said he, "be transmitted to our friends at Copenhagen with as little delay as possible, and we must wait their reply. At our next interview, having acquainted me with the difficulty which occurred of finding a person to whom such a commission could be safely confided, I offered instantly to undertake it; — an offer that unquestionably evinced more zeal than prudence. Bulow accepted my proposal; but, on consulting his associates, they observed, that the re-appearance of an Englishman in the Danish capital, who had visited it scarcely ten months antecedently, and whose stay at Hamburgh must be matter of notoriety, would inevitably expose the whole attempt to danger of discovery. The intention was therefore laid aside; and another individual, a gentleman whose name was never imparted to me, repaired to Copenhagen, carrying with him a copy of Lichtenstein's paper. I remained at Hamburgh till his return, which took place on the 14th of March, without his experiencing any accident; and Bulow then imparted to me the sentiments of his friends, respecting the articles which I had brought from London.

With the *first* and the *fourth*, they

expressed the utmost satisfaction. Nor did they complain of the *third*, though they regretted that the king would not contribute, by any *present* donation of money, to facilitate his sister's restoration. But against the *second* article they protested, as only holding out to them a support, of which, when extended, they should no longer stand in need. "We are quite powerful enough," said they, "to *effect* the proposed revolution: but we may not possess sufficient force to *maintain* it. The king only promises that his minister shall declare the attempt to have been undertaken with his sovereign's co-operation, *after it has been successfully performed*. Now we want the declaration to be made at the time that *it is carrying into execution*. For, when we arrest the queen dowager, her son, and the principal members of the government, all Copenhagen will direct their eyes towards the hotel of the English minister. If he shuts his gates, and takes no part whatever, the ministerial adherents will infer that his master neither knows of, nor participates in the success of the enterprise. They may rally, and resume the ascendant. But if, while we occupy the royal palace, the British diplomatic agent goes openly to court, announces that the whole proceeding has the sanction of his Britannic Majesty, and declares that he will maintain it, all opposition must cease from that instant. It is therefore indispensable to make new exertions in London, for obtaining the acquiescence of the king in our present demand."

There was likewise one other concession which it seemed essential to secure, before they proceeded to strike the blow. And this last point, regarded not the king of England, but the Queen Matilda. — Her personal appearance at Copenhagen, as expeditiously as possible, after her adherents should have changed the government, would unquestionably operate powerfully to confirm the new order of things. During the summer months, the queen, who was young and active, might arrive in five days from Zell, in the capital of Denmark, unless very unexpected impediments prevented her from crossing the *Great Belt*, which separates the two islands of Zealand and Funen. It could not admit of a doubt,

that her presence must contribute to repress any attempt at overturning the revolution effected in her favour. But would she trust her life a second time among those enemies from whom her brother had with difficulty rescued her; and that, too, before her friends could be considered as wholly secure from danger of counter-action? In order to obtain these two assurances, one from his Britannic majesty, the other from the queen, I therefore prepared again to revisit Zell and London. Before however I set out, Bulow drew up a letter addressed to the king, in the names of all the nobility engaged in the undertaking; demonstrating the expediency, if not the necessity, of authorising his minister at Copenhagen, to come forward without delay, at the time when his sister's party should render themselves masters of the government. Bulow wrote likewise to the queen entreating her to sustain with all her exertions the request made to her brother; and stating the importance of her personally repairing to the scene of action by the quickest mode of conveyance, the instant she should be apprized by them of their success.

Furnished with these credentials, I once more left Hamburg, on Tuesday the 21st of March, and arrived the ensuing night at Zell; concealing myself, as before, in the suburbs. Anticipating my return as probable, I had settled with Seckendorf the name that I would give in at the gate; by which means the queen, who ordered the list of all travellers to be brought her every morning, became apprized of my approach before I announced it to the baron. She immediately sent Mantel to acquaint me that her sister was then in the castle, and would not return to Brunswick till the ensuing Saturday. Her majesty therefore laid her injunctions on me to keep myself concealed; adding, that as soon as the princess should quit Zell, she would immediately admit me to her presence. Having transmitted to her Bulow's letter, I consequently waited her commands. But, on the subsequent morning, it was determined that I should be introduced into the castle on the same night. As this was my last interview with that princess, I shall relate minutely the particulars.

I set out before eight, at which hour Mantel engaged to meet me. The weather was most tempestuous, accompanied with rain, and such darkness as rendered it difficult to discern any object. When I got to the drawbridge, no valet appeared; and, a few moments afterwards, the guard being relieved, passed close to me. Wrapped in my great-coat, I waited, not without considerable anxiety. At length Mantel arrived. He said not a word, but, covering me all over with his large German cloak, and holding an umbrella over our heads, he led me in silence through the arch, into the arena of the castle, from whence he conducted me to the queen's library. There he left me, exhorting me to patience, it being uncertain at what hour her majesty could quit her company. The room was lighted up, and the bookcases opened. In about thirty minutes the queen entered the apartment. She was elegantly dressed in crimson satin, and either had, or impressed me as having, an air of majesty, mingled with condescension, altogether unlike an ordinary woman of condition. Our interview lasted nearly two hours. She assured me that she would write the letter demanded by the Danish nobility, to her brother, before she retired to rest; and would urge in the most pressing terms a compliance with the request made to him by Bulow in the name of his party. "As to the question which he puts to me," added she, "whether I would be ready to set out for Copenhagen on the first intimation of their success; assure him that I am disposed to share every hazard with my friends, and to quit this place at the shortest notice. But he must remember that I am not mistress of my own actions. I live here under the King of England's protection, in his castle, and in his dominions. I cannot leave Zell without his consent and approbation. To obtain that permission, shall form one of the principal objects of my letter to him." She then mentioned to me, for the first time, a circumstance which gave her much concern, as she apprehended it might retard, or wholly impede, the success of my negotiation in London. "The Baron de Lichtenstein," said the queen, "informs me that he is about to

quit England on his return to Hanover. I fear he may be gone before you arrive. His absence must be injurious to my interests; as, besides his attachment to me, his access to the king gave him opportunities of aiding my cause, which no other individual enjoys, or can supply. I shall nevertheless write to him; and he has promised me, that in case of his departure before you reach London, he will take care to leave instructions for regulating your conduct."

These material points being settled, our conversation took a wider range; and as her majesty manifested no disposition to terminate it, we remained together till near eleven, when I ventured to ask her if it was her pleasure that I should retire. She acquiesced, having first enjoined me to keep her constantly, as well as minutely informed, upon every occurrence that arose; though she hoped that my absence would be of short duration. When ready to leave me, she opened the door, but retained it a minute in her hand, as if willing to protract her stay. She never perhaps looked more engaging than on that night, in that attitude, and in that dress. Her countenance, animated with the prospect of her approaching emancipation from Zell (which was in fact only a refuge and an exile), and anticipating her restoration to the throne of Denmark, was lighted up with smiles; and she appeared to be in the highest health. Yet, if futurity could have been unveiled to us, we should have seen behind the door which she held in her hand, the "fell anatomy," as *Constance* calls him, already raising his dart to strike her. Within seven weeks from that day she yielded her last breath. As soon as the queen left me, Mantel came again, and wrapping me up as before, conducted me out of the castle; after which he led me by unfrequented ways back to my obscure inn. The darkness and the weather greatly favoured me. Next day, I received from Seckendorf her majesty's letter for the king her brother. Having completed every object of my mission, after writing to the Baron de Bulow, and acquainting him with all the particulars of my interview with the queen, I began my journey to England. Westphalia no

longer presented the same impediments. Taking the direct road through Holland, and travelling with expedition, I reached Helvoetsluys on the 1st day of April. Embarking immediately, though I was forty-eight hours on my passage, I got to London on the 5th of that month, 1775.

My earliest visit was paid to Chidleigh-court, Pall-Mall; but the Baron de Lichtenstein had already quitted England, on his way to Hanover: an event which might justly be regarded as most unpropitious to the speedy success of the enterprise. He had, however, left a letter for me, in which, while he expressed his regret at the necessity of his departure, he acquainted me that it was his majesty's pleasure, I should deliver my despatches to Monsieur Hinuber, *chargé d'affaires d'Hanovre*, who would immediately convey them to the *queen's house*. Hinuber, on whom I waited at his residence in Jerinyn-street, confirmed this information; adding, that he had received the king's commands to enclose whatever packets I might bring, in a box: to seal it up, and to carry it immediately to him. Charged as I was, not only with a letter from Zell, but likewise with another from Altona; and thus acting under a double commission of the most serious description; I should perhaps have been justified in declining to obey the royal orders, — at least, as far as regarded the despatch entrusted to me by the Baron de Bulow. I complied nevertheless with the requisition, and gave up both my packets to Hinuber: but I accompanied them with a letter which I addressed to his majesty, acquainting him that as I was the depository of many very important facts confided to me by his sister, and by Bulow, which were not of a nature to be committed to paper, I ventured to hope that he would admit me to an audience, in whatever way or manner might be most agreeable to him. I did not, however, indulge any sanguine expectations of success in my application: first, because I well knew that the king had laid it down as a principle, to reserve to himself the power of denying that he had ever seen or received an agent from the Queen Matilda; and secondly, because Lichtenstein, in the letter which he left to direct

my conduct, had expressly prepared me for this refusal. "I must," said he, "warn you not to be surprised if *you* do not receive from *him* (George the Third) an answer. It will be addressed to *me*, at Hanover. Reasons with which you are well acquainted, — namely, that *he will give nothing under his hand touching this affair*, — allow of no other line of conduct."

Being thus situated, I waited till the 21st of April, when Hinuber having informed me that he had not received any orders from his majesty respecting me, I wrote to the queen, to Seckendorf, and to Bulow. In my letters, I detailed every fact here related, requesting to know from the last-mentioned nobleman whether he and his friends would wish me to return to Germany; or to remain in London, and renew my applications through Hinuber to the king. His reply, dated the 2d of May, reached me on the 10th of that month. It stated that every preparation for the projected enterprise was advancing; that he lamented the silence hitherto observed towards me; but that he besought me, in the names of all the party, to remain where I was, and wait for his next despatch. On Friday, the 19th of May, as I was entering my lodgings in Jermy-n-street, my servant, who daily expected me to set out again for Germany, asked me whether I had heard "that the queen was dead?" Conceiving him to mean our own queen, I replied in the negative; but he soon undeceived me, by explaining that he spoke of Caroline Matilda. The intelligence was fully confirmed to me a few minutes afterwards; with the additional information, that the king her brother having received the account by a messenger sent from Zell, while he was on horseback, had manifested strong marks of concern, and returned instantly to the queen's house. It was not till the 25th of May that the post brought me a letter from Seckendorf, conveying the lamentable particulars of the same event. He subjoined a fact of no ordinary interest: that his majesty *had* returned an answer to his sister's letter brought over by me. It was sent by the Hanoverian courier, under cover, to Lichtenstein, as that nobleman warned me would happen. He forwarded it without

delay to her majesty; but she being then at the last extremity, it was never opened, and Lichtenstein transmitted it, with the seal unbroken, back to George the Third. Its contents have ever remained unknown. I cannot venture to hazard any decided conjecture on the subject, though I incline to believe that the reply was favourable. At length, on the 1st day of June, I received a letter from Bulow. Despair and consternation characterized every line. But, like Seckendorf's, it contained a circumstance highly interesting; namely, that at the very moment when the catastrophe was announced to him from Zell, he and the young Baron de Schimmelman were actually occupied in fixing the time, manner, and every particular requisite for carrying into prompt execution the projected plan, notwithstanding his Britannic Majesty's silence.

Thus abruptly and unexpectedly terminated an enterprise which, as far as human foresight can enable us to predict, must have been crowned with success; and which, if successful, must have effected an important change in the political aspect of the North of Europe. That it would not have been disgraced and polluted with any of those sanguinary acts which characterized the revolution of January, 1772, I may confidently assert. The express stipulation of George the Third, and the placable character of the queen his sister, form guarantees upon that point. That it would have been consummated without difficulty, and almost without resistance, cannot admit of a doubt. In the spring of 1784, the same attempt, made by the same individuals, or their survivors, was carried into complete effect, without bloodshed; and the young prince royal, then only sixteen years of age, was invested with the powers of regent, as his mother would have been in 1775. That the restoration of Caroline Matilda must have produced most beneficial public consequences to Denmark, by reviving the ancient, hereditary, natural connexion between that country and England, is incontestable. Juliana Maria, the queen dowager, and her son, Prince Frederic, possessed neither capacity nor vigour; and they had lost the friendship of Great Britain.

Caroline Matilda united considerable energy of character with firmness, and she wanted not judgment. But, youth, power, flattery, and inexperience, had overturned her. Those persons who severely condemn her conduct while in Denmark, forget that she was married at sixteen to a most imbecile, dissolute prince; and precipitated from the throne at the age of twenty years and six months. I pretend not to justify her conduct with respect to Struensee, either in a prudential or in a moral point of view. For, though I honoured the queen, I honour truth far above all queens; and whatever faults are found in these memoirs, the violation or suppression of truth never will be among the number. But we must not measure sovereigns precisely by the same principles which apply to individuals. Catherine the Second is tried by her reign, not by her life; by her administration, more than by her private deportment as a woman. Caroline Matilda, though she did not, like Catherine, exercise the sovereign authority, may claim from posterity hardly less indulgence.

Even the modern history of Denmark, including the events that took place during the late revolutionary war, — and consequently, the destiny of Europe, — has been affected by the consequences that flowed from the imprisonment and exile of Caroline Matilda, followed by her premature death. For her brother, George the Third, imbibed so rooted a dislike to the Danish royal family and alliance, that he never would listen to any proposition for renewing the connexion by marriage with the house of Oldenburg. I know that the present king, Frederic the Sixth, when prince regent, made, between 1787 and 1789, repeated efforts to obtain the hand of an English princess, leaving the selection to his Britannic Majesty in a great degree. Conversing on this subject, in March, 1791, with Hugh Elliott, who was then in London on leave of absence, but who filled the post of envoy from Great Britain at the court of Copenhagen; he assured me that he had *twice* proposed, by desire of the prince, his union with a daughter of England: but the king instantly rejected the overture. The heir of the Danish monarchy, thus

refused, espoused, in July, 1790, the eldest daughter of Prince Charles of Hesse Cassel, by whom he has no male issue. Contrary to the true policy of Denmark, we find him joining with France at every period of his administration. Napoleon had not among his vassal kings a more determined ally; and that formidable chieftain, when, in 1806 and the following year, he planned the invasion of this country, relied with good reason on the navy of Christian the Seventh, “to transport,” as he threatened, “the vengeance of the Continent to our shores.” Hence, we may assume, took place the sanguinary naval engagement of Copenhagen, in 1801. “*Hoc fonte derivata clades.*” Hence, too, originated the siege and surrender of Copenhagen in 1807. Hence the loss of Norway in 1814; a kingdom which during successive centuries had been united to Denmark, but which is now transferred to the dominion of her ancient enemy; governed by one of Bonaparte’s lieutenants, who occupies the throne of Gustavus Adolphus. Such are the extraordinary facts which we have witnessed in our time: facts indirectly to be traced up to Caroline Matilda’s death. Had she been restored to Denmark, and filled the situation of regent during her son’s minority, we can scarcely suppose that her brother would have refused to cement the alliance between the two crowns, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to the present king. Norway might at this hour have remained subject to him, and the Danish capital would never have been attacked or entered by an English army.

I shall subjoin a few words, personal to myself, respecting the Queen of Denmark. After her decease, Bulow, as representing the party which had been engaged in her cause; and Seckendorf, who having carried on the intercourse between her majesty and me, witnessed my exertions in her service; joined in making to the Baron de Lichtenstein the most pressing solicitations in my behalf. They entreated him to recommend me to his Britannic Majesty, for remuneration or employment; and they did it in language so earnest, that even if Lichtenstein had not been of himself dis-

posed to comply, he could not have evaded or refused to gratify their wishes. He was, however, I have reason to believe, most desirous of obtaining for me some recompense. In fact, during the years 1775 and 1776, he wrote (as he assured me under his hand), repeatedly to the king, in terms as strong as a Hanoverian subject could venture to use when addressing his sovereign. But no reply was given. I made likewise, myself, two applications in the course of those years to the king, which were delivered to him by persons of rank, or of consideration, who had means of access to his private hours. I may now name them. They were Viscount Barrington and Dr. William Hunter. He still observed, nevertheless, the same silence; and the whole transaction had long ceased to occupy my thoughts, when, in the last days of February, 1781, nearly six years subsequent to the demise of Caroline Matilda, it most unexpectedly revived. In 1780, I came into parliament; and some months afterwards, as I was seated nearly behind Lord North in the house of commons, only a few members being present, and no important business in agitation, he suddenly turned round to me. Speaking in a low tone of voice, so as not to be overheard, "Mr. Wraxall," said he, "I have received his majesty's commands to see and talk to you. He informs me that you rendered very important services to the late Queen of Denmark, of which he has related to me the particulars. He is desirous of acknowledging them. We must have some conversation together on the subject. Can you come to me to Bushy Park, dine, and pass the day?" I waited on him there, in June, 1781, and was received by him in his cabinet alone. Having most patiently heard my account of the enterprise in which I engaged for the Queen Matilda's restoration, he asked me what remunerations I demanded? I answered, one thousand guineas, as a compensation for the expense which I had incurred in her majesty's service, and an employment. He assured me that I should have both. Robinson, then secretary to the treasury, paid me the money soon afterwards; and I confidently believe that Lord North would have fulfilled his promise of em-

ploying me, or rather of giving me a place of considerable emolument, if his administration had not terminated early in the following year, 1782. I now return from this long digression, to the state of public affairs.

On my landing at Dover from Paris, I received the intelligence of Lord Sackville's death. I lost in him a zealous friend. He would have appointed me under-secretary of state in July, 1781, when a vacancy took place in his office; but Mr. Knox, who principally conducted the business of that department, opposed my appointment. He said, not without some reason, "he could no longer perform the duties of his employment, if his colleague occupied a seat in parliament, as the necessary attendance *there* must leave the whole weight and drudgery upon *him*." In 1784, Lord Sackville brought me into the house of commons, leaving me equally free in my parliamentary capacity, as did his own son-in-law, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Medley, the two members for East Grinstead. His correspondence, which I enjoyed down to the close of his life, exhibits in every letter the acuteness of his intellect, the elevation of his mind, and the playful vivacity of his temper, unsubdued by age. Nor does it less forcibly display that strong attachment to the king, cemented by recent marks of his favour, which always characterized Lord Sackville.

Writing to me from his seat at Drayton, on the 27th of December, 1783, one of the most critical moments which occurred during the long reign of his present majesty, only eight days after Pitt had been placed at the head of the treasury, and when the *coalition* were masters of the house of commons; he says, "Mr. Fox acts with much wisdom and parliamentary address, in making his party dip as deep as possible in opposition before the adjournment. Every *resolution* that can embarrass and distress ministry, are so many securities given by his followers to him of their steadiness and attachment. The individuals who may wish to join those in power, will not feel it an easy task to shake off their shackles. The ministers should first attack those who have not attended; and if they can get a sufficient number at the

next meeting of the house even to face the enemy, they may struggle through the session. But, I own, their success appears to me so doubtful, that those who consider only their own interest should be cautious how they engage in the present system. My earnest desire of showing every possible mark of duty and gratitude to the king, would have induced me to have risked everything in support of his wishes, if personal injuries had not rendered it impracticable. And if he will promote a man to be secretary of state without experience or abilities, how can he expect that such a servant will be acceptable to the public?" Lord Sackville's comments on the nomination of the Marquis of Carmarthen to the foreign department, may appear severe, or may seem to have originated in private resentment. No doubt he retained a deep recollection of that nobleman's conduct in February, 1782. But, if we consider that Lord Carmarthen filled the employment which Lord Grenville, Fox, Earl Grey, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Canning, have since successively occupied; and if we compare the extent of the marquis's endowments or eloquence, with the talents possessed by any one of those distinguished individuals, we shall probably incline to think that the extraordinary circumstances of the time, when the continuance of the new administration in office appeared to be most precarious, rather than any real aptitude for the duties of such a station, elevated to it the Marquis of Carmarthen.

I have already mentioned in the "Memoirs of my own Time," published in 1815, the journey to Drayton which, at Mr. Pitt's desire, I undertook on the 31st of December, 1783, in order to induce Lord Sackville to support the new administration, together with its successful result. In the first letter which I received from him after my return to London, dated Drayton, Saturday, the 10th January, 1784, he says, "It is impossible to argue upon the event of Monday, as so much depends upon the secret manœuvres of Robinson. If the majorities are not great against Mr. Pitt, he will prevail at last; for then the king's firmness will be shown, and when understood, will have great weight. If

I can form any judgment of my late master, he will give the fairest and most decided support to any ministers of his own choosing. And if they do not abandon *him*, he never will forsake *them*." Among the peculiar features of Lord Sackville's intellectual formation, was a quickness of perception, which seemed at times to partake of prescience and intuition. Being likewise destitute of all reserve where secrecy was not demanded, he rarely declined answering any question put to him; and he was a stranger to circumlocution or evasion. In February, 1784, when Pitt's eventual stability in office began to be evident, and his final triumph over the *coalition* almost certain, Lord Walsingham and I asked Lord Sackville, "How long will Pitt remain first minister?" He looked up for two or three seconds, and then replied "Five years." The accomplishment of this prediction, or rather opinion, proved ridiculously accurate; for, in February, 1789, Pitt in fact was *out*; and only the folly of his opponents, by furnishing him from week to week with new subjects of delay, had allowed time for the king's recovery from his great malady. Nor did Lord Sackville possess less candour than he manifested acuteness. The "Rolliad" did not spare him, among the individuals selected for satire or ridicule by the authors of that production. Addressing me from Drayton, on the 2d of January, 1786, he observes, "The 'Rolliad' is indeed highly entertaining. We all admire it; and there is more wit, elegance, and humour in the composition, than I could have conceived it possible even for Mr. Sheridan and his friends to have produced. Lord Walsingham has no reason to thank them for making him spring from so poor a stock." This remark applied to the lines, in which, alluding to the members of *Fox's* East India Board, who are contrasted with those of Pitt's nomination, the "Rolliad" says,

"Whate'er experience Gregory might boast,
Say, is not Walsingham himself a host?
His grateful countrymen, with joyful eyes,
From Sackville's ashes see this phoenix rise.
Perhaps with all his *master's* talents blest,
To save the East, as *he* subdued the West."

Lord Sackville, though not a man of

letters, nor even inclined to literary pursuits, yet seemed to inherit his grandfather Charles Earl of Dorset's partiality for talents. As Hobbes wrote under the protection of the Earls of Devonshire, at Chatsworth and at Hardwick; so Cumberland composed various of his dramatic pieces under that nobleman's roof, either at Stonelands or at Drayton. I have myself assisted several times at the reading of his tragedies or comedies. "Cumberland," says Lord Sackville, in a letter addressed to me from Drayton, 26th October, 1782, "is writing a new sort of tragedy in familiar dialogue, instead of blank verse; for which, I conclude, he will be abused till he has a severe fit of the bile. Four acts are finished. The ladies have attended the reading of them, and say they are very moving. I declined the pleasure, because I fear I never can commend any performance equal to the expectation of the author. Such prose as you write, I admire, because I understand it; but I have not genius sufficient for works of mere imagination." Near two years afterwards, on the 21st of October, 1784, addressing me from the same place, he says "Cumberland is writing; and indeed has finished a new comedy; and I have seen it; and the dialogue is remarkably well. There was something in the characters, in the moral part of them, that I disliked; and I was in doubt whether I might venture to declare it. But as I cannot forbear speaking the truth, out it came; and instead of being offended, he adopted the idea; and it is all to be altered according to my plan. Was I not a bold man to attack an author?" On the 2d of January, 1785, he again writes me: "When Cumberland read his comedy here, the character of *Dumps*, which you commend, struck me as the least to be admired: but we said so much upon that subject, that he promised to alter it." — "As I see '*The Natural Son*' advertised for the remainder of the week, I am in hopes that the managers expect it will answer." These passages of his correspondence with me, all written soon after his resignation of office, and when he was fast approaching his seventieth year, display the elasticity of his mind; while they as forcibly prove how little either the advance of age, or the loss of employment, had indisposed

him for the tranquil pleasures of private life.

The last letter that I ever received from Lord Sackville is dated "Stonelands Lodge, 17th of July, 1785," the day preceding his memorable speech in the house of peers, which terminated his public career, he was preparing for his journey to London when he wrote it; and he speaks in terms of the severest condemnation respecting Pitt's and Jenkinson's measure of the *Irish propositions*. "If I may believe," says he, "the newspapers, the factious part of Ireland wish to reject these very advantageous propositions, because they only administer a *slow* poison to us. The first dose, prepared by the Doctors Foster and Beresford, would have had an *instant* effect; and it is hard that they will not consent to relieve us for a few years, that such old fellows as I am may not attend the execution. Mr. Pitt is young enough to live to see, and I hope, to repent of what his influence is imposing upon this great and flourishing country." There was not, probably, a nobleman in England who combined a more liberal economy with a hospitable and splendid establishment. He maintained three separate households: one in Pall-Mall; another at Stonelands in Sussex, — a family seat to which he was partial, where he had passed much of his youth, and which he rented of his nephew, the Duke of Dorset. He kept up a third, at his magnificent place of Drayton in the county of Northampton. His table was admirably served, and his house never wanted a select company of both sexes. Yet his income did not exceed nine or ten thousand pounds a year; and when he went out of office, he made no reduction whatever in his household, nor dismissed a single domestic. With *him* may justly be said to have become eclipsed the name of Sackville, as a parliamentary beacon. The Duke of Dorset, his nephew, was only a pleasing, accomplished individual of very high rank, made for the ornament of a court; formed to grace a drawing-room, but destitute of talents for state affairs. He filled, however, during six years, without reproach, the post of ambassador to the court of Versailles. His only son perished at twenty-one, in an Irish fox-chace; a mode of dying not the

most glorious or distinguished, though two sons of William the Conqueror, one of whom was a king of England, terminated their lives in a similar occupation.

The present Duke of Dorset, and his brother Mr. Germain, Lord Sackville's two sons, men by no means wanting talents, have nevertheless hitherto remained in a sort of political obscurity; better known at Newmarket, or on Ascot Heath, than at Westminster; on the turf, or at the cockpit, than in parliament. Even the dukedom itself seems to be already deprived of its greatest ornament, and to be half extinguished by the loss of Knole; a mansion which was to the Sackvilles all which Blenheim is to the Churchills, or Penshurst to the Sydneys; recalling a thousand images of past times and transactions. That venerable pile, where the Earls and Dukes of Dorset has resided in uninterrupted succession more than two centuries; — a species of classic ground, enriched with portraits of so many illustrious persons, and so many historical monuments; — it is highly probable will be transferred to the Earls of Delawar, in consequence of a will, which, whatever legal validity it may possess, militates against every feeling of justice or propriety. The very name of Sackville appears to be near extinction, as far as appearances warrant us to assume; the present Duke of Dorset being unmarried, and Mr. Germain without male issue, though both have long passed the zenith of life. It is nevertheless a name, than which few, if any, more resplendent is to be found in our annals; raised to the peerage by Elizabeth, in the person of Lord Treasurer Buckhurst; created earls by James the First, and dukes by George the First; fertile in men distinguished for loyalty, courage, and protection of genius. In pronouncing the name of Charles, Earl of Dorset, whom his contemporaries compared with Tibullus, Mæcenas, Gallus, and Petronius, we see pass in review before us the shades of Waller, Dryden, Otway, Wycherley, Butler, Prior, and many other poets or men of eminent talents, foreigners as well as English, who shared the society and the bounty of that celebrated individual. Lord Sackville had not degenerated from him. Though

Minden and America exposed him to popular clamour, yet posterity, I am persuaded, viewing him dispassionately, will rank him among the most eminent persons who performed a part on the great theatre of public life during the reigns of George the Second and of his present majesty.

About this time, a person was appointed secretary of legation to the British envoy at Berlin, who displayed such eminent talents for negotiation, and acted so distinguished a part in the diplomatic line, during the short period of his public service, as to deserve that I should enter into some details respecting him. The individual to whom I allude, Mr. Joseph Ewart, was the son of a Scottish clergyman at Dumfries, and brought up to the profession of surgery. With a view of improving himself, and at the same time of visiting the Continent, he accompanied one of his countrymen, Mr. Macdonald of Clanronald, in the year 1782, from England to Vienna. A quarrel arising between them while resident in the Austrian capital, Ewart quitted him; and our minister at that court, Sir Robert Murray Keith, being in want of a secretary at the time, Ewart assisted him as such, but without being officially attached to the mission. About two years afterwards, in 1784, he consented to act in a similar capacity under Sir John Stepney, the English envoy at Berlin. Here he soon manifested extraordinary ability, which was attended with uncommon ardour of mind, and a very irritable temper. Stepney being succeeded, in August, 1785, by Lord Dalrymple, now Earl of Stair, Ewart continued in the same post under that nobleman; and after passing, as I have already mentioned, through the intermediate degree of secretary of legation, he was named, in 1788, envoy to the Prussian court. Placed on such a diplomatic eminence, to which his talents had conducted him with unexampled rapidity, he rendered himself master of the cabinet and councils of Frederic William the Second, which he governed or directed with a sort of absolute sway. Hertzberg, who was then first minister, listened to his suggestions with implicit respect; and I have been assured that it is difficult to conceive or to credit the

ascendancy attained by him over the sovereign and administration of Prussia. His marriage with a lady of that country, Mademoiselle Wartensleben, augmented his influence, as it seemed in some measure to naturalize him with the people among whom he resided.

Catherine the Second, and her ally the Emperor Joseph, were at that time engaged in hostilities against the Turks, which, though unsuccessful on the side of Hungary during more than one campaign, in consequence of Joseph's personal interference and presence in the field, menaced nevertheless the Ottoman empire with the loss of her finest provinces on the coast of the Black Sea. Ockzakow had already fallen into the empress's possession. Ewart not only stimulated the king and ministers of Prussia, to compel from her the restoration of so valuable a place; but he set on foot the great confederacy of England, Holland, Prussia, and Turkey, for the avowed purpose of arresting her further conquests. The death of Joseph the Second, which took place in February, 1790, facilitated the accomplishment of Ewart's plans, while it deprived Catherine of her best support. Leopold, who succeeded to his brother's dominions, adopted a specific and healing policy, the first fruit of which was the treaty of Reichenbach, concluded between him and Frederic William. Ewart performed the principal part in it, and was personally present at its signature. His detestation of Catherine, which constituted a prominent feature of his character, impelled him to advise the British ministry to the prosecution of every measure which might effect her humiliation, and check the progress of her arms. She was well aware of his antipathy; and, apprehensive of the injurious consequences that would inevitably result from his efforts at Reichenbach, it is said that she did not hesitate having recourse to effective means for preventing his presence at the conferences which were there held previous to the treaty. A potion, it is added, was administered to him at the time when he was setting out from Berlin; but Sutherland, physician to the empress, who was a countryman of Ewart, and who knew or suspected Catherine's intention, sent him a

hint to be on his guard. He escaped by means of emetics and medicines.

I am well aware that this is a serious imputation to bring forward even against Catherine the Second. Nor would I state it lightly: for I am far from participating Ewart's aversion to her. I consider her indeed as a very ambitious princess, emulating every species of fame, and not fastidiously delicate as to the manner of attaining her objects. Leopold designated her with truth, when he said, that "her head ought to be encircled with glory, in order to conceal her feet which stood in blood." Her whole reign, administration, policy, wars, and private life, demonstrate that she was not scrupulous about the means by which she accomplished her plans of acquisition, vengeance, and gratification. The person from whom I received the account here given, and who is now no more, might challenge belief on very strong grounds. He was a man of calm and superior understanding, neither credulous, nor imbued with any prejudices against the empress. Add to these facts, that he was intimately acquainted with Ewart, from whom, I have no doubt, he received the particulars of Catherine's attempt. Lastly, he was in Germany at the time when the treaty of Reichenbach was concluded, as well as previous and subsequent to its signature. He possessed therefore almost all the qualities, as well as the information, requisite for forming a sound and dispassionate opinion upon the fact in question.

Leopold having concluded peace with the Turks at Sistova, Catherine, thus left alone to carry on the war with that power, might unquestionably have been compelled to restore all her recent acquisitions, particularly Ockzakow. The cabinets of St. James's, of the Hague, and of Berlin, acting in concert, while they were sustained by Leopold, become emperor of Germany, could have dictated to the Russian empress. Frederic William already threatened to march an army of a hundred thousand men against Riga: and every preparation was made for attacking the Livonian frontier, when the British ministry receded. These events took place during the spring of the year 1791. In embracing a line of

policy calculated to set limits to Catherine's conquests on the shore of the Euxine, Pitt acted, in my opinion, with equal wisdom and justice. But, unfortunately, he could not impress the house of commons with a conviction, that interests so remote, as well as so little understood, were of sufficient importance to incur any risk of a war for their support. Many of the county members possessed a very imperfect knowledge or comprehension of the position, value, and consequence of Ockzakow. Fox, availing himself of these circumstances, inveighed with so much eloquence and effect against the ministerial system, and was supported on every division by such numbers, that it became evident, Pitt must either abandon his measures and his allies, or be finally left in a minority. In order to keep Catherine firm to her determination of not relinquishing Ockzakow, Fox did not hesitate to send a friend and relative to Petersburg, as his agent. Adair demonstrated to the sovereign of Russia, that if she remained inflexible, the house of commons would either force Pitt to yield, or would drive him from the helm. Thus encouraged, Catherine refused to make any sacrifices of territory, or to restore Ockzakow.

The English minister, after a long conflict between political principle and love of power, at length determined to consult his preservation by renouncing his alliances. In so painful an extremity he had recourse to Ewart, who was then in London on leave of absence. To him Pitt applied, as the person who had conducted all the negotiations at Berlin; entreating him to return thither, and to state the necessity imposed on the British administration of adopting other measures. Ewart, not without extreme repugnance, undertook the commission, and executed it; but the Duke of Leeds, a nobleman of an elevated mind, though not endowed with eminent abilities, was so much shocked at the violation of national faith; which faith, he, as secretary of state for the foreign department, had pledged; that he preferred the resignation of his employment, rather than submit to be made the instrument of such humiliation. Lord Grenville replaced him in June, 1791. About three

months afterwards, the Duke of York's marriage with Frederic William's daughter by his first wife, was concluded; a transaction, in conducting which, Ewart, as the British minister at the Prussian court, took a leading part; and the terms of which alliance, in a pecuniary point of view, he would have rendered much more advantageous to this country than were the stipulations settled, if the duke's own injudicious interference had not prevented him. No sooner, however, was the union completed, than Pitt, on very insufficient pretexts, founded ostensibly on some article in the matrimonial contract, to which Ewart had given his sanction, caused him to be recalled. He returned to England, received a pension of one thousand pounds as a remuneration for his services, and retired from office. Treatment so severe, if not unmerited, his indignant spirit could not support. He died soon afterwards at Bath.

I have been assured, from the authority to which I have already alluded, that his death was accelerated or produced by the same means that had been ineffectually tried previous to the treaty of Reichenbach; administered by order of the same princess. Such an accusation I by no means implicitly adopt or credit: but Ewart was known to have urged the British cabinet to measures personally hostile towards the Empress of Russia; and Catherine's vengeance, though it might be suspended, never slept. Instruments for effecting it might always be found, even in England, by a powerful sovereign. Whether Ewart's end was natural, or whether any means were used to hasten it, I will not determine; but I know from concurring, and I may add, from official testimony, that his last words reproached Pitt, whom he accused of wanting firmness and principle. Yet it appears to me difficult to condemn Pitt's line of conduct. For, even if he had resigned, rather than abandon his engagements with Prussia, the new ministers would equally have violated them, and would have pursued an opposite policy. Such a line of action would, however, I admit, have been more dignified and magnanimous. But we must recollect that previous to his being made lord warden of the Cinque

Ports in 1792, Pitt possessed no means whatever of subsistence, except from the salary of his employments. He must have returned to Lincoln's Inn, or have occupied an apartment in Lord Chatham's house, who at the same time would have been compelled to leave the Admiralty. Such superiority to every sentiment of private interest, not to mention ambition, cannot be expected from man. Fox, in consequence of his successful interference to preserve Catherine's conquests, enjoyed, for a short time, a high degree of her favour. She placed his bust in her cabinet, between two of the most illustrious statesmen of modern ages, and spoke of him in language of the warmest encomium. But the part which he took in parliament subsequent in 1793, and the eulogiums lavished by him on the French Revolution, soon changed the empress's tone. She caused the bust to be removed; and when reproached with such a change in her conduct, she replied, "C'estoit Monsieur Fox de Quatre-vingt-onze que j'ai place dans mon cabinet."

December. — Hitherto, during nearly twenty months that had elapsed since Pitt's confirmation in office, the *coalition*, though vanquished, remained nevertheless a compact and powerful phalanx. No desertion had yet taken place among their leaders in either house of parliament. But the month of December exhibited a specimen of political defection in the person of Mr. Eden, which excited a strong sensation. He had greatly contributed, by his influence over Lord North, to form that celebrated union, and he was the first to forsake it. Wearied with an unsuccessful and hopeless opposition, pressed by domestic demands, and conscious of possessing talents which might be rendered subservient to his own, not less than to the public advantage, Eden opened a treaty with the minister. Its results were disclosed by his double appointment, naming him one of the members of council for affairs of trade, and at the same time appointing him envoy extraordinary at the court of Versailles, for the negotiation of a commercial treaty with France. The former nomination had no emolument annexed to it; but to the latter was joined a salary of six thousand pounds a

year. Unquestionably, Pitt, in making this purchase, — for it could deserve no other title, — concluded a bargain highly beneficial to the nation. Eden possessed a species of knowledge and ability, which, except in the instance of Jenkinson, would have been vainly sought throughout the ministerial ranks. And Jenkinson, who already beheld the peerage near his grasp, might neither have relished such a mission, nor could he be conveniently spared as yet by Pitt from the treasury bench. Upon all subjects connected with trade, manufactures, revenue, and finance, Eden ranked above any individual composing the party of the opposition.

Fox, Lord North, and Sheridan, might indeed display more eloquence, wit, or humour, during a commercial debate; but upon Eden principally devolved the task of dissecting, answering, and refuting the arguments, calculations, or propositions brought forward by the government. His desertion left therefore a void not easy to fill, and produced a corresponding sentiment of indignation among his former friends. It found vent in lampoons, epigrams, and rondeaus, some of which were most poignant. When Eden attempted an apology to Lord North for joining Pitt, and observed that "it was not caused by any change of political attachment, but *merely arose from a temporary affair of trade*, which he was appointed to negotiate;" "You need not trouble yourself to explain the matter," replied that nobleman, — "I have always considered the whole transaction as *a mere affair of trade*." Fox, after hearing his reasons and excuses, only asked him if he had seen Mrs. Jordan perform? That charming actress, who just then appeared for the first time on the London theatre, attracted universal attention. The ballad entitled "Billy Eden," set to the tune of "Ally Croaker," concentrated the wit of the party that he had quitted, and cannot be perused with gravity. Each verse or stanza concluded thus:

"Will you give a place, my dearest Billy Pitt O!
If I can't have a whole one, O give a little
bit O!"

It required some strength of nerves to

support these attacks; and Eden was not supposed to possess great firmness, or to set ridicule and satire at defiance.

I was familiarly acquainted with him between 1781 and 1789, not only in London, but at Paris during his mission; and finally at Bayonne, where I met him when returning from his embassy to Madrid. In his person he rose, like Jenkinson, above the ordinary height; but Eden's figure was elegant, and wanted not grace. His countenance was thin and pale; his features regular, and full of intelligence; his manners calm, polite, and conciliating. He descended from an ancient and honourable family, resident during successive centuries in the North of England, and which had been raised to the baronetage under Charles the Second. His eldest brother, Sir John, who represented the county of Durham during several years, was a steady adherent of Fox. Eden's alliances likewise contributed to support him: for he married a daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliott, and one of his sisters was the wife of Dr. Moore, archbishop of Canterbury. When surrounded, as I have seen him, by his six daughters, he excited great interest. Pitt, who, in his continual visits to his country-house at Holwood, used to stop, and sometimes to pass the night, at Beckenham, Eden's place, not far from Bromley in Kent, distinguished one of the young ladies by particular attentions. But, either he never meditated marriage, or he finally relinquished his intention. Eden's style of eloquence was neither glowing, nor elevated, nor impassioned; but it was correct, without digressions, always directed to the subject under discussion. He had been early initiated in public business, had filled various eminent situations at an early period of life, and might confidently look forward to higher employments. During the *coalition* administration he was made a British privy counsellor: but Lord North (to whose party he belonged, and not to that of Fox), did not, or probably could not, procure him a place in the distribution of offices; and Eden's wants propelled him towards the treasury bench, as those of Burke did, some years afterwards. *Junius*, when speaking of Wedderburn, says, that there was something about him

which even treachery could not trust." There equally existed in Eden's physiognomy, even in his manner and deportment, something which did not convey the impression of plain dealing, or inspire confidence.

Though he was a man of distinguished capacity, great application, and thorough acquaintance with state affairs, he wanted accomplishment. His knowledge of the French language was so limited at the time when he was named envoy to Paris, as to place him under a necessity of taking a master to instruct, or at least to perfect him in it: but he amply compensated for that defect, by his superior information on every point connected with the important objects submitted to his consideration. The first minister, it was universally admitted, could not have made a wiser selection. Friends, nevertheless, as well as his opponents, declaimed against Eden as an apostate. The Duke of Dorset, then our ambassador at the court of France, but who was over here on leave of absence; and with whom, during the whole period of his embassy, I maintained a constant, unreserved correspondence; expressed himself in terms equally severe as Fox could have done on the subject. Writing to me from his seat at Knole in Kent, five days after Eden's appointment, on the 14th December, 1785, he says, "I am now so far in my way to Paris. I wished to have had a little conversation with you respecting Eden. His desertion is a curious business. It is astonishing how angry his old friends are with him; and in my opinion, with very great reason. His situation at Paris will be new and particular. However, he has nothing to do with *my functions*; and I know he can do nothing without me, notwithstanding the *Gazette writer* has dignified him with the title of Minister Plenipotentiary." It is evident that the duke, though utterly unable, himself, to negotiate a commercial treaty with the French commissioners, yet by no means liked the intrusion of such a man as Eden, in a diplomatic character, at the court of Louis the Sixteenth.

With Eden's defection, which formed the last domestic event of importance in the year 1785, I shall terminate the fourth part of the Memoirs of my Own Time.

January, 1786. — Early in the month of January, Lord Macartney arrived in England from Calcutta. His return to Europe excited much surprise, he having been appointed, nearly twelve months before, to succeed Mr. Hastings as governor-general of Bengal, whenever the latter should quit India. But, notwithstanding this nomination, various weighty reasons precluded him from claiming the chair. His original appointment had not been carried at the East India House without great difficulty; the directors, in a pretty full court, being so equally balanced, that the question was decided in Lord Macartney's favour by only one vote. From Leadenhall-street it was therefore evident that he could not look for any steady or unanimous support. Nor had his public conduct in throwing up the government of Fort St. George, rather than submit to execute the orders sent out by the board of control, tended to conciliate the protection of Dundas. In order to explain this last assertion, it is necessary to state that Mahommed Ally, Nabob or Sovereign of the Carnatic, was induced in the year 1781, when the armies of Hyder Ally had occupied and desolated his dominions, to assign over the administration of his revenues to the Madras government. So extraordinary a mark of confidence, by which he in fact made a temporary resignation of his political authority, transferring it to the East India Company's servants, was however given under a solemn engagement that his territories should be restored to him immediately after the termination of the war. Nevertheless, Lord Macartney, apprehensive lest the nabob's finances might be thrown into disorder under his own management, which must prevent his making the regular *kists* or payments due from him to the company, refused to restore the Carnatic to Mahommed Ally. That prince loudly complained of such an infraction of national faith, and reclaimed the interposition of the Bengal government. Hastings and the supreme council taking part with the nabob, enjoined Lord Macartney to fulfil the stipulations of 1781. But he remained inflexible, and waited orders from England. One of the first measures embraced by the new board of control, after its institution in the autumn of 1784,

was to send positive directions for restoring the assignment, and replacing Mahommed Ally in his rights of sovereignty. Lord Macartney, between whom and the nabob violent personal altercations had arisen, preferred resigning the government, rather than undergo the humiliation of compliance. With this determination he quitted Madras, and repaired to Calcutta, intending to prosecute his voyage from thence to England; wholly unprepared for the appointment which there awaited him, to succeed Hastings as governor-general.

It cannot be doubted that if his nomination had been legally complete, he would not have hesitated an instant to assume its functions. But the only title under which he could have demanded to be recognized, was evidently defective and invalid. The act of the legislature, passed in 1774, which erected a supreme controlling government in Bengal, expressly declared that on a vacancy occurring in the chair, the senior member of the council should succeed to it. This event had actually taken place on the 1st day of February, 1785, when Mr. Hastings quitted the Ganges; and his office devolved, under a parliamentary authority, upon Mr. Macpherson. Until, therefore, he should be expressly superseded, and a successor appointed, no power could legally dispossess him. Of these facts Lord Macartney was well aware; and though he might probably have been easily prevailed on to exercise the powers of governor-general, till more valid authority could arrive from Europe, yet he did not attempt to claim the office as his right. Still less did he make any demonstration of assuming it by force. If, indeed, he had taken any steps tending towards such an object, I know that he would have been instantly placed under arrest, conducted on board a ship, and sent to England. Mr. Macpherson having consulted the judges relative to the point, they unanimously declared that he was the only legal governor-general to whom obedience was due; and he consequently prepared, if it should become necessary, to maintain himself in his situation. But Lord Macartney, who knew the utter invalidity of his commission, was too wise to make any effort for gaining possession of the chair.

He quitted Calcutta after a residence of a few days, and, immediately on his arrival in London, presented upon oath, at the East India House, an account of his acquisitions while he had remained at Madras. They were considered as very moderate, not exceeding, I believe, forty thousand pounds.

While speaking of Lord Macartney's visit to Calcutta, I have had occasion to mention Mr. Macpherson, who shortly after this time was created a baronet. He was born in the Isle of Skye, towards the close of the year 1744, and educated at the University of Aberdeen; where, as well as afterwards at that of Edinburgh, he early attained a knowledge of the great writings of antiquity. At the age of nearly twenty-three, impelled more by a desire of enlarging his mind, than by any determined plans of a pecuniary nature, he went out as a passenger on board an East Indiaman, commanded by his maternal uncle, Captain Macleod. He was, however, nominally registered on the ship's books as pursuer. Arriving in 1768, on the Malabar coast, where the company's forces were engaged at the siege of Mangalore, a town in the dominions of Hyder Ally; he volunteered on the storming party, and was one of those who entered the fort when it was taken by assault. He possessed, indeed, and exhibited throughout his whole life, the most unostentatious courage. While governor-general of Bengal, where his reductions, civil and military, excited numerous enemies, he displayed the utmost superiority to the attempts at intimidation made by various individuals, who supposed themselves aggrieved from the effect of his regulations. He manifested equal composure in Hyde-Park, when one of those officers, Major Brown, called him out to answer with the pistol for acts performed reluctantly, under an imperious sense of duty, in his public character. Mr. Macpherson first became known to the Nabob of the Carnatic in 1769, who was early impressed with the elevation of his sentiments, his apparent superiority to money, and the conciliation of his manners. But he united to them a deep, comprehensive, abstract mind, under the control of a philosophic temper,

scarcely to be ruffled by passion. Desire of fame, and the ambition of meriting it by personal sacrifices and renunciations, formed the master-spring of all his actions. If any quality pre-eminently characterized him, it was patience; one of the rarest gifts of Nature to man, and one which he seemed to exert without an effort.

His person was cast in a Herculean mould; for he rose to above six feet in height, well-proportioned, athletic, neither too slender, nor at all corpulent; active, elastic in the dance, and performing a *strathspey* at seventy almost like a youth of eighteen. His features, regular, pleasing, and expressive, were always illuminated by good-humour, or enlivened by gaiety. I never saw him manifest dejection, though I have beheld him in situations which might have oppressed the firmest mind. The "*mens immota manet*" of Virgil applied peculiarly to him. So did not less the "*lacrymæ voluntur inanes*," which I have seen him shed on more than one occasion. His accomplishments at least equalled his endowments; and his conversation was enriched by anecdotes gathered from Europe, as well as from Asia. Convivial, formed for society, master of French and Italian, singing with ease and grace the airs of almost every nation, he chained his guests to the table. Those, and those only, who have heard him sing Don Gaston de Cogollos's Spanish song, which Gil Blas overhears when a prisoner in the Castle of Segovia, beginning,

"Ay de me! un anno felice
Parece un soplo ligero,"

can form an estimate of his powers. Nor was his talent limited to one language. Venetian, Hindoo, French, but, above all, Highland ballads, he gave with the same facility. Never did any man display more unaffected hospitality. It was only eclipsed by his liberality;—for his purse had unfortunately no strings, and was open to every applicant, of every country, who besought his aid, or touched his compassion. I used to reproach him with his resemblance to *Timon*; But he did not finish, like *Timon*, by misanthropy, though he met perhaps

with as strong causes for shutting his door against mankind, as could have been produced by the profuse Athenian.

There still remain various touches to be added to this portrait. Macpherson was a poet of no common order. His "Tears of Sedition for the Death of *Junius*," written in 1769, and printed in some editions of "*Junius's Letters*," are most classic lines. So are his verses addressed to the three daughters of Mr. Coutts, the eminent banker, composed in 1791, at Ovid's tomb, not far from Rome. His manners were the more ingratiating, because they formed a contrast with his person. If his figure reminded of Hercules, it was Hercules in the court of Omphalé, gentle, subdued, and disarmed. Who can wonder that such talents should raise their possessor to eminence? Mahomed Ally adopted him for his son, and entrusted to his vigilance the dearest interests of the Carnatic. Plundered and oppressed by successive governors of Fort St. George, the nabob had no other chance of redress, than by committing his rights to the care of a faithful, judicious, indefatigable agent. While employed in fulfilling the duties of his charge, which brought him into communication and contact with ministers; Lord North, then at the head of his majesty's councils, conceived so favourable an opinion of his abilities and powers of conciliation, that he determined to avail himself of them, for the service of the state.

Early in 1781, Macpherson, recently named by ministerial recommendation a member of the supreme council, was sent out to Bengal; expressly charged by Lord North, to exert his utmost endeavours for restoring general peace throughout India and concord in our own internal administration at Calcutta. He fulfilled every expectation, and even surpassed the hopes entertained from his exertions. During nearly three years and a half that he continued to act under Hastings, he had the address to retain the governor-general's confidence, without sacrificing either his own opinions on questions of public policy, or the interests of the East India Company. He achieved even a more difficult task, that of acquiring *Mrs. Hastings's* regard, though he opposed her wishes or views

on more than one occasion. The moderation of his character, which always inclined him to adopt healing, economical, and pacific measures, formed a most beneficial counterpoise to the enterprising and ambitious spirit of Hastings. Both possessed elevated minds, and both aspired to acquire fame; but, through different, or opposite channels. The one, by enlarging and extending the British dominions in India: the other, by confirming their power, restoring the company's finances, and retrieving their credit, convulsed by a long period of hostility. To Macpherson, Hastings ultimately resigned his authority, which the former continued to exercise during above nineteen months, till he was superseded by Earl Cornwallis.

Soon after Sir John Macpherson's return from Bengal, the Prince of Wales commenced an intimacy with him, which lasted above fourteen years, from 1788 down to 1802, when it became suddenly eclipsed, and never revived. During that time, few individuals enjoyed more distinguishing marks of his royal highness's favour. Sir John communicated constantly with him by letter, while travelling on the Continent. When in London, he was admitted to Carlton House at almost all hours, frequently when the heir-apparent was in bed. I have dined various times in company with the Prince, at Sir John's house at Brompton, between 1797 and 1800. Towards the close of 1789, Macpherson had visited Italy. While resident at Pisa, early in the following year, the Cardinal de Lomenie, ex-minister of Louis the Sixteenth, who had taken refuge in that city, mentioned with such eulogiums, to Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Sir John's financial measures, adopted as governor-general, for sustaining the East India Company's credit in Bengal, that Leopold determined to make his acquaintance. Dismissing all form, and accompanied only by a single attendant, he repaired on foot to Macpherson's lodgings, and announced himself. He very soon afterwards succeeded his brother Joseph, as King of Hungary and Bohemia; to which was added the imperial crown of Germany, in the autumn of the same year, 1790. During his short reign of scarcely two years, Sir

John accompanied or met him by his own desire wherever he moved; at Venice, Milan, Florence and Vienna. — Leopold confided in, and consulted him on points of the most important nature. Previous, as well as subsequent to that sovereign's decease, he rendered himself equally acceptable to Frederic William the Second, King of Prussia, who lived with him in constant intercourse.

24th January. — Never, at any period of George the Third's reign, has the session of parliament been opened in a more triumphant manner than it was by Pitt in 1786. Fox, though he spoke on the occasion at great length, and with greater ability; though he inveighed against the speech from the throne, both for its assertions on some points, and for its silence on others; yet, conscious how large a majority would support the administration, did not attempt a division. Nevertheless, many circumstances rendered the day interesting, as well as important. On that evening, first presented himself to public notice an individual who has since very inadequately filled, during more than three years, the highest offices in the state, in peace as well as in war; at the head of the treasury, and of the exchequer: — an individual who at the hour when I write, occupies the post of secretary of state for the home department. I allude to Mr. Addington, subsequently created Viscount Sidmouth. Pitt had selected him for seconding the address to the crown; an act which he performed with great propriety, in language of elegance, and not destitute of grace and dignity. The panegyrics on the minister which he intermingled with his speech might well be excused, as the tribute of friendship, if not of justice. Addington, who was at this time about thirty years of age, originally came into parliament at the general election in 1784, as member for Devizes. His person was tall and well proportioned, his countenance pleasing, his features fine, and his manners mild, calm, grave, calculated to conciliate mankind. Neither his descent nor his connexions were illustrious. Dr. Anthony Addington, whose eldest son he was, practised medicine during many years at Reading in Berkshire, and acquired by his profession an ample fortune. He was considered as

particularly skilful in cases of insanity, to which branch of the art he applied himself: but the circumstance to which his family may be said primarily to owe their actual elevation, was his having attended the first Mr. Pitt in a medical capacity. Their two sons became early known to each other; and it is generally supposed that the member for Devizes received a hint from his friend the first minister, to keep his eye fixed on the speaker's chair, as an object of ambition well worthy his attainment; in which seat, time, aided by conjunctures, might probably place him. He was, in truth, admirably qualified for that eminent and dignified situation; the duties of which, no individual during the present reign has fulfilled with more ability, impartiality, and general approbation, not excepting even the late speaker, now Lord Colchester.

Perhaps it might have conduced to his reputation as a public man, without materially injuring his fortune in the most extensive sense, if he had limited his desires to that eminence, which invariably conducts its possessor, after the lapse of some years, to a seat in the upper house: for Cornwall only lost it by death. Onslow, Cust, Norton, Grenville, Mitford, and Abbott, have all become peers. So would Addington, in the ordinary course of events. But his majesty, on Pitt's resignation, early in 1801, having offered him the vacant places at the head of the treasury and the exchequer, he had not resolution sufficient to decline so tempting a proposition. No sooner had the king made this selection, than he was seized with a privation of intellect, nearly similar, in violence and in duration, to his memorable attack in 1788. Addington's appointment not having previously gone through the requisite forms, Pitt, though no longer in office, was under the necessity of performing the ministerial functions during a considerable time, in the house of commons. Many people indeed thought that the reasoning faculties of the sovereign must have been impaired, if not wholly obscured, *before* he could have substituted Addington in Pitt's office. The experiment only served to prove that an excellent *speaker* of the house of commons may make a very inadequate

and incapable *first minister*. It answered indeed the sovereign's purpose, by gently transferring the government to a man from whom he might confidently expect much more acquiescence and submission than he had found in Pitt; while Addington's political opinions were well known to be nearly or altogether similar with those of his predecessor. But the country looked in vain to the son of the Reading physician, transformed by the royal touch into a first lord of the treasury, for the endowments which met in the son of the Earl of Chatham. Not that Addington wanted talents which in ordinary times might have sufficed to sustain him in his employment. He was indeed wholly uninformed upon foreign affairs, having never visited the Continent, nor studied its interests, courts, and principal objects of attention. His mind did not readily embrace those points of policy; verifying the observation of *Valentine*, in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," when he says,

"Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits."

But, on the other hand, he displayed a competent knowledge of finance; spoke on all occasions, and on every subject, from the treasury bench, with perspicuity and facility; applied closely to official business, and acquired some transitory popularity among those who did not look below the surface, by making peace with France, a few months after he came into power. These commencements were nevertheless speedily obliterated by other occurrences. It was soon ascertained that no treaty could bind a revolutionary nation, propelled by the energies of a military chief, armed with despotic authority, whose principles were adverse to the repose and felicity of Europe, as well as to the independence of all other governments. War recommenced early in 1803. During about thirteen or fourteen months, which elapsed while Addington still remained at the head of his majesty's councils, his eyes were invariably, and I had almost said, exclusively directed towards the harbour of Boulogne. From that newly-constructed port and Vimereux, where Bonaparte had ostentatiously accumu-

lated every sort of naval and military preparation for a descent on our shores, the English minister appeared to dread the most calamitous results, notwithstanding the Martello towers with which his predecessor had covered the beach, from Dungeness to Folkestone. Every gun-boat terrified him, which ventured out from under the protection of the French batteries; and the occasional capture of one of these vehicles for transporting the vengeance of the Corsican consul to the Kentish coast, diffused more satisfaction in Downing-street, than could have been produced by a victory obtained in any other quarter.

While, nevertheless, Pitt continued ostensibly to sustain the administration, or even to contemplate the state of public affairs with apparent indifference, the spell endured. But, no sooner did the ex-minister become thoroughly weary of passing his time in seclusion, with Lady Hester Stanhope, at Walmer Castle; occupied all day, as he was, in the ungrateful task of disciplining and drilling refractory Cinque Port volunteers, or looking through his telescope at the batteries along the French coast;—no sooner did he signify, by means of confidential adherents in both houses of parliament, his wish to resume his ancient place in the cabinet, than Addington's power instantly dissolved like a dream. Pitt, compared by one of his noble followers to "a giant refreshed," took possession of the government, as if it had been his patrimony and his birth-right. Richard Cromwell, when deprived of the protectorate in 1659 by the cabal of Wallingford House, did not oppose less resistance to the mandate which reduced him to the condition of a private citizen, than was exhibited by Addington in 1804. Pitt rewarded him for this prompt submission, by raising him to the peerage, about seven months afterwards. If public opinion had sustained his administration, it could not have been thus extinguished. But he wanted not only the talents; he wanted likewise Pitt's elevation of mind, and superiority to feelings of self-interest, which he exhibited when he refused to confer upon himself the clerkship of the pells, and bestowed it upon Barré. Addington acted otherwise, and when the office be-

came again vacant, he took possession of it in his son's name. This conduct, however natural and venial, yet produced an unfavourable impression throughout the country. After quitting the post of first minister, and passing a considerable time out of office, followed by a very few adherents, he has again re-appeared on the political theatre, in a subordinate situation. So that to *him* may be applied Juvenal's remark, when (speaking of the change effected in the Roman people) he says,

——— "Qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet." ——

Perhaps I might add with the satirist,

——— "atque duas tantum res anxius optat,"

an earldom, and a pension.

Eden made a figure not less conspicuous than Addington, on the first day of the session, though of a very different description. It was commonly asserted and believed, that Eden had stipulated with the minister, as a secret article of the bargain between them, for permission to absent himself from the house, at the opening of parliament. But, Dundas having been informed that Eden, in the circular letter addressed to his former associates, had said, "Though, for the reasons assigned, I have accepted a mission from Mr. Pitt, yet I shall always retain my attachment to my old political friends;" determined not to allow him to set off for Paris, without his previously exhibiting himself as a supporter of government in the front rank. Notwithstanding his repugnance, he attended, and was placed on the treasury bench, between the chancellor of the exchequer and the treasurer of the navy. There I beheld him, exposed as in a political pillory, during many hours, to the gaze, and indeed to the pelting of his quondam opposition companions. All eyes were directed towards him; while those whom he had joined, and those whom he had deserted, seemed equally to enjoy his distress. His countenance, naturally pale, but rendered more so by his situation, bore eloquent testimony to the feelings which agitated him. Lord Surrey began the

attack, with more address than was usually exhibited by him, to whom Fox generally delegated such parliamentary commissions as required little delicacy or circumlocution. After inveighing against the ministerial profusion on various points, and demanding "whether the appointment of two ambassadors of Paris with separate establishments, was to be regarded as a test of the economy of administration;" he added, "Possibly, however, the gentleman who is recently appointed to fill one of those posts, may convince me of my error in thinking such a double domination neither necessary, nor economical. *I do not see him in his place,*" continued Lord Surrey, affecting to look round for Eden among the minority members near him, while loud and general laughter pervaded the assembly. "Perhaps too," subjoined he, "the same gentleman will inform us that he has been furnished with *reasons* for inducing *him* to place confidence in those very ministers, for withholding from whom my good opinion, he has furnished *me* at different times with so many excellent reasons."

Fox entered more pointedly into the subject. After denying that any necessity existed for appointing a person to negotiate the projected commercial treaty with France, whose rank in life rendered it unbecoming for him to act in a subordinate capacity; he proceeded to animadvert personally on Eden's defection. "The minister," observed Fox, "has unquestionably called to his assistance, a gentleman who is somewhat better informed in matters of commerce, than he is himself. Of that truth, the experience of the last session has pretty well convinced him. Let him not however exult too much in having acquired such an ally, or trust too implicitly to his adherence, if the assertions contained in his own letters spoke his real sentiments! He has quitted a connexion, of whose principles he has repeatedly expressed his warmest approbation, in order to join a party, whose continuance in office he has by his votes in this house declared to be dangerous to the existence of the constitution." Words more contemptuous could not easily be furnished by the English language. Nor did Pitt attempt any defence of his new auxili-

ary, though he justified the measure of sending him over to France, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty; as well as the specific selection of Eden, who was eminently qualified to effect so great and salutary a national work. Eden himself remained speechless. He excited compassion; but, his family, which was large (while his income consisted principally, if not wholly, in pensions issuing out of the exchequer), compelled him to bring his talents to the ministerial market. After undergoing so painful and public an exposure, he was permitted to set out for Paris, without entering a second time the house of commons.

Among the individuals of high rank, who, during the first weeks of Pitt's administration, had obtained considerable appointments from the crown, might justly be reckoned the Earl of Chesterfield. Early in 1784 he was named ambassador to the court of Madrid, for which place he soon afterwards ostensibly set out, accompanied by his relative Mr. Arthur Stanhope, nominated secretary to the embassy. But like *Montauciel* in the "*Déserteur*," who, with all his efforts, could never raise the brandy-bottle above his mouth; so, Lord Chesterfield and his secretary, though they reached Paris, proceeded to Marseilles, and loitered for a long time on the shore of the Mediterranean, where they seemed to amuse themselves very well at the national expense; yet never could reach the Pyrenees or set foot on the Spanish territory. Such a waste of the public money necessarily excited animadversion. The Earl of Surrey, on the day when parliament met, sternly demanded of the minister, "whether the maintenance of an expensive embassy to Madrid for two years past, during all which period of time it was notorious that the nobleman named to that high situation had never approached the frontiers of Spain, constituted a proof of the economy of administration!" Pitt, though he replied at great length to many of the accusations contained in Fox's speech, yet, whether from inadvertence, or from intention, I cannot say, took no notice of Lord Surrey's charge. But Martin, member for Tewksbury, than whom a more incor-

rupt man did not sit in the house of commons; and who commonly supported Pitt, not from views of interest, or of ambition, or of party; impelled by public principle alone; rose towards the close of the debate. In a few simple words he expressed his concern, no less than his surprise, that a ministry of whom he had entertained so high an opinion, should, in the instance pointed out by Lord Surrey, commit so flagrant a breach of economy. The chancellor of the exchequer immediately came forward, and offered his reasons for the measure; prefacing them with some very flattering expressions to Martin himself. "The salary," he said, "had been allowed to the nobleman in question, from a motive of policy, because at the time when he was appointed, an ambassador was expected to arrive here from Spain. But, as that expectation had not been realized, his majesty, approving, as he did of Lord Chesterfield's conduct, nevertheless had ordered his immediate return to England." Pitt's excuse was admitted, and the embassy terminated; more beneficially indeed to the noble functionary than to the nation, he having received his ample appointments for two years, accompanied by other customary gratifications, without performing any diplomatic act.

Lord Chesterfield was collaterally related to the celebrated earl, so well known in the reigns of the first two princes of Brunswick line, respecting which nobleman Dr. Johnson observed, that "he was a lord among wits, and a wit among lords." His successor did not inherit either the brilliant parts or the parliamentary abilities of that eminent person; but he nevertheless possessed considerable talents, heightened by pleasing, lively manners. To the king he rendered himself peculiarly acceptable, and few men about the court enjoyed more frequent or familiar colloquial intercourse with his sovereign. In order to avail himself of this distinction, and the effects which might naturally be expected to result from it, he renounced, during many years, his paternal seat of Bretby, in the county of Derby, and hired a place at Bayley's, near Salthill, within three or four miles of Windsor. His attentions were not la-

vished on an ungrateful master. The *garter*, the post of master of the horse, and other offices, successively conferred on him, formed sufficient evidences of royal predilection. Towards the concluding years of his life, after his majesty's last attack of intellectual malady in 1810, Lord Chesterfield quitted Bayley's, withdrew to Bretby, and occupied himself till his decease in embellishing that classic residence of the Stanhopes, commemorated in such entertaining terms by *Grammont*. His career would have been, on the whole, rather distinguished than otherwise, if the circumstance of criminally prosecuting his *tutor*, and the degree of commiseration excited by Dodd's ignominious end, however, deserved it might be, had not operated to the disadvantage of the *pupil*. It was thought indicative of too severe or unfeeling a disposition, at two-and-twenty, to surrender a clergyman, connected by such ties, to the public executioner. Such continues even at present to be the common sentiment of mankind respecting that transaction. The late Earl of Berkeley, having either wounded or killed more than one highwayman who attempted to rob him when travelling, Lord Chesterfield jocosely said to him in conversation, "Berkeley, when did you last despatch a highwayman?" — "Chesterfield," replied he, "how long is it since you hung a parson?" Here the dialogue ceased. The late Earl of Sandwich, who died in 1814, recounted to me this anecdote, which he received from Lord Berkeley himself.

With Dodd I was well acquainted. Some time during the month of November, 1776, dining at the house of Messrs. Dilly, the booksellers, not far from the Mansion House, who were accustomed frequently to entertain men of letters at their table, I there found myself seated very unworthily among several distinguished individuals. Wilkes, Jones, afterwards so well known as Sir William Jones, De Lolme, Dr. Dodd, with three or four others, composed the company. We were gay, animated, and convivial. Before we parted, Dodd invited us to a dinner at his residence in Argyle-street. A day was named, and all promised to attend. When we broke up, Dr. Dodd, who had shown me many civilities dur-

ing the evening, offered to set me down at the west end of the town, adding that his own carriage was waiting at the door. I readily accepted the proposal, and he carried me back to the St. James's Coffee-house. The company accordingly met again on the evening fixed, when a very elegant repast was served, with French wines of various kinds. Mrs. Dodd presided, and afterwards received in her drawing-room a large party of both sexes. Dodd was a plausible, agreeable man; lively, entertaining, well-informed, and communicative in conversation. While in prison, he wrote to me, urgently requesting my exertions with the late Lord Nugent to procure his pardon. If it could have been extended to him, without producing by the precedent incalculable injury to society, his majesty would undoubtedly have exercised in his case the prerogative of mercy. He felt the strongest impulse to save Dodd, not only on account of the numerous and powerful applications made in his favour, but as a clergyman who had been one of his own chaplains. The Earl of Mansfield, however, prevented so pernicious an act of grace. I have heard Lord Sackville recount the circumstances that took place in the council held on the occasion, at which the king assisted. To the firmness of the lord chief-justice, Dodd's execution was due: for, no sooner had he pronounced his decided opinion that no mercy ought to be extended, than the king, taking up the pen, signed the death-warrant. He died penitent and pusillanimous. The weather on the 27th of June, 1777, when he suffered, was most variable, changing perpetually from bright sunshine to heavy storms of rain; during one of which latter pelting showers he was turned off at Tyburn. His body, conveyed to a house in the city of London, underwent every scientific professional operation which, it was hoped, might restore animation. Pott, the celebrated surgeon, was present to direct them. There were even found persons sufficiently credulous to believe that Dodd had been resuscitated, and privately transported to Aix in Provence. Lord Chesterfield never altogether surmounted the unfavourable impression produced by the prominent share which he took in Dodd's pro-

secution, though time obliterated it in a certain degree.

Towards the close of the day when parliament met, Major Scott reminded Burke of the engagement into which he had entered before the termination of the last session, to bring forward his charges against Hastings. Scott added, that it was incumbent on him to state at what time he intended to proceed, *if he meant to proceed at all*, as the late governor-general felt the utmost anxiety for despatch. Before Burke could answer, Fox, presenting himself to the speaker's notice, observed, that if his friend should so entirely forget his duty (which, at the same time, he was far from supposing) as to neglect accomplishing his promise, others would be found in that assembly disposed to bring the business under discussion. Burke declined pledging himself to any particular day or time, justifying his silence on the point by citing the great Duke of Parma's memorable reply, who, when pressed by Henry the Fourth to fix a day for a general action, answered that "he had not come so far in order to learn from his enemy the proper place or occasion for giving battle." It seemed by this ambiguous or evasive expression, as if Burke had not altogether expected to be thus summoned; since more than seven months of parliamentary leisure which he had enjoyed subsequent to Hastings's return, might naturally have enabled him instantly to commence his proceedings. Whether such was the fact or not, I know that many of the governor-general's wisest friends censured the conduct of his agent. They thought a negative triumph might have sufficed, under all the circumstances of Hastings's position, without seeking the enemy, insulting, and defying him. If, when so challenged, Burke had refused to prove his assertions, he must have been stigmatized as a calumniator. No alternative, therefore, was left him, except to undertake the painful office of an accuser. These reflections, however natural or judicious they might be, made little impression on a man who, conscious of the general rectitude of his intentions while administering the East India Company's affairs on the banks of the Ganges, erroneously conceived that party would respect him on his revisiting

England. Hastings relied for security, if not for recompense, on three foundations, all of which proved totally without solidity. The first was, his public services; the next, royal favour; and the last was, ministerial support.

Unquestionably Hastings merited highly of the East India Company, and consequently of the nation, in his public character. Nor were either the directors, or the proprietors, insensible to his great services. But *they* viewed his administration through a political medium, while *Burke* held it up to a moral standard. Utility and revenue formed the principal criterion of right and wrong in Leadenhall-street. At Westminster, respect for every right, nay, even prejudice, of the Oriental princes and people; renunciation of all attempt to levy forced contributions from them, even when the preservation of the British territories seemed most urgently to demand it;—such were the rules of action by which his accusers tried the governor-general. He never appeared to comprehend thoroughly his situation. Yet all history, ancient as well as modern, might have shown him, that under popular governments, the most resplendent public services have almost invariably conducted to prosecution and punishment. If he opened the page of Grecian story, with which he was familiar, he must have seen the conqueror of Marathon accused by Xantippus, and expiring of his wounds in prison, under the weight of a heavy pecuniary fine which he was unable to pay; imposed by the very people, in their legislative capacity, whom he had rescued from foreign invasion and slavery. Themistocles, who may be said to have *twice* saved the Athenians; on both elements, at Platæa, as well as at Salamis; scarcely experienced a better treatment than Miltiades, and died in exile.

Rome, while she continued free, and consequently liable to become the prey of contending parties, like every state possessing liberty; offered, in the person of the first Scipio Africanus, a prototype of Hastings's own fate. That illustrious general, who vanquished Hannibal at Zama, was juridically attacked on his return to Italy; or, in modern language, he was impeached. The elder Cato

persecuted him, precisely as Burke did Hastings. The two *Petillii*, tribunes of the people, performed the same part as Fox and Sheridan did among us. Scipio was by them accused of extortion exercised against Antiochus king of Syria, nearly as Hastings was charged with acting towards Cheyt Sing and the Princesses of Oude. So great a similarity is there in all the events of history, through every period of time. Even from the instance of Lord Clive, Hastings might have learned to deprecate and dread a parliamentary enquiry. The conqueror of Plassey, who subjected to Great Britain the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, very narrowly escaped punishment; and his services were military, performed principally in the field. Those of the governor-general were executed only in his civil capacity, which he likewise in some measure divided with the members of the Supreme Council; consequently they did not make the same forcible appeal to national gratitude which victories produce. These reflections should have induced him to adopt a defensive line of conduct, whereas he in some measure provoked a prosecution.

If his services to the state, and their operation on the public mind, could not secure him from impeachment, or enable him triumphantly to repel his accusers; still less could he calculate on the effects of royal favour, for extrication. That his majesty considered him as a man who had merited highly of his country, and of the crown, is indisputable. I know that the king, down to his final loss of reason in 1810, expressed himself in those terms respecting Hastings, and always spoke of him as the worst-used subject in his dominions. But George the Third could extend no protection to a man impeached by the commons of Great Britain. *Previous* indeed to their vote, he might prolong the conversation with Hastings at a levee, as her majesty might distinguish Mrs. Hastings at the drawing-room; but, *subsequently*, he could not even appear in the royal presence at St. James's. Nor did the king possess any such control over Pitt, as at other periods of his reign he exercised over other ministers. The Earl of Bute was a favourite, not a

statesman. Lord North stood in a more confidential and intimate relation to the sovereign, than Pitt; who was elevated to his office as much by the national voice, as by his majesty's preference. Addington, I readily admit, who was substituted in Pitt's place entirely by royal selection, and maintained in it by the same power, could not with impunity have opposed the determined wishes of the crown.

Other reasons likewise existed, which might impose a restraint on George the Third. It was well known that the late governor-general and Mrs. Hastings had presented him, or the queen, with many valuable articles brought from the East; principally, precious stones. The *ivory bed* had been commemorated in the "*Rolliad*." Some obloquy attached itself to these splendid offerings of Oriental respect. In the spring of the year 1786, a man attracted attention, who possessed the extraordinary faculty of masticating and swallowing stones. He lodged in Cockspur-street, where I saw him perform the act with apparent facility. He was commonly denominated "the miraculous stone-eater." Hastings's enemies caused a caricature to be struck, and sold in the print-shops of the metropolis, where the king was represented in the Asiatic costume of the Great Mogul, a turban encircling his head. His mouth was wide open, and opposite stood Hastings, with a large bulge of diamonds in his hand, which he threw, one by one, into the royal jaws. Underneath was inscribed, "The miraculous stone-eater," and no person could mistake the two figures. This fact sufficiently proves how impossible it would have been for his majesty to manifest any strong interest in Hastings's affairs, without exciting severe comments.

Least of all ought Hastings to have nourished any expectations of ministerial protection. The chancellor, it is true, expressed the highest opinion of his services, accompanied with corresponding testimonies of contempt or reprobation for the printed *reports*, as well as for the personal attacks made on him in the house of commons. But these ebullitions of Lord Thurlow's gloomy indignation, which evaporated in words, only stimu-

lated the leaders of opposition to more strenuous exertions, by augmenting their animosity. In the first Earl of Mansfield, and the Archbishop of York (Markham), Mr. Hastings could likewise boast of two friends. He had indeed conferred the office of resident at Benares on one of the archbishop's sons; a circumstance to which most invidious allusion is made in the "Pindaric" assigned to Dr. Markham, by the author of the "Probationary Odes;" where, describing "the bark, rich with Indian spoils," on board which the governor-general embarked for Europe, he exclaims,

"O! to Britannia's shore
In safety waft, ye winds, the precious freight!
'Tis Hastings; of the prostrate East
Despotic arbiter; whose bounty gave
My Markham's delegated rule
To riot in the plunder of Benares!"

—"Soon may I greet the morn,
When, Hastings screen'd, Dundas and George's
name
Thro' Bishopsthorpe's glad roofs shall
sound!"

Jenkinson, too, I admit, might be numbered among the governor-general's supporters. But *his* reign had nearly terminated, and the time was gone by when his opinion could almost sway a majority in the house. Whatever accusations of submission to secret influence the members of opposition might find it convenient to throw out against Pitt, he was not, like Lord North, of a temper or character to suffer a controlling power between himself and the throne. Pitt well knew how to appreciate the service which he had rendered to the king, in preventing the *coalition* from putting on him a political strait-waistcoat. Jenkinson therefore in 1786, if he had not sunk to the level of an ordinary privy counsellor, yet no longer exercised the mysterious power attributed to him during the American war. Besides, he had already one foot in the house of peers, and only waited for the conclusion of the session, to be removed from his present situation to a more dignified rank. The fact was so universally known, that Fox did not hesitate in alluding to it, during the course of debate. Speaking of Jenkinson, just about this time, — I believe

it happened early in February, on the discussion of a militia question, — Fox described him as "a person high in the minister's confidence, who *still* remained a member of that house, but who, if universal report might warrant belief, would shortly leave it, in order to *grace* another assembly." All eyes were directed towards Jenkinson. He necessarily felt how deep a stake depended; and he was too wise to risk a shipwreck, by any act of imprudence, at a moment when he had nearly accomplished the great object of his ambition. Hastings could not reasonably look for any efficient assistance from that quarter.

Pitt himself unquestionably owed to Hastings's friends the deepest obligations. They had joined him when struggling against Fox's majority; and to the *Bengal squad*, opposition reproached the minister with subservience on every occasion. But he had now emancipated himself from those fetters, and, supported by popular favour, might disregard all past claims. By extinguishing the meditated impeachment, he well knew that he should gratify the king. He preferred a different line of action, apparently more elevated, noble, and incorrupt. Probably, too, he was not sorry, by permitting the minority leaders to expend the whole force of their talents, as well as their time, against Hastings, to occupy them in an almost interminable pursuit; while, from the eminence where he stood, he assumed a dignified neutrality, leaving national justice to find her own channel. Dundas had stronger personal motives even than Pitt for abandoning Hastings to the attacks of his enemies. He had raised himself to be the *real* head of the East India Board, and he dreaded no individual so much as the governor-general of Bengal. In fact, if Hastings had surmounted the charges made by Burke, he would, in all probability, have been immediately created a British peer, or at least a privy counsellor, and must have obtained a seat at the board of control. Nor could he have been a mere passive, subservient member of that board. His experience, sustained by local knowledge, must have given a preponderant weight to all his opinions. From that instant Dundas would necessarily have beheld

the edifice of his greatness shaken, if not subverted.

Burke, therefore, in bringing Hastings before a parliamentary tribunal, was in fact labouring for Dundas; who, unless we suppose him to have been superior to every movement of self-interest and ambition, must have secretly exulted in the misfortunes of a man formed to check his political progress. If, after thus contemplating the concealed causes which operated against Hastings, we calculate their combined force, we shall not wonder that he was borne away by them; and we cannot avoid condemning the temerity or presumption, which roused the lion in his den. Lord Clive was better advised, and escaped impeachment, because he did not defy or provoke it. We may justly question whether, if Major Scott had never appeared within the walls of the house of commons, or exerted his pen for Hastings, he would ever have been impeached at the bar of the lords. It was the imprudent zeal of his agent, that in some measure compelled Burke to produce his charges. Scott's exertions in Hastings's cause were not less injurious than Sir William Draper's interference proved to the Marquis of Granby, when, unsolicited, he entered the lists against *Junius*. Burke himself indeed declared, when addressing the house on the 17th of February, that "he was called upon and driven to the business which he had now engaged to prosecute."

17th — 20th February. — This memorable judicial proceeding, one of the most interesting which has been instituted in our time, was opened by Burke in a manner equally solemn and impressive. The attendance was numerous; and never perhaps did any public question excite a more general curiosity; blended with sentiments of admiration, or of condemnation, for the person who formed the object of persecution, according to the estimate formed of his official conduct. With great ability, aided by classic allusions or citations applicable to the case, Burke detailed the different modes of bringing a state criminal before the highest tribunal known to the British constitution; finally deciding in favour of impeachment. The recent instance of Rumbold, who had found means to frustrate "a bill of pains and penalties,"

deterred him, he said, from having again recourse to so ineffectual an expedient.

To the alternative of ordering the attorney-general to prosecute in the court of king's bench, he likewise objected; partly, because Arden appeared unwilling to exert his abilities in the cause; but, as Burke asserted, still more on account of the magnitude and enormity of Hastings's offences. No doubt, however, he did not choose to entrust the decision to the plain sense of a jury, under the direction of a lord chief-justice, whose political opinions were well known to be highly favourable to Hastings. Against Dundas, Burke indulged in the severest animadversions, as a man insensible to virtue and principle; endeavouring to prove his assertion by a reference to the treasurer of the navy's conduct in 1782, when, in his capacity of chairman of the *secret committee*, he moved more than one *resolution* criminalizing, or at least heavily inculpating, the governor-general of Bengal. No individual better knew than Burke how to enlist and marshal the finest emotions or passions of the human mind, in whatever cause he undertook; sometimes perhaps in violation of truth, frequently in opposition to reason. He contrasted the ready assistance which Dundas had experienced, when, four years earlier, under the Rockingham administration, he called for papers and documents to prove delinquency against Hastings; with the scanty means of legal information now afforded by government to himself while engaged in a similar pursuit.

"I might," exclaimed he, "consider the rejection of my demand as a stratagem to defeat the whole enquiry; but I feel too awful a sense of public justice, ever to desert its cause. The ruin of Roman justice arose *ex prevaricatione accusatorum*. When Cicero accused Verres, he was supported, not abandoned, by the flower of the senate. The Hortensii, the Metelli, and the Marcelli, all sustained him. Every species of evidence was furnished. The public records were laid open. One hundred and fifty days were granted him to collect materials, even from a province so near as Sicily to the seat of government. Can it now be asserted that the administration of justice is in honourable or liberal hands, if proofs demanded by the

accuser are refused and withheld ? The downfall of the greatest empire which the world ever witnessed, originated in the mal-administration of its provinces."—"I looked for aid from those in authority. Alas ! I perceive that lesser objects interest them. The Cicero of the British senate (looking at Dundas), when he seemed to feel indignant at the crimes committed in the East, was not thus treated. But I perceive (turning his eyes on Pitt), that any operations by which the three per cents. may be raised in value, affect ministers more deeply than vindicating the violated rights of millions of the human race. Notwithstanding, however, every obstruction which can be throw in my way, a sense of public duty will make me surmount them. I feel strong in the goodness of my cause, and if this house support me, I will bring forward my charge. Confident of success, I will hazard the attempt, against every combination of power, or of wealth."

Neither Dundas nor Pitt could remain silent under such imputations. The former minister observed, that he never had moved any *resolution* respecting Hastings, the object of which went beyond his *recall*. "The infraction of the treaty of Poorunder concluded with the Mharattas, and the expensive establishments set up by him in India," continued Dundas, "I thought highly *culpable* in 1782. I think so still ; but I do not regard Mr. Hastings as having done any act of a *criminal* nature." He concluded by declaring, that with respect to the production of papers, it was his intention to throw no unnecessary impediment in the way of enquiry. The chancellor of the exchequer likewise addressed the house, and every expression which fell from his lips attracted notice, as affording a clue whereby to judge of his future intentions ; but they were clothed in language too guarded and indefinite to furnish any certain criterion. Hastings, he admitted, appeared, under some points of view, a resplendent character ; while, if viewed through the medium of other parts of his administration, he excited condemnation. Having justified Dundas from the imputation of inconsistency, on account of his conduct in 1782, as compared with his present

line of action, "If," added Pitt, "any real guilt were to be investigated, and any punishment to be inflicted, I am of opinion that he would be as proper to guide the prosecution, and as likely to accomplish every purpose of public justice, as the individuals into whose hands it has devolved. But, when the established rules of evidence are to be overleaped, and a judicial proceeding is to be conducted rather by violence and personal resentment than by the dull forms of ordinary law, — then, indeed, I consider the gentlemen who have undertaken it as the fittest persons to whom it should be entrusted. — I am," concluded Pitt, "neither a determined friend nor foe to Mr. Hastings ; but I will support the principles of justice and equity. I recommend a calm, dispassionate investigation, leaving every man to follow the impulse of his own mind." Almost all the documents required by Burke were laid on the table ; while universal attention was directed towards the great prosecution that seemed about to commence in Westminster.

27th February. — It was nevertheless intermediately attracted into another channel by Pitt himself, who in person brought forward a measure calculated from its nature and object to suspend for the time every inferior matter of national consideration. I mean, the projected fortifications for the defence of Portsmouth and Plymouth. We have seen that the minister had been restrained during the preceding session from devoting to their construction a considerable sum of money, in consequence of the general jealousy or disapprobation manifested on the subject. He nevertheless thought proper to resume it, and to shock public opinion by the prominent part which he took in propelling so obnoxious a system, in defiance of every objection. The whole transaction forms one of the most characteristic features of Pitt's long administration. Among the individuals who occupied an eminent place in his esteem was, as I have already stated, the Duke of Richmond ; but he by no means enjoyed the national, or even parliamentary confidence, in the same degree. Not content with placing him at the head of the ordnance, Pitt had given him a seat in the cabinet ;

and this new Archimedes, from the elevation which he had attained, undertook to shake, or rather to change and to remove, the foundation of the national greatness. The navy had always been considered as our peculiar bulwark and safeguard. Without attempting to supersede a species of defence so analogous to our insular position, the duke proposed to augment our security by works of very considerable magnitude and expense, intended to be constructed under the superintendence of scientific engineers.

In order to obviate the prejudices entertained against his proposition, a board, composed of naval and military officers, had been formed, who were empowered to examine and report to the king their opinion on the measure. But the duke being constituted the president, and all the questions put to the members originating from him; their report, which strongly recommended the plan, was very unfavourably received by the public. Even the approbation of the board was not by any means unanimous. Three individuals strongly dissented from it, of whom two sat in the lower, and the third in the upper house of parliament. General Burgoyne and Captain Macbride had, indeed, already expressed their condemnation of the whole plan. They were sustained by Earl Percy, who very soon after this time became Duke of Northumberland. His high rank, independence of mind, and military experience, gave no small weight to his opinion. The "Rolliad," when separately characterizing them, says, —

"See Burgoyne, rapt in all a soldier's pride,
Damn with a shrug, and with a look deride;
While coarse Macbride a busier task assumes,
And tears with graceless rage our hero's
plumes. —
And Percy, too, of lineage justly vain,
Surveys the system with a mild disdain."

In the course of the month of February, three debates took place relative to the proposed fortifications, at all of which the master-general of the ordnance was present; not *under* the gallery, at the lower extremity of the house, where as a peer he ought naturally to have been seated, but in the gallery appropriated

to members of the house of commons, over the treasury bench, and directly opposite to his nephew, Fox. From this commanding position he might be said to survey, as well as to hear, the discussion. Throughout each of these evenings, Pitt sustained the whole weight of the arguments urged against the plan, answered in person every objection, and stood, as it were, singly in the breach. None of his coadjutors in office uttered a word. Mr. Grenville was silent; Lord Mulgrave remained mute; and even Dundas, who on almost every other question came forward with alacrity, found no tongue to defend the Duke of Richmond's system. Sheridan, Courtney, and Burgoyne exposed the manœuvres used to produce the favourable report made on the subject by the board of officers. Fox, unmoved by the presence of the duke, his uncle, held up the whole project to derision; while he at the same time protested that he considered the proposition itself of fortifying the dock-yards, as neither a military nor a naval question. "It is," said he, "one of a broader nature, — political, financial, and constitutional." Sheridan moved for a copy of the appointment of the board, and such portions of their instructions and report as his majesty might deem it discreet to make public, without injury to the state. But Pitt either eluded or refused the information required, on various pretences, some of which by no means appeared to be candid or satisfactory. He stated that it would be indecorous and improper to call for parts of the report which the king in his discretion had thought fit to withhold. Sheridan's motion was negatived without a division. It seemed as if the minister reckoned on the blind, as well as submissive, devotion of the house; but the event greatly deceived his expectations.

Pitt himself commenced the discussion, justifying and recommending the system of fortifications, as applicable to our national defence, by appeals to English history, from Elizabeth down to George the Second. Even as an operation of finance, which might demand, he allowed, near a million sterling, before it would be completed; he declared, that, "considering the protection derived

from it, and the means it would afford for preventing a future war, the first million that should be applied towards creating a sinking fund would not be more wisely or judiciously employed than a similar sum expended on the proposed works." If oratory could have procured a majority of votes, unquestionably Pitt would have carried the question; but the common sense of his hearers rejected its fascination. Two of the four representatives for Devon and Cornwall, Mr. Bastard and Sir William Lemon, rising successively, in few and simple words expressed their insurmountable objections to the measure. The former, after comparing the noble projector of these impregnable bulwarks to the knight of Cervantes, moved, that "works on so expensive a plan are inexpedient." Sir William Lemon admonished the minister against pursuing a proposition which would infallibly deprive him of the favour and confidence of the people. Walwyn, one of the members for the city of Hereford, — a man who, I believe, never rose to speak either before or since, — warned the chancellor of the exchequer not to shock the public feeling by persisting to recommend a system odious to the nation. "Report confidently asserts," added he, "that the right honourable gentleman's mind is not with the measure, nor sincerely friendly to it." Pitt rising with some indignation, to repel so false and groundless an aspersion, Walwyn calmly replied, "I spoke merely from report, and I had hoped that the report was founded in truth."

It was about midnight when Sheridan rose, and his speech constituted one of the most splendid exhibitions of genius which I ever witnessed during the time that I sat in parliament. It would be difficult to decide whether he was most severe on the chancellor of the exchequer, or on the master-general of the ordnance. After exhausting his artillery upon Pitt, he then turned to the duke. Holding in his hand the *report* made by the board of officers, he complimented the noble president on his talents as an *engineer*, "which," Sheridan observed, "were strongly evinced in planning and constructing that very paper. His professional ability shines as conspicuously

there," added he, "as upon our shores. He has made it a contest of posts, and conducted his reasoning not less on principles of trigonometry than of logic. There are certain assumptions thrown up, like advanced works, to keep the enemy at a distance from the principal object of debate; strong provisos protect and cover the flanks of his assertions; his very queries are in casemates. No impression, therefore, can be made on this fortress of sophistry by any loose or general observations. It becomes necessary to open trenches before the citadel, and to assail it by regular approaches." Beautiful and varied as was this chain of metaphors, drawn from the technical terms of art themselves, applied to the subject under debate; yet its effect was far outdone when, after having captivated the fancy, he addressed the reason and the feelings of his audience. He well knew that the decorations of oratory, or the play of rhetoric, would never gain a vote among the country gentlemen; whose organs, not calculated for such delicate ailments, required plainer and more substantial nourishment. Sheridan's tact was so fine, his faculties so much under control, his knowledge of human nature so accurate, and his temper so unruffled, that he always seemed to play with the question. Unlike Burke, whose passions frequently carried him out of the course, Sheridan assumed, acted, and performed the part which his judgment suggested or dictated, never losing sight of the object, and never sacrificing it merely to attain the barren praise of eloquence, however ardent might be his desire of fame.

When Sheridan had held up the Duke of Richmond's system to reprobation as fallacious, dangerous, expensive, and unconstitutional; when he had compelled Pitt himself reluctantly to convict his friend of being a wild visionary, who, embracing a just principle, deduced from it the most preposterous conclusions; finally, when he had demonstrated that all the data on which rested the proposition were only distortions of fact, or of testimony; he then made his last appeal to the sense principles and independence of the county members; in other words of the landed interest. His ideas, admirably arranged, were not

lost even on the most obtuse, weary, or sleepy of his auditors.

Sheridan's manner, tones, and inflexions of voice, now playful, now grave, but never carried to violence or excess, gave a peculiar charm to his enunciation. Fox felt indeed so clearly his own inability to add anything to such a speech, that, though he rose when Sheridan sat down, he addressed the house with comparative brevity. His noble nature rendered him incapable of jealousy or rivalry. Never, I believe, was any individual more exempt from every sentiment of that description! His friend had forestalled the subject under discussion: Fox therefore alluded to some other topics which grew out of it. Pitt having characterized the late treaty made by the Earl of Shelburne with France, as a *necessary* peace; and Barré, indignant at that epithet, denominating it a *great* and *glorious* peace; Fox peremptorily denied that either the one or the other term could be applied to it with truth. "I maintain," continued he, "we had a right under the circumstances of the country in January, 1783, to expect a far more advantageous treaty. If, however, it really was *great* and *glorious*, those who were then in office have singularly distributed the rewards due to its authors. For themselves, they have reserved places and emoluments; leaving the individual who was its principal negotiator, in possession of all the encomiums due to so meritorious a work. Ease and praise they have liberally bestowed on the noble lord. For themselves, they have reserved the cares, the fatigues, and the salaries of office." These animadversions upon Pitt's treatment of the Marquis of Lansdown must have been most painful to the minister; but though he spoke in reply to Fox at considerable length, he made no allusion to the circumstance. Even at this hour an obscurity still overhangs the cause of the disunion that existed between those two first ministers; — an obscurity which perhaps may never become completely withdrawn or elucidated.

Dundas, conscious that his silence must infallibly operate as a virtual desertion of his friend the minister, at length took part in the discussion. His

physical powers of countenance and of voice were not indeed exceeded by those of any man who possessed a seat within the walls of the house; and he had already made so many sacrifices of political opinion to Pitt, that it could not be supposed he would refuse to come forward on the present occasion. The morning began faintly to dawn, when the chancellor of the exchequer rose a second time; and his appearance suspended the general impatience for the question. His discourse seemed principally addressed to Walwyn, with a view to counteract the injurious impression made in ascribing to him insincerity. As soon as he sat down, the division took place, for which great anxiety had been expressed by both parties, each side anticipating success. We divided on the original *motion* of Pitt, that "it is an essential object for the safety of the state, to fortify the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth." When the result was announced, and the numbers were declared to be equal; namely, one hundred and sixty-nine *ayes*, and as many *noes*; an uproar arose, which I had not witnessed within those walls since the memorable division of the 27th of February, 1782; — exactly four years earlier; — on which night Lord North remained in a minority of nineteen, and the further progress of the American war was arrested. Many of the minister's friends and adherents rejoiced, I believe, in his defeat. Indeed, I question whether of the one hundred and sixty-nine persons who supported him, sixty-nine really wished him success. I was, myself, one of those who voted with him; but my line of conduct in 1786, whatever it may have been, has no influence on my written opinions in 1818.

Silence being at length obtained, though not without difficulty, Cornwall stood up; and after stating the equality of numbers, added, that at so late an hour he was too much exhausted to enter on a subject which had been already thoroughly discussed. "I shall, therefore," subjoined he, "content myself with voting against the original *motion*, and declaring that the *noes* have carried the question." At these words the acclamations redoubled. Pitt's proposition being thus negatived, Bastard's *amendment* naturally came for-

ward, which pronounced the inexpediency of adopting the plan recommended by the board of officers. But the chancellor of the exchequer instantly moved *the order of the day*. A new debate might now have arisen, if Bastard had not proposed a compromise; offering to wave his *amendment*, provided that Pitt would pledge himself not to revive the system which had just been reprobated by the house. The minister accepted the offer; adding, that "the opinion so clearly expressed by the recent vote should serve as a law to him." With this declaration the member for Devon professed himself satisfied; and the *order of the day* being moved from the treasury bench, was carried without any opposition. We did not, however, adjourn till Fox had given notice of the postponement of various *motions* for papers which Burke intended to demand, in order to prove his charges against Hastings. "My right honourable friend," said Fox, "has been prevented by indisposition from attending his duty here on this evening; — a circumstance most fortunate, sir, for you" (looking at the speaker), "as it has afforded you an opportunity, which otherwise you could not have enjoyed, of acquiring an immortal honour, by giving your casting vote against the proposed fortifications." No notice was taken of this sarcasm, and we at length separated, at half-past seven o'clock in the morning. Public opinion unquestionably went with the opposition. Prints appeared, in which the Duke of Richmond was represented attempting to apply the match to a battery of cannon; while the Speaker of the house of commons, habited in his official robes, extinguished the fire by the same means which Captain Lemuel Gulliver says he successfully used to quench the flames that broke out in the royal apartments during his stay in Lilliput.

The measure in question was the *third* great ministerial experiment in which Pitt had been completely defeated within the space of about twenty-one months. The *first*, — namely, the *Westminster scrutiny*, an act of persecution and oppression, instituted with a view to deprive Fox of his seat for that city, — after a most harassing and expensive contest, terminated in

such a manner as to cover the government with obloquy. Temerity characterized the *Irish propositions*, which were besides so ill digested when brought into the house by ministers, that to the laborious investigations of the opposition they owed their principal amelioration. Yet, even when thus amended, they were rejected not less by the people, than by the parliament, of Ireland. On the present occasion, Pitt seemed to have resigned himself blindly into the hands of a nobleman who, however patriotic might be his intentions, was generally recognized as a man of a heated mind, so tenacious of his opinions as rarely to recede on any point, and of very doubtful judgment. The *plan of fortifications* owed its defeat, not to the numbers, or to the eloquence, of the regular opposers of ministry; but to the country gentlemen, the usual supporters of administration. Hardly more than three hundred and forty members voted on the question. There remained, therefore, near two hundred and twenty absentees, of whom a very large proportion unquestionably were adverse in sentiment to the measure.

The *coalition*, during the eight months that they retained possession of power, made only *one* false step, which proved, however, fatal; while Pitt, after *three*, stood firm. The reason was obvious. Lord North and Fox made a mutual sacrifice of principle, as well as of enmity, to their ambition. The minister, though censurable or mistaken on many great points of policy, yet was disinterested, and elevated above every object except glory. Fox ought to have foreseen that his own popularity, and the king's unpopularity, *both*, arose principally from the American war; and would, *both*, cease, at least in a considerable degree, with the termination of that contest. Instead of conciliating the sovereign, as he should have done, Fox attempted to bind him. Nor can it be justly pretended that the royal favour was unattainable, after the offences which he had committed. His uncle, the Duke of Richmond, while in opposition, had made use more than once of very contumelious personal expressions relative to his majesty, when speaking as a peer, in his place. Yet he was not proscribed. Wilkes stood during

many years in open personal hostility to the king. Nevertheless, his conduct in opposing the *East India Bill* obliterated his transgressions. Fox might, no doubt, have made his peace at St. James's; but he preferred another mode of cementing his power.

It, in February, 1786, we estimate the respective political talents possessed by the two sides of the house, we shall be compelled to admit that the intellectual balance preponderated greatly in favour of opposition. Pitt and Dundas, sustained by Mr. William Grenville, constituted the principal ability found on the treasury bench: for Jenkinson rarely took any part in debate, except on matters connected with commerce or navigation. He had, besides, nearly *served out his time*, and expected to be speedily "rapt up into that heaven of rest," as Burke termed it, the house of peers. It was likewise Jenkinson's supposed *influence*, much more than his *eloquence*, or even his *information*, which had given him weight in parliament. Lord Mulgrave, dull, heavy, loud, monotonous, and prosaic, tired more than he amused his audience. Neither the attorney nor the solicitor general were favourably heard when they rose: and Scott, the present lord chancellor, had not yet been retained by administration. The two boards of treasury and admiralty afforded no assistance to government, though the Marquis of Graham occasionally presented himself to the Speaker's notice. Lord Mahon, whose energies of body and mind, sustained by his enthusiasm in Pitt's cause, supplied his defects of judgment, and who frequently mixed in debate, was withdrawn just at this time from the house of commons, by his father Earl Stanhope's death.

Thus stood the account on the side of ministry. Let us now survey the opposite benches. There were seated Fox and Burke, Lord North and Sheridan; presenting such a combination of eloquence, learning, wit, and intellect, as the annals of parliament probably have never exhibited at the same time, and whose powers of argument, or of pleasantry, were often drawn out on the same evening against the same measure. Behind them appeared Francis, Windham, and Courtenay, occasionally sup-

ported by General Burgoyne, and Sir Grey Cooper. It is true that their ranks had suffered a loss by Eden's defection; but Pitt had not acquired any parliamentary strength in consequence, Eden's services being destined for the meridian of Paris, and were not to be exerted at Westminster. The most prejudiced man must admit the superiority of talent at this period among the minority. Fox, indeed, freely avowed that Pitt stood on foundations altogether unconnected with the abilities necessary for a statesman. When addressing the house on the 27th of February, he observed, "It would be absurd to suppose, on considerations of party, that our carrying the proposed *amendment* can be an object of importance. Does any man imagine that I, or any of my friends, shall be advanced one step nearer the acquisition of power, whether the Duke of Richmond's fortification plan succeeds or is negatived? If defeating the minister, even upon points which he has exerted his whole force to carry, could have brought us nearer to office, how happens it that, after the failures he has undergone, he not only remains unshaken, but seems to take deeper root? Has the complete rejection of the *Irish propositions* affected him in his ministerial capacity? Did his shameful defeat in the business of the *Westminster scrutiny*, either injure him, or serve me, in a ministerial point of view? It is a fact that, as a minister, he thrives by defeat, and derives strength from disappointment." To such a desperate, and almost hopeless situation, had Fox's want of prudence reduced him, that scarcely any event, except the demise of the crown, seemed to afford him a prospect of seizing again the reins of government.

March. — Throughout a considerable part of the month of March, Burke continued to call for papers of various kinds, requisite for substantiating his charges against the late governor-general of India. The first in order of time related to the peace made with the Mharattas. Dundas and Pitt both objected to their disclosure, not only as revealing transactions which ought on no consideration to be divulged, but inasmuch as the late treaty, so happily concluded by Hastings,

merited universal applause. The treasurer of the navy and the chancellor of the exchequer seemed on this occasion to vie with each other in their encomiums relative to its salutary operation. "The benefits resulting from it," observed Dundas, "proved the salvation of the British empire in Asia. It dissolved one of the greatest confederacies ever formed against our possessions there; and if Mr. Hastings had not effected it, our power must have been subverted in that quarter of the globe." Many persons, deceived by such flattering testimonies, thus pronounced from the treasury bench, anticipated a speedy and a triumphant termination of the charges brought forward against Hastings. But there were others, among whom Rigby might be enumerated, who, as the event proved, saw more clearly, and who always predicted that ministers would abandon him in a subsequent stage of the prosecution.

Major Scott, as his agent and representative, usually, if not invariably, took part in every discussion respecting Hastings. His accurate local knowledge of the scene where the transactions took place, enabled him to contend even with Burke, and to dispute every inch of ground; sometimes to refute, or to disprove, the assertions made from the opposition benches. During the debate of the 3d of March, Frederick Montagu having remarked that "great as were Burke's abilities, unwearied as was his diligence in the investigation of truth, yet it was much to be feared he must trust to posterity for his remuneration;" Scott demanded, "for what acts he was to receive his reward from posterity? Will it be for the violent and opprobrious epithets which he uniformly bestows on Mr. Hastings? Strong as that language has been, his treatment of the noble lord in the blue ribband seated near him, and now become his noble friend, was equally pointed. He has pledged himself to impeach Mr. Hastings. Did he not pledge himself formerly to impeach the noble lord? Nay, his impeachment was much further advanced; for, as I have been assured, he declared that it was in his pocket." Burke took no notice of this personal attack; but Scott asserting that in the month of November, 1783, when the celebrated *East India Bill*

was introduced into parliament by Fox, he had received a message or intimation from persons in office, holding out security to Mr. Hastings against the threatened impeachment, provided his friends would engage to remain neuter, Fox instantly rose to repel the accusation. In a manner, and in words the most solemn, he denied that any proposal had ever been made for an accommodation with Mr. Hastings, either with his knowledge or concurrence. The same positive denial he repeated on the part of all his colleagues. Scott nevertheless maintained the accuracy of his assertion; but, as the gentleman from whom the overture came was not then present in his place, either to confirm or to contradict it, all further explanations were by mutual consent postponed till he should appear.

6th March. — The individual in question was no other than Sheridan, who coming forward, as the gravity of the case required, extricated both himself and his friends with consummate address. He admitted, indeed, that at the time to which allusion was made, he as one of the secretaries of the treasury, had sent a confidential person to Major Scott, empowered to know whether Hastings, if recalled, would comply, and return to England? "In order," added he, "to explain the principle on which I thus acted, I will state, that after the *resolutions* inculcating Mr. Hastings, to which this house agreed on the 28th of May, 1782, I thought there remained only two lines of conduct to be pursued: one, to recall him instantly by the strong arm of parliament, and to inflict on him exemplary punishment; the other, to bring in an *East India bill*, which, on the ground of expediency, and from regard to the difference of opinions respecting the governor-general's public merits, should banish all retrospect. These being my opinions, and *the latter measure appearing to me most expedient to be adopted*, I therefore commissioned a mutual friend to put the question above stated to the major. In the course of their conversation the *East India Bill* was mentioned; but not with the most remote idea of bartering impunity to Mr. Hastings in return for his support of that *bill*. I have had an interview with the person

whom I sent, and he assures me, as he has likewise certified to the major, that such is the exact fact. I doubt not, therefore, of his acknowledging his mistake respecting the supposed compromise." A more ingenious defence could not easily have been set up; nor did Scott, when he replied, deny that Sheridan's friend *now* confirmed every word of the actual statement. But he maintained, that though he was *now* therefore bound so to think, he had understood the reverse *at the time*, and *had remained ever since under that impression*. Here therefore the matter ended, and Fox expressed great gratification at its being so satisfactorily explained; but many persons remained incredulous on the subject. It was obvious that Sheridan had tried to open some negotiation with Hastings's agent, and that the latter had conceived it to hold out a compromise. Nor did it appear less indisputable that Sheridan was a reluctant party to the present impeachment. His own confession fully warranted such a conclusion.

7th March. — The interests, the government, and all the concerns of our East India possessions, seemed at this period of time to take an almost exclusive hold of parliament, and of the public mind. Francis, whose intellectual energies, aided by thorough local information, and clothed in language of uncommon asperity, as well as force, enabled him to wield with ease the subject; attempted to explain and amend Pitt's *East India Bill* of 1784. He failed in effecting his object as a matter of parliamentary revision; but he did not fail in impressing his audience with a conviction of his profound knowledge of the question, and enlarged powers of mind. I speak most impartially; — for I neither agreed with him on political points, nor regarded him with any degree of predilection. Like Burke, whose prejudices of many kinds often obscured his reason; Francis appeared to be sometimes animated by enmities which extinguished every liberal sentiment in his bosom. He always affected to consider Burke as infinitely his superior. Burke was so in powers of fancy, and in classic knowledge: but Francis possessed equal acuteness, and perhaps more depth of thought. If Francis was

Junius, — of which fact I entertain no doubt, — we may question to which of them posterity will assign the highest place. "The relation in which I stand to my right honourable friend," said Francis, "confers on *him* every claim that belongs to authority, and justifies in *me* every sentiment of submission. It is the feeling of a being who is instructed, towards the being that instructs him. I am not equal to the task of pronouncing his panegyric. Should I indeed undertake it, my reflections would utterly decompose me. They would lead me to the painful contemplation of virtues unrewarded, and of veteran services growing grey under the neglect, if not the ingratitude, of his country. If fame constitute a reward, he possesses it already; but I know that he looks forward to a more noble recompense. He believes, as I do, that in some other existence, virtue will meet its just retribution; in a state where those who have faithfully and gratuitously served mankind,

'Shall find the generous labour was not lost.'

Burke did not, however, manifest any inclination to "serve gratuitously" under Pitt, when he went over to administration in 1793; nor did he seem inclined to expect his "retribution in a future state of existence." He preferred seeking his reward from the treasury in this life.

16th — 22d March. — Ever since Lord Macartney's unexpected return from Bengal, the cabinet determined on sending out a person of high rank to fill the important post of governor-general. It was offered to my friend Lord Walsingham, who though not endowed with pre-eminent talents, yet possessed many qualities that fitted him for the situation. I have perused Pitt's letter addressed to him on the occasion, proposing to him the appointment. But that minister refusing to comply with some demands which he made, on the contingency of his decease happening while he remained in India, the negotiation terminated without effect. At length Lord Cornwallis was prevailed on to accept it. Perhaps a wiser or better selection could not, on the whole, have been made for so eminent an office. At the time when it took

place, his faculties were adequate to the employment, yet not above it; combining judgment with moderation. Simplicity of manners and incorruptible integrity were in him united, if not with military talents, at least with military experience. His disaster at York Town, in October, 1781, had not left any imputation on his professional character; it being well known that the orders were peremptory to advance in the province of Virginia, and that his surrender was the result of imperious circumstances. In order to give greater lustre to his appointment he was named not only governor-general, but commander-in-chief, with a proportionate augmentation of salary. A much more important regulation, empowering him to decide upon every measure, whether the members of the supreme council agreed in opinion with him, or dissented from him; formed the leading feature of a *bill* which Dundas brought into the house of commons at this time. All the ability of the opposition benches drew out in array against a clause, calculated, as they asserted, to establish systematic despotism throughout our East India possessions, vested in the hands of one person. Nor could the fact be denied, though the principle was defended and justified by ministers. Sheridan attacked the *bill* itself, as forming a satire on Pitt's *bill* of 1784, which it cut up by the roots; "proving," he said, that a measure so much vaunted as a master piece of legislation, only two years earlier, now turned out, by the admission of its own authors, "*a very foolish piece of business.*"

22d March. — But the principal attention was justly directed on that evening towards Burke, who poured out the accumulated stores of his indignation in a tone of such violence as excited astonishment even in *him*. The eccentricity and luxuriance of his fancy, enriched with classic images, and elevated on the stilts of poetry, as well as of history, seemed to hurry him out of the ordinary path of debate on this occasion. His spleen was indeed particularly excited by some circumstances which, operating on his very irritable temper, rendered him altogether *Pindaric*. Among the members of the last and present parliament who had acted conjointly

with Burke, in his endeavours to expose and to reform the abuses committed throughout India, was Mr. Boughton Rouse, one of the representatives for the borough of Evesham. Having resided many years in Bengal, he possessed great local information respecting the administration of the revenue in that part of our Eastern possessions. Joining to his knowledge much activity, and no inconsiderable portion of talent, Burke associated him in 1781 to the labours of the *select committee*. While he remained a member of that body, Rouse lent his assistance towards the *first report* made by them to the house, which owed to him some of the most important parts of its composition. But Rouse, after having been thus initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries of Hindostan, had thought proper to withdraw himself from the committee. Perceiving that it was become an instrument of faction, persecution, and private attack, he declined any further attendance on it; ultimately quitting the *coalition*, and joining Pitt. Nor was he left unremunerated; for when, in 1784, the new East India Board was instituted, Rouse received the appointment of secretary under the commissioners. Dundas, by this able manœuvre, converted a former opponent into an ally; while Burke considered him as an apostate, who, after being admitted to the consultations of the elect, had gone over to the opposite party.

On the evening to which I allude, the house resolving itself into a committee on Dundas's "India Bill," Boughton Rouse took his seat at the table as chairman. This spectacle overcame Burke's patience. 'To behold one of his ancient associates, who had participated in his investigations of East India delinquency, placed in the front of the enemy's forces, was a trial too severe for his temper. He started up, and after inveighing in terms the most violent against the *bill*, — which, he said, was "a libel on the liberties and the constitution of England, an experiment to establish a Turkish tyranny throughout our dominions in the East," — he addressed himself personally to the chairman. "Little did I ever imagine," exclaimed he, "that I should live to see *you*, sir, seated at that table, performing the part assigned you

on the present occasion. I lament that the aid which you formerly lent me, when acting together as members of the *select committee*, should now end in the erection of a *whispering gallery* for the board of control, which demands *auricular confession*. Armed, indeed, as that board will be by the powers which this *bill* confers on it, we shall witness a perfect imitation of the *ear of Dionysius*, so detested in antiquity. *The bill is a raw head and bloody bones*, a new *Star Chamber*, subverting *Magna Charta*!" "If," continued he, "ministers had come down to the house, and avowed at once, 'Our plan is despotism,' we should not have tolerated it. *Profligacy* indeed, was ready to cry out, 'Give me arbitrary power.' But *Hypocrisy* more artfully says, 'No! let us circumvent them; and they will, by degrees, submit to bear a tyranny, the mention of which at first would have shaken every fibre in their composition.' And thus an abortion of despotism, like an imperfect *fœtus* in a bottle, is produced, and handed about as a show; till at length, the child's navel-strings have burst, and a full-grown monster of tyranny is now brought forth on the table. When *Hypocrisy* has finished her game, and *Profligacy* comes in turn to act her part,

"Then *shall* the warlike *Harry*, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars; and at his heels,
Leash'd in like hounds, *shall* Famine, Fire,
and Sword,
Crouch for employment."

The vehement tone in which this speech was pronounced, when illustrated by the simile of the *fœtus*, held up with both hands, presenting it thus to the eyes of the audience, till it broke out into a full-formed monster of despotism;—these images, summoned to his aid, like phantoms, by the distempered but splendid imagination of Burke, were contemplated by all present with no common admiration. They could not, indeed, as Pitt observed in reply, be considered as arguments, nor was it easy to answer and refute such appeals to the fancy. — There was, nevertheless, in the citation from Shakspeare, applied to Dundas, an application so close and felicitous, as it would be difficult to parallel. His

Christian name was not only Henry, but in general, his acquaintances, when speaking of him in familiar conversation, called him *Harry Dundas*. Fox having panegyricized Burke's beautiful effusion as a master-piece of eloquence and of reason, adding that "it *must* be answered, and that he felt anxious to hear how ministers would repel its force," Pitt came forward. After justifying his own line of conduct, and that of Dundas, "With respect to the arguments," continued he, "of which mention has been made, I cannot pretend to say that I did not *hear* them; the manner and elevation of voice in which they were delivered rendering that circumstance impossible. But I confess that I do not sufficiently comprehend how they bear upon the question now before the committee, so as to make them any appropriate *answer*." When, however, the clause empowering the governor-general, in cases of great emergency, to act without the concurrence of the supreme council, came to be debated, Dundas, far from evading its discussion, entered fully on its justification. Alluding to Burke's animated picture of the horrors and atrocities which would flow from it, "Notwithstanding," observed he, "the declamation which we have this evening heard relative to despotism; brilliant and eloquent as I allow it to be, I consider it as the mere flight of a wild and disordered imagination. Previous to accusing us as the abettors of arbitrary government, it behoves our opponents to prove that the dominion of *one* person is more to be dreaded, or is more a despotism, than the dominion of *two*; — a position, not easy, I believe, to demonstrate."—"The individual to whom is confided the administration, becomes indeed invested, by the present *bill*, with more authority; but his responsibility is proportionably augmented. — Nor can he, in virtue of this clause, commit any act which, with the concurrence of a majority of the council, he could not antecedently have performed." I own that this reasoning, as applied to power conferred in India, appeared to me at the time, and still impresses me, as sound and incontrovertible.

Fox, nevertheless, endeavoured to demonstrate that the authority given by

the *bill* to the governor-general must be equally efficient, and might be much more safely entrusted to him conjointly with the council. Pitt having stated the advantages which would result from the necessity imposed on the members of that board, to enter upon their journals the motives and reasons of their dissent; leaving to the governor-general the right to act on his own responsibility; Fox attacked him in a manner the most personal. "The minister," said he, "not only defends, but applauds, the institution of an inactive council, to whom are solely to be entrusted the powers of arguing, and of commemorating their opinions. It is indeed natural for *him*, whose talent consists in language, and who, by his superior eloquence, can decorate error with the garb of truth, to commend the art in which he excels, and to depicture the sphere of action as inglorious. *Let others act! His ambition is only to debate.*" This remark, which seems to recall Virgil's

"*Excudent alii spirantia mollius ora,*"

was not noticed by the chancellor of the exchequer, though he replied at great length to every other part of the speech. Did he feel, and as it were tacitly admit, the justice of the portrait? Unquestionably it was a likeness, but not drawn by a flattering pencil.

If we impartially examine Pitt's administration, — or, more properly to speak, his two administrations, — which, between December, 1783, and January, 1806, comprised a period of time not falling much short of nineteen years, — we shall perhaps incline to agree in opinion with Fox. Eloquence, transcendent eloquence, formed the foundation and the key-stone of Pitt's ministerial greatness. Every other quality in him was accessory. He possessed indeed many eminent, — I might say, sublime endowments: paramount judgment in all matters that concerned his own political preservation, elevation of character, contempt of money, unspotted integrity, self-command, celerity in business, application, extraordinary financial talents, and the utmost decorum of manners. But he nevertheless failed in action. From 1784 down to 1792, while the

winds were comparatively hushed, he acquired a high degree of renown, which he did not maintain when the tempest overtook him. He was forced into war early in 1793, more in compliance or subservience, as I believe, to the king's wishes, than from his own voluntary and thorough conviction of its good policy; after allowing the favourable moment for attacking France to pass, when in conjunction with Austria and Prussia, during the autumn of 1792, he might perhaps have preserved, or restored, the monarchy. All his measures throughout the first stages of the French Revolution were better defended in parliament than concerted in cabinet. Witness the ill-advised siege of Dunkirk! Witness Sombreuil's more disastrous expedition to Quiberon in 1795! Nor was the attack of Ostend planned with ability. What numbers were sacrificed at St. Domingo! But how shall we speak of the operations carried on at the Helder in 1799, where the carnage of officers exceeded any similar loss sustained since the affair of Bunker's Hill, and where the Duke of York narrowly escaped being carried a prisoner to Paris! Scarcely was the convention of Closterseven, one of the most humiliating in our history, more ignominious than the retreat from the Helder. His father was a war-minister. Pitt was not. Neither was Dundas a war-minister. Both were giants on the treasury bench; men of ordinary dimensions, when planning a campaign. Pitt, whatever flattery or friendship may assert, was *not* "the pilot who *weathered* the storm." He *sustained* it; but, far from weathering it, he went down at the helm when the waves ran highest. It was not his hereditary, constitutional gout alone which despatched him before he had completed his forty-seventh year. Two events, one internal, the other foreign, precipitated, while they embittered, his dissolution. The first was Dundas's impeachment, which proved a vital blow to him. Mack's disastrous campaign, following in the autumn of 1805, closed his career.

While I am engaged on this curious subject, as I am conscious that posterity will not take *my* word on such a point, unsustained by better testimony, I shall endeavour to support my assertion by

something like proof; though in thus carrying the work at once twenty years forward, from 1786 to 1806, I well know that I violate the common rules of historical composition.

On Friday, the 27th of March, 1812, Sir Walter Farquhar and I dined with Sir John Macpherson at Brompton Grove, near London. No other person was present. After dinner, the conversation turning on Pitt's last illness and death, Sir Walter said, "It was by no means the gout that killed him. The fatal campaign of 1805, and the battle of Austerlitz, terminated his life. I admit that his stomach was previously debilitated; but the calamities of Austria and Russia overcame him. Lord Melville's unfortunate impeachment, and his dismissal as first lord of the admiralty, laid the foundation of Pitt's diseases. When he came up from Bath, early in 1806, I went down to him at Salthill, and earnestly besought of him to remain there; it being so near to Windsor. I represented to him that he could have continual access to the king, and at the same time would breathe a pure air, and might see his friends. He would not listen to me, but came on to Putney. Nevertheless, when he arrived there, which was on a Saturday, he mounted the stairs with great agility, and went out to take the air in his carriage next day. On Monday the ministers got to him, and what passed among them, I know not; but on the ensuing morning he was so much worse, as to excite in me the greatest alarm. He complained that he felt as if his body was cut in two. I strongly urged him not to apply to any public business; a piece of advice which I enforced to the persons about him. Conscious of his danger, I requested that a consultation might be held on his case; offering to fix on any physician that he might like, and to join a third with us. The proposition met with his ready and immediate assent. He named Reynolds, and to him was added Baillie. We met, and having examined his body, we all concurred in thinking that no vital part or function was defective: but, from the Tuesday, a putrid fever and a thrush manifested themselves. He held out till the Thursday se'night, on which day he expired. During the

last nine days he lay chiefly on his back, swallowed only lime-water, and became extenuated in mind, as well as in body, to the greatest degree. I was continually with him, though I was not present when he breathed his last. His faculties sunk with the progress of his disorder, and his extreme physical debility." These were nearly Sir Walter's *ipsissima verba*, as I committed them to paper on the very same night, scarcely four hours after they were spoken.

It has always appeared to me, that some very strong points of resemblance existed between Pericles and Pitt. Both were during many years the ministers of a free people. Both long enjoyed extraordinary popularity, and corresponding power. If the goddess of Persuasion was said to have placed herself on the lips of Pericles, so did she on those of Pitt. The same fascinating beauty and rotundity of expression were common to both. Disinterestedness, and superiority to all personal acquisition, alike distinguished them. Pericles had indeed the advantage of inheriting a larger paternal fortune than the English minister; but he no more increased it at the national expense, than did Pitt. Both survived, if not the public favour, yet the public prosperity; and beheld their friends accused or sacrificed to public clamour. The fate of Phidias, Pericles's friend, charged with converting to his own use a part of the gold confided to him for ornamenting the statue of Minerva, bears a striking analogy to Lord Melville's impeachment, founded on his supposed approbation or alienation of public money. But the Scottish minister ultimately escaped, while the immortal artist of antiquity perished in prison. Pitt, like Pericles, engaged in a long and disastrous conflict with foreign enemies: the latter, when he commenced the Peloponnesian war; the former, with revolutionary France. Neither of them survived to witness its termination. The Athenian, after sustaining the severest afflictions and privations in his family, sunk under the attacks of a pestilential malady, in the third year of hostilities. The English statesman closed his memorable career precisely at the same period of the renewed struggle against the French republic, — or rather against the

military despotism of its foreign ruler. Here, indeed, the parallel ends; for Pitt had no *Aspasia*. It is in Fox's history that we must look for *her*. In Mrs. Armstead, successively his mistress and his wife, we find imperfectly realized the celebrated Ionian courtesan, whom Pericles loved, and finally espoused.

I return from this digression, to the "East India Bill," which, notwithstanding all the opposition made to it by Burke and Fox, passed without difficulty. On every division throughout its progress, government carried the question by more than the proportion of two to one. Indeed, I believe, not many more than two hundred members ever divided on any clause: so feeble an interest did the *bill* excite, or so convinced was the public that the propositions adopted by ministers, one of which vested uncontrolled power in the governor-general under certain regulations, would contribute to the welfare of our territories in the East.

29th March. — I am now arrived in the order of time at that act of Mr. Pitt, to which his friends and admirers will naturally point, as constituting the proudest memorial of his political existence; and which, even his enemies, if any such there now are, will admit to form a lasting claim to national gratitude. I mean, the appropriation of a million sterling annually towards the extinction of the national debt. This patriotic plan, long revolved in his mind, and repeatedly, announced by him to parliament, he developed in a manner every way worthy of the conception. The attendance on the occasion was such as the magnitude and importance of the subject might justly challenge, but such as rarely takes place when no division is anticipated or expected. Pitt seemed on that evening to put into action all his powers of captivating, convincing, and subduing his hearers. The rapidity with which he laid open the state of the finances, could only be equalled by the luminous manner of conveying his ideas, and the facility, as well as perspicuity, that accompanied all his calculations. The meanest intellect might follow and comprehend his positions: they were apparently simple, and level to every capacity. Having shown the deplorable

state into which the public revenue had fallen at the close of the American war, he congratulated the house that an excess of near nine hundred thousand pounds, — which sum, he said, had now occurred above our annual expenditure, — would absolve him from the necessity of laying on more than one hundred thousand pounds of new taxes, in order to provide the requisite million. In a variety of modes he demonstrated the rapid, certain, and salutary operation of this sinking fund; which, he proposed, should begin to take effect from the fifth day of the ensuing month of July. "The accumulation to be expected from it would," he added, "in a period not of great extent, even as compared with the life of man; but scarcely a day, when estimated with the duration of a powerful empire; namely, within the space of about twenty-eight years, — amount to such a sum as must leave at least four millions sterling annually free, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state." Towards the conclusion of his speech, having completely laid before his audience every fact requisite for enabling them to form a sound judgment on the proposition; emancipating himself, as it were, from the shackles of arithmetic, in which he had been hitherto detained, he burst into a beautiful and animated address to the house. In language of great energy he felicitated them on the auspicious prospect now presented to their view, and exhorted them to secure its realization, by making a permanent provision for the gradual diminution and discharge of the national debt.

Pitt employed considerably more than three hours in pronouncing this memorable discourse, during which time he manifested no symptom of intellectual lassitude or fatigue. Throughout all the financial calculations which his duty compelled him to make, some of which demanded not only memory, but great detail; he used no notes, trusting to his own perfect knowledge of the subject. I believe the most attentive listener could scarcely have detected any instance of error, or of oblivion, from its commencement down to its termination: but, when he finished, his bodily exhaustion became very apparent. Distinguished as were Lord North's powers, while

occupied in a similar function, they could not support a comparison with those exhibited by Pitt. There was, indeed, a wide difference between the painful labour of imposing new taxes for the support of an unsuccessful, as well as an unpopular war, and the exhilarating privilege of displaying the resources of a great country, reviving from her temporary depression, while she made provision for her future extrication. Such were the opposite tasks imposed on the two ministers! As Pitt approached the close of his brilliant but laborious exertion, his features brightened, and he seemed to taste by anticipation the recompense of his successful toil in the public service. If, indeed, Gray's lines were ever realized, when he says, —

"Th' applause of list'ning senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise;
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their hist'ry in a nation's eyes;" —

if ever this picture was personified, and presented to human view, we must admit that the chancellor of the exchequer exhibited it on that evening. Even if we should *now* incline to consider the sinking fund itself, as "a clumsy compound of delusion and quackery;" — for such it has been defined and declared to be by modern financiers of no ordinary attainments; — yet, as not only Pitt and Fox, but men of all parties, in and out of parliament, *then* joined in celebrating and extolling it; we cannot with justice refuse to the minister of George the Third, in 1786, the encomiums due to his well meant effort for sustaining and re-invigorating the foundations of public credit. Perhaps it may occur to those who cherish his memory, that he was not permitted to witness even the first term of twenty-eight years, to which he alluded, as "not of great extent, when compared with the ordinary life of man." Within twenty years from the day when he addressed the house, he had taken his place within the same tomb where reposed his father, at an inconsiderable distance from the scene of his actual triumph; and of him it might be said, as of the youth of Pella, —

"Sarcophago contentus erit."

The universal attention which had been concentered upon Pitt while he spoke, became liberated when he closed his oration; the floor soon presenting a scene of disorder, noise, and confusion. Cornwall vainly attempted to enforce silence. In the midst of this uproar, Sir Grey Cooper, probably acting in concert with Fox, and desirous to allow time for the restoration of tranquillity, commenced a reply to the minister. Professing his warmest wish to advance the accomplishment of the proposed measure, he nevertheless stated his doubts of its immediate practicability. As soon as the tumult had subsided, Fox rose, and, after declaring that no individual in that assembly was more friendly to the formation of a sinking fund than himself, he proceeded to dissect the speech just pronounced. With consummate ability, manifesting a profound acquaintance with all the sources of national wealth or prosperity, and disclosing views as enlarged as those of the chancellor of the exchequer for retrieving the finances, he did not the less contest almost all Pitt's premises or assumptions. Far from admitting that there existed an actual surplus of revenue to the amount of nine hundred thousand pounds, as the minister asserted, Fox endeavoured to demonstrate the fallacy of any such pretended balance. Nor did he fail to sustain his allegations, by proofs drawn either from Pitt's own admissions, or by facts and calculations apparently incontrovertible. He impressed me, indeed, on that occasion, — as he did upon every other, when questions of finance were agitated or discussed in parliament during my time, — with a conviction that he possessed talents nearly, if not in every respect fully, equal to those of Pitt. I am persuaded, if he had been placed at the head of the treasury and the exchequer, he would have made as able a first minister as his rival. Neither do I think that he would have wanted vigilance, application, or integrity. Unfortunately, his habits of life, and his want of prudent restraint, particularly where the king was personally concerned; the manner in which he had *dissipated* his fortune, much more than his *want* of fortune, in which respect Pitt could not pretend to any

superiority over him ; his chosen companions, many of whom were personally obnoxious to his majesty ; the satirical compositions, in almost all which the sovereign was held up to ridicule, continually emanating from the friends or members of opposition ; lastly, Fox's avowed devotion to the heir-apparent, whom he had endeavoured, when he was secretary of state, to render more independent of his father, by giving the prince one hundred thousand pounds a year, instead of fifty thousand ; — these facts or circumstances, and not any inferiority to Pitt in mental endowments of every description, constituted the real impediments to Fox's attainment of power.

The chancellor of the exchequer having in the course of his speech announced, that the incumbrances upon the civil list amounted to a sum exceeding two hundred thousand pounds, for which arrear he should speedily move a grant of money ; Sheridan attacked him on the subject with equal ability and severity of animadversion. He observed, that such an unexpected demand formed a singular introduction to the sinking fund ; towards which measure, as founded on a pretended surplus of revenue above our expenditure, the public had been taught to look forward with eager anticipation. Like Fox, he denied that there existed any such balance, except in the illusory calculations or assertions of the minister ; whom he moreover accused of contradicting his former assurances respecting the state of the civil list. Pitt, in reply, not content with imputing to Sheridan an error of memory, added, that " such a charge could only arise from a gross misrepresentation of his words." Sheridan nevertheless maintained the accuracy of his statement ; appealing to the house against the chancellor of the exchequer, who, he said, might indulge as much as he thought proper in charges of misrepresentation. These recriminations did not diminish the triumph of the minister ; whose motion " for granting to commissioners a million sterling, of which one fourth part should be applied every quarter towards discharging the public debt of the country," passed unanimously. Even though it could have been demonstrated

that Pitt's calculations were exaggerated, yet, the *principle* of appropriating an annual portion of the revenue towards the gradual liquidation of the national debt was in itself entitled to universal approbation. No measure could more contribute to augment his popularity, and consequently to strengthen his tenure of office.

30th March. — An interesting debate took place at this time, which exhibited in a conspicuous light the change that had been effected in public opinion, upon points materially affecting the British constitution, within the four preceding years. After the close of Lord North's administration, the spirit of reform, conducted by Burke, and under him by Mr. Crewe and Sir Philip Clerke, had made gigantic inroads on the royal household. Marsham, one of the representatives for the county of Kent, who had taken so prominent a share, in conjunction with Powis, during the early part of Pitt's entry on employment ; now attempted to extend the disqualifying enactments of Mr. Crewe's *bill* to all voters employed by the navy and ordnance boards. But he soon discovered that ministers were no longer favourable to such propositions. The chancellor of the exchequer, while he admitted that he had voted for Mr. Crewe's *bill*, — a vote of which, he said, he by no means repented, — yet professed his determination to resist any further innovation. The times, he maintained, were altogether changed since the house had come to a resolution that " the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." Fox having attacked him on this tergiversation, or change of opinion, the minister was defended by Lord Mulgrave. He invidiously observed, that " their two characters were before the public, who would decide on their respective merits as candidates for power." Then referring to the conduct of the admiralty board towards persons employed in the dock-yards, which had formed a principal point of accusation against government, he demanded, " Who ever dared to grant, or to deny, preferment to a workman, merely on account of his election interest ? The man that dared so to act *ought to lose his head.*" Dundas,

being likewise compelled by some allusions made to similar interference in Scotland among the workmen in the dock-yards of that kingdom, reprobated Mr. Crewe's *bill* in terms of contemptuous levity. "I defy," exclaimed he, "any man to stand up and *show his face boldly* in defence of such a proposition, which attempts to fix a stigma on a number of individuals, merely because they are employed in his majesty's service. But it appears to me that, whenever gentlemen are out of place, they conceive it necessary, in order to amuse the public, to serve up in this house a *dish of disfranchisements*."

Such was the state of the discussion when Sheridan took part in it, levelling his first strokes at Dundas. "Truly," observed he, "may that learned gentleman assert, that he never maintains any position without being ready to *show his face boldly* at the same time: for I believe the house will agree with me in admitting, that he never advances an argument, however irreconcilable to reason it may be, on which he is not prepared to *put a good countenance*. With respect to his *dish of disfranchisements*, he cannot surely have forgotten that he was first induced to *nibble* a little at a side-dish; and afterwards prevailed on to *sit down* to a whole course of those ingredients, at the time when his friend near him served up his *grand entertainment* of parliamentary reform. The principal object of that reform was expressly to *disfranchise*, not merely a particular class of men, but a numerous body of voters from many different boroughs." Pitt contradicting him across the table, and flatly denying the fact, because it was intended to remunerate them, Sheridan, wholly unmoved, resumed his speech. "I thank the right honourable gentleman," said he, "for his correction. I now recollect that the people were to be *paid* for relinquishing their franchises, which still better accords with my argument; because every one knows that where money is in the case, the *learned* gentleman will be better pleased. Is it, however, possible to state any proposition more unconstitutional, or more repugnant to freedom, than that of purchasing with a bribe the unalienable right of voting at elections?"

Having made these severe and personal observations on the two ministers, he turned to Lord Mulgrave, who sat near them. "The noble lord," continued Sheridan, "has remarked, when alluding to the treatment of persons employed in the dock-yards, that any man who should use the influence of the crown for the purpose of obtaining a vote *deserved* to lose his head." Lord Mulgrave immediately rising, denied that the words were accurately cited, as he had said, *ought* to lose his head. Not more disconcerted at this second interruption than he had been by the first, Sheridan, without altering a muscle of his countenance, only observed, "I am happy to find that the expression used was *ought*; because, if it had been *would* have lost his head, the learned gentleman seated on the treasury bench would not have had on this evening a *face to have shown among us*."

We must admit that it appears hardly possible to compress more wit into a smaller compass than is exhibited in this speech. No other individual among the opposition possessed the same talent, combined with good humour, in a similar degree. Burke displayed indeed, at times, the utmost brilliancy of fancy, enriched from every source of ancient or of modern learning; but he wanted Sheridan's suavity, self-command, and imperturbability. Even Fox did not manifest the same playful gaiety, which extorted a smile from the very individual who experienced its severity. Sheridan received from nature the faculty of delighting, and inserting the lancet, at the same instant. So, it may be said, did Lord North. Nor can it be denied but that most amiable nobleman had already played his part on the theatre of parliament, and of public life. Neither his health, nor the recollection of the great offices that he had once filled in that assembly, allowed him to attend in his place, except on occasions of emergency. Courtenay approached nearer to Sheridan than any man on the opposition benches. He wanted nevertheless the nice touch of the author of the "School for Scandal." Courtenay might be said to bear to Sheridan the place and the analogy which is found in antiquity between the two great Roman satirists;—

one, the elegant writer of the Augustan age; the other, formed of coarser and bolder materials, to lash the vices of the time of Domitian. Sheridan's wit extorted no reply from ministers. Pitt, Dundas, and Lord Mulgrave, all preserved silence. The division, however, supplied every deficiency, *Marshall's motion* being negatived by nearly three to one. It became evident that the spirit of reform was far on its decline. In 1782, the proposition would have been carried almost without debate or opposition.

Among the individuals who spoke against it on that evening was Sir Charles Middleton, comptroller of the navy, and member for Rochester. I principally mention him here, because he forms the most extraordinary instance of the power of that goddess, whose divinity is denied by Juvenal which can be found throughout the long reign of George the Third. He possessed plain sound sense, an unexceptionable moral character, and high professional merit; having risen with distinction to the rank of an admiral, and having likewise been created a baronet as early as the year 1781. Down to 1791 he continued to occupy the post of comptroller of the navy, which he quitted with great reputation, retiring from public life and service to his seat at Barham, in Kent. His career of ambition seemed to be then terminated. But Fortune manifested in his person her empire over human affairs. Lord Melville being impeached in the spring of 1805, and thereby rendered incapable of longer remaining at the head of the admiralty, it became necessary without loss of time to supply the vacancy. Nor was the selection easy; since, on one hand, the person chosen to fill so important a department, in a time of imminent national danger, was required to possess conspicuous recognized ability in the line of his profession, united, on the other, with the most steady as well as implicit adherence to ministers. These qualities were found in Sir Charles Middleton. He joined to them a third recommendation; his mother, Helen Dundas, having been a relative of Lord Melville. I believe they stood in the degree of second cousins to each other. Sir Charles Middleton, who, many years earlier, at the age of sixty-five, had re-

treated from official life, and who little expected to be called back to it, found himself, at seventy-nine, summoned to fill the high post from which his friend was driven. His advanced age formed no impediment, as his faculties remained unimpaired. The dignity of a privy counsellor and a cabinet minister; the British peerage, with remainder to his daughter, he having no male issue; together with the office of first lord of the admiralty: — all these honours and emoluments extended themselves at the feet of a man verging towards fourscore. He proved himself not unworthy of them. He continued, indeed, only about nine or ten months in his elevated situation; but during that short period took place the illustrious victory of Trafalgar. Lord Barham survived till the year 1813, dying at the very protracted period of eighty-seven years. Edwin Lascelles, Sir James Peachey, and Welbore Ellis, had all passed their seventieth year, when respectively sent up to the house of lords. But they form no parallel to the instance before us, which, considered under its various aspects, may not be again realized in the lapse of many ages.

April. — Burke, in bringing forward the impeachment of Hastings, was actuated by some of the most elevated, but likewise by some of the least commendable, motives or feelings that can meet in man. He always reminded me of the image which Nebuchadnezzar sees in his dream, recorded by the prophet Daniel; "whose brightness was excellent," and whose "head was of fine gold;" but whose "feet were part of iron and part of clay." Great inconsistencies and contradictions unquestionably met in Burke. Like the celebrated Bishop of Chiapa, whose life was passed in efforts to ameliorate the condition of the natives of the New World, and to bring to justice the Spaniards who tyrannized or massacred them; so Burke, during many years, endeavoured to rescue the inhabitants of Hindostan from British severities or extortions. Nor do I mean to deny that he was impelled by very benign and enlarged principles; but they became mingled in their course with much infirmity. His resentments, enmities, and prejudices, assuming the appearance of virtue, often obscured his

judgment, irritated his temper, and rendered him frequently inaccessible to candour or to reason. Even his private pecuniary embarrassments contributed to sharpen his disposition. The pay-office, which he had twice occupied, without retaining it beyond a few months, had left painful recollections in his mind. I believe the Marquis of Rockingham did not bequeath him any testamentary mark of regard, except cancelling the sum due to him from Burke. Old age was fast advancing, and no prospect of a return to power presented itself. Though he was not encumbered with a numerous family, yet he had one son, in whom he beheld every virtue and every talent, while other persons saw in him only a young man of common ability. For his advancement and establishment in life, Burke felt intense anxiety. All these circumstances combined to bereave him of that complacency and suavity, which office, prosperity, and wealth are formed to produce. If the *coalition* administration had retained possession of the government, and of course Burke had continued to occupy Rigby's place, with its splendid emoluments, Hastings would undoubtedly have been recalled with marks of ministerial censure: but I greatly question whether the paymaster of the forces would, in opposition to the king's opinions, have drawn up and presented articles of impeachment against him. We have seen how easily Burke was induced to lay aside his intentions of impeaching Lord North in 1782, as soon as that nobleman relinquished his place. Yet, if Hastings had oppressed, he had not lost, an empire.

Fox, in lending his powerful co-operation towards the prosecution, participated in no degree the antipathies of Burke: he was composed of more malleable materials. Exclusion from place, aggravated by poverty, had neither rendered him bitter nor implacable. But, during successive years, he had been accustomed to declaim against Hastings, whose policy he considered as ambitious, imbued with the spirit of conquest, oppressive, and even sanguinary in certain instances. He could not retract his declarations on these points, even if he had wished to do it. As little could he

abandon Burke, or leave him unaided, to carry on the impeachment. Such a line of conduct, which must have divided them for ever, would have produced a fatal schism in the party. It was moreover evident that which ever side ministers took, whether they protected or sacrificed Hastings, they must encounter great embarrassments. By sheltering him, they would incur the odium of shielding from enquiry and punishment a great public functionary, accused of enormous crimes. By delivering up to the rage of his enemies a man who had preserved India, at the very time when we lost America, and of whose public merits the king entertained so high an opinion, they might risk the royal displeasure, with all its consequences. Fox himself had been wrecked by the *East India bill*; and Pitt might commit a similar error. These motives, as I have always conceived, more than any thorough conviction of Hastings's criminality, propelled Fox to support the impeachment. Hastings himself, as I know, was fully persuaded that Fox had said, "I would rather be the defender than the accuser of the late governor-general." Even though he should, however, have uttered such a sentiment, which is very possible, — for he was often imprudent and ungaurded, — yet it would prove nothing in the present question. But I am nevertheless of opinion, that if Lord Pigot or Lord Macartney, with both of whom Fox was ultimately connected, had been accused, as governors of Madras, with the commission of acts similar to those attributed to Hastings, instead of joining to prosecute and punish, he would, as far as in him lay, have extended to them assistance and protection.

No man could doubt, after Sheridan's own confession, made in the house of commons, scarcely four weeks earlier, that he would willingly have extended impunity and oblivion to Hastings. His own principles of moral action, were too relaxed, to impel him on a parliamentary prosecution for measures which, even if culpable, were adopted under circumstances of great public exigency, where the existence of our East India dominions was at stake. In bending all the charms of his persuasive eloquence, as

he did, to prove Hastings's criminality before his judges in Westminster Hall. Sheridan only acted from a spirit of party, sustained by attachment to Fox. Probably he was not insensible to the display of his talents likewise, on such a theatre, before an audience composed of both sexes, including all that was dignified in Great Britain. But Sheridan partook neither of the elevated feelings of Burke, nor had imbibed his prejudices, nor was actuated by his personal resentments.

Widely different were the motives which impelled Francis. In his bosom appeared to be concentrated all the hostile recollections which our nature can cherish against any individual. During successive years he had, in concert with Clavering and Monson, opposed Hastings's measures in Bengal. After the decease of his two colleagues in the supreme council, he had continued the same systematic resistance to the governor-general. Private enmity became superadded to political difference of opinion: they went out, fought, and Francis was wounded. Time seemed to have diffused no balm into the wound; it remained still fresh as on the day when it had been inflicted. His own words, on the supposition that Francis was *Junius*, addressed to Sir William Draper, might be justly applied to himself: "If I understand your character," says *Junius*, "there is in your own breast a repository in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without the hazard of diminution." With equal truth it might have been maintained of Francis, that all his animosities lived and breathed in his speeches, unallayed by the lapse of years. Nor could he plead like Burke, that poverty had chilled his blood or rendered it acrimonious. Francis brought home from the East a very ample, or rather a splendid competence; and while Burke occupied, when in London, a small lodging in Charles Street, St. James's Square, Francis inhabited a house in Upper Harley street, from which he subsequently removed to a noble mansion in St. James's Square—Such was the difference which fortune had established between these two distinguished men. I never accounted Lord

North among the number of Hastings's prosecutors, though he lent his name to the impeachment.

5th and 6th April.—Two conversations, rather than debates, took place at this time relative to the deficiency in the civil list, which amounted, as I have already observed, to more than two hundred thousand pounds. Powis, after commenting with asperity on the causes that had produced such a debt, mentioned the expensive and inefficient embassy of Lord Chesterfield, as meriting reprehension. It appeared that no less than twenty-five thousand pounds had been expended on that useless and premature appointment. Nor did Eden's mission to Paris escape censure, though every part of the house joined with the minister in acknowledging his aptitude for such a negotiation. Sheridan and Fox availed themselves of the occasion, for bringing to public notice the establishment of the Prince of Wales; no doubt with a view to sound the inclinations of parliament upon the subject. They represented that fifty thousand pounds a year constituted an income utterly inadequate to supporting his dignity. "In touching on a matter of such delicacy," observed Fox, "it is not so much from motives of gratitude for the confidence with which that royal personage honours me, nor from the affection excited by his amiable qualities, as from my conviction that the dignity of the crown, and even the national advantage, require that the heir-apparent should be enabled to live, not merely in ease, but in splendour. Under George the First, when the civil list amounted only to seven hundred thousand pounds a year, the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Second, had an allowance of one hundred thousand: and now, when, in consequence of the suppressions made in the king's household, the civil list may be fairly estimated at nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, only fifty thousand are given to the Prince of Wales. If his majesty, as is evident by the demand of this evening, cannot make the former sum cover his expenses, how can it be expected that his royal highness is to live upon the last mentioned income? I well know that the late Prince of Wales, Frederick, had at first no larger

establishment; but it was soon augmented, and the expenses of every article of life are prodigiously increased since that period."

These facts and arguments, which appeared to me at the time, and still impress me, as full of weight, made no impression on the chancellor of the exchequer. Entrenching himself behind the throne, he replied that "he was not instructed to make any communication to the house, respecting the branches of the royal family; and that he should avoid the presumption of expressing any private opinion upon the subject." Not a single county member, nor country gentleman of any description, rose to support Fox's representations. One individual only, Alderman Newnham, a member for the city of London, stated his conviction that the sum allowed to the heir apparent was universally regarded as unequal to the maintenance of his dignity. Fox, at the conclusion of his speech, admitted that the only becoming mode of bringing the business before the house would be by a message from the crown. "I hope," added he, "that ministers will so advise his majesty; but, if they do not, I pledge myself that I will, in some shape or other, before the end of the session, lay the matter before this assembly." Pitt remained silent. Unquestionably, an economical Prince of Wales, or a Prince of Wales deeply penetrated with a sense of his duties, might have subsisted on the allowance made him, however unequal it was to a display of magnificence. But Carlton house exhibited a perpetual scene of excess, unrestrained by any wise superintendence. Entertainments of the most expensive description; architectural decorations and embellishments, made on a scale of extraordinary splendour;—these gratifications demanded adequate funds for their support. A large debt began to accumulate, which speedily subjected his royal highness to many of the inconveniences and to some of the disgraces, incurred by ordinary debtors. His friends and adherents filled the capital with complaints of the inadequate allowance made him: but the king, who well knew that an augmentation of his income would only tend to strengthen the hands of opposition; and who perhaps suspected that some part of

it might find its way into the pockets of Fox, or of Sheridan; remained inflexible on the subject.

11th and 12th April.—No individual connected with government performed, during the course of the session, a more important, useful, and conspicuous part, than Jenkinson. I do not except the chancellor of the exchequer himself from this observation. Jenkinson could support indeed no comparison whatever with Pitt in eloquence; but his intimate knowledge of trade, matured by experience, and by communications with every source of information, rendered him an invaluable support to ministers. The cry of *secret influence*, which during Lord North's administration made Jenkinson unpopular, had become almost extinct, while his talents rose every day in the public estimation. Before the end of March he brought forward a proposition for regulating the Newfoundland fishery; an object become doubly valuable to Great Britain since our recent loss of the Trans-Atlantic colonies. In developing the actual state of that branch of national wealth, and defining the principles on which alone it could henceforward be retained against the rivalities of other nations, he showed his profound acquaintance with the subject. Instructed by the recent emancipation of America, he pointed out the danger of *colonizing* Newfoundland; which, if treated as a colony, he said, would infallibly follow in a few years the example of New England; recommending an opposite system of policy, as the only mode of preserving the fisheries. Sir Grey Cooper, who since Eden's defection supplied in some measure his place, not only concurred on every point with Jenkinson, but passed the highest encomiums on his sound views of commercial prosperity. No opposition arose from any part of the house.

Previous to the Easter recess, he exhibited two other equally striking proofs of ability. The first of these propositions which had for its object a revival of the trade and navigation laws, enabled him to display a wonderful extent of information. Having traced the origin and progress of those laws, their operation on our commerce, and their present de-

fects, he finally suggested the alterations necessary to be made in the system. His views and reflections were equally enlarged, as they were consoling to the nation. "If proper means," he observed, "could be devised for securing to Great Britain the navigation trade; though we had recently lost a vast dominion in America, we might almost be said to have gained an empire." All his plans appeared to be so beneficial, and he manifested so much readiness to submit them to the severest examination, not only of the house, but of every merchant in the kingdom, previous to their final adoption, that they experienced no impediment. — The last proof of talent exhibited by Jenkinson at this time, was in the laying open the state of the Greenland fishery; which, he performed in the same lucid, well-digested, and perspicuous manner, accompanied with details of the most minute description. The measure that he proposed, though it gave rise to a long discussion, yet was adopted by a large majority. It was not, indeed, from Fox, or from Fox's friends, than any objections to the plan arose. The doubts started came from other quarters, and originated principally in local feelings or prejudices. Jenkinson's abilities extorted universal respect, and rendered it evident that the favour which he had enjoyed during so many years at St. James's, reposed on better foundations than the servile assiduities of a courtier, or the capricious predilection of a king.

26th April. — The impeachment of Hastings now began to engage, and to absorb, universal attention. Burke having delivered in two more charges against him, and promising to produce others without loss of time, Major Scott instantly presented a petition on the part of the late governor-general. Its object, which was "to obtain the permission of being heard in his defence against the several articles, and to be allowed a copy of them," gave rise to a most animated debate. Conclusions diametrically opposite were drawn by Fox and by Pitt from the same premises; the latter expressing his assent to the prayer of the petition, as founded on precedents extracted from the Journals. Fox, though he did not oppose the motion for hearing

Hastings in his defence, yet loudly inveighed against granting him copies of the charges. While this contest took place, a sort of episode suddenly diverted, during a considerable time, the attention of the assembly from Hastings to an unexpected quarter. Martin, member for Tewksbury, a man whom I have already had occasion more than once to mention; whose views were confined, but always inflexibly upright; interposed in the discussion. "I have not as yet, Mr. Speaker," said he, "made up my mind on the present subject; but, whenever this prosecution shall be disposed of, there still remains one to be undertaken in justice to the country. I allude to the noble lord in the blue ribband, who has repeatedly challenged enquiry. I have long thought that such an enquiry ought to be instituted. So unfortunate, however, has been the state of party during several years, that the noble lord well knows *he may bid the country do that, which the dignity of this house, and my respect for them, prohibits me from mentioning within these walls.*" Lord North, on ordinary occasions, would probably have met the attack of Martin with his characteristic wit and humour; weapons which he had always at command, and with which he had already gently chastised his present adversary, to the no small entertainment of the audience, when formerly assailed by him on the same topic. But the affront was conveyed in words so indecorous, as induced him to prefer a more grave reply. Rising as soon as Martin finished, he complained that "*allusions made in gross and vulgar language*" should thus be reiterated; equally unworthy of the house to hear, and indecent on the part of the individual by whom they were uttered. He then called on men of every description, to say whether the majority of that house, the actual ministers, or any of the great authorities in existence, could be considered so partial to him, as to shield him from impeachment if he merited it? The weapon which Lord North disdained or declined to use, Burke however took up, wielding it with equal ease and effect. "I sincerely wish," observed he, "that the bird who uniformly sings one and the same tune would take it in a gentler key. The cuckoo's note, I grant, is uniform;

but it is gentle. Now, though the bird in question can sing only one note, and that note, like the cuckoo's, ungracious to the *married coalition ear*; yet the house will thank him for correcting the *harshness* of his song, and for giving it in a *milder tone*."

Having by this pleasantry turned the laugh against Martin, Burke resumed his serious demeanour. "As to the prosecution of the noble lord seated near me," continued he, "whatever I might have once intended, I should not now be prompt to impeach a person whom I am so happy as to rank among my friends. Besides, when I look opposite, and see the chancellor of the exchequer, who has declared systematically against all retrospect on other national concerns, I dare not undertake it; especially on beholding the two powerful supporters between whom he is placed this evening." Dundas sate on Pitt's right hand, and Jenkinson on his left. "Three such opponents would awe me into silence. I will however confess, that thinking the measures pursued during the contest with America dangerous to the constitution, and pernicious, *I had at one time drawn up seven distinct articles of impeachment*. But, only one among them in any degree affected the noble lord. When I found the system relinquished, I forgot the past evils. *The Marquis of Rockingham indeed advised me to abandon all idea of impeachment, and took from me the papers. I have since vainly endeavoured to find them*." In the disclosure thus made relative to Lord Rockingham, much secret history was divulged. It became evident that Burke's patron saw the impossibility of separating the sovereign from his minister; George the Third, from Lord North. In fact, every man of common information knew that the American war was waged and maintained by his majesty, far more than by his ministers. He supported and propelled the cabinet, who, on the other hand, had good experience of his firmness. An attempt therefore to bring Lord North, or Lord George Germain, or the Earl of Sandwich, to the block, must have rent in pieces the whole frame of Lord Rockingham's government. For the king would never have imitated the example of Charles

the First towards Lord Strafford. His principles would not have allowed him to incur his own reprobation or contempt. This fact the marquis well knew, as he did equally Burke's violence and intractability. In order, therefore, to disarm a man whom he could not altogether govern by reason, or control by authority, he got possession of the papers in question, which he subsequently withheld, or destroyed. If Fox and Burke had possessed the marquis's prudence, combined with his moderation, they might not have passed nearly their whole lives on the opposition bench.

It being at length carried without any division, that Hastings should be heard in his defence, and that copies of the charges should be granted him; a new debate arose respecting the mode and order of proceeding. Kenyon strongly maintained that the house ought not to advance another step in the prosecution, till the late governor-general had been brought before them: while Jenkinson, who hitherto could only be said to have taken an indirect part in his favour, now rising, decidedly objected to the reception of evidence. Thus opposed, Burke gave way to all the acrimony and irritation of his character. He who, when Lord North was attacked by Martin, could call ridicule to his aid, and press into his service Shakespeare's "cuckoo song," let loose upon Kenyon and Jenkinson the utmost efforts of his indignation. "The learned gentleman," exclaimed he, addressing his observations to the master of the rolls, "may repeat his practice of embarrassing the discussion; of varying his opinion, and suggesting different advice according to circumstances: I will not abandon the cause. I consider one arm as already lopped off. If I lose a leg, I will nevertheless persevere. Even if deprived of both, I will fight, like Witherington, on my stumps." Towards Jenkinson he was still more personal. "Judging from all that I have heard on the present evening," said Burke, "I fear it is intended to quash the prosecution. It is indeed evident, by the language of a gentleman, *who is commonly supposed to have been the sinister adviser of his majesty*; — though I by no means assert the fact, or that he ever offered other

than good advice ; — it is however evident that *one half* of my charges are already struck with the dead palsy." — "The failure of the charges is impossible. They contain matter which no sophistry can defeat. If therefore the house shall think proper to crush the proceeding, the disgrace will be theirs, and not mine. I have done my duty ; and disabled as I may be, I will persevere."

Such was the state of the discussion, when two gentlemen of the long robe successively addressed the house. The first, Bearcroft, though encumbered with a mass of flesh, possessed great intellectual powers, and looked forward confidently to the highest honours of his profession ; which he would probably have reached, if his career had not been cut short by death. Viewing the case, not through the optics of a moralist, but with the eye of a statesman, he endeavoured to convince his audience, that the late governor-general might prove the accusations to be altogether irrelevant, or at least destitute of criminality. Widely opposite were the opinions delivered by Hardinge, solicitor-general to the queen ; who having denied that the charges were in any degree unintelligible, while at the same time he admitted that they were diffuse ; "With respect," continued he, "to the argument, that even although imputations so serious could be proved, yet they might and would be overbalanced by the public services of the accused person, I can subscribe to no such doctrine. Never will I admit the justification, which in technical phrase is denominated a *set-off*, to form any legitimate defence ! In cases of a criminal nature, or where specific delinquency can be proved, no *set-off* will satisfy my mind. I remember, many years ago, a proceeding similar to the present, in which the sort of balance now pleaded was successfully urged, but greatly, in my opinion, to the disgrace of this assembly. The case to which I allude, was that prosecution commenced against an individual of high rank and character at the time ; and who, though now no more, yet still maintains a great name in the world. The facts, and those too of an enormous description, were proved. But *an honourable general, and a noble lord,*

have yet an account to settle, for having admitted the whole to be done away by a set-off. I date from that circumstance, every event which has since taken place injurious to the national character in the East." This most pointed allusion to Lord North's and General Burgoyne's conduct, when Lord Clive was criminally attacked in the house, produced no ordinary sensation, they being both present : but it did not provoke from either of them any notice or reply. On the division, it was nevertheless determined to hear no more witnesses till Hastings should have appeared at the bar. It would be nugatory to deny that Hardinge's opinions were not merely heard with respect, but sunk deep into the public mind. All those persons who considered Hastings's actions as amenable to the bar of private conscience, or to parliamentary inquiry, rather than as measures of state which circumstances authorized ; necessarily adopted the standard of moral rectitude and justice, as the only criterion of his future acquittal or condemnation.

1st May.—These preliminary steps being adjusted, Mr. Hastings made his appearance before the house. Curiosity, stimulated by enmity, or by friendship, in many individuals, procured on the occasion a very numerous attendance. His entrance excited a strong and a general emotion. It was to me a painful spectacle to behold a man, who during twelve years had governed the rich and extensive provinces of Asia, from the mouths of the Ganges to Dehli,—and who, without a metaphor, might be said to have occupied the throne of Timur, — now, when his period of life seemed to demand repose, and when he might have anticipated honours or rewards, dragged before a popular assembly, there to defend himself against impeachment. His person, if not dignified, was interesting, and his look commanding, as if accustomed to power. In thus pleading before the commons, he lost the advantage enjoyed by Lord Clive, and by Rumbold ; who, being both members of the assembly which instituted an enquiry into their public conduct, could mix personally with their accusers, reply to their allegations on the moment, and correct or efface any unjust imputation. Lord Clive had moreover

secured in Wedderburn an advocate of consummate parliamentary as well as legal talents. Nor did Sir Thomas Rumbold want a powerful supporter in the person of Rigby, who, though then no longer paymaster of the forces, yet well knew the modes of softening animosities, and of dextrously removing prejudices. Lord Mansfield, the archbishop of York, the chancellor, and many other persons of the highest rank or consideration, strongly attached to Hastings, whatever services they could render him elsewhere, became powerless in the house of commons. Jenkinson, Kenyon, and Bearcroft might, indeed, each be regarded as friendly; but they wanted the personal stimulus by which Wedderburn and Rigby had been propelled. All these circumstances were not duly weighed by the adviser of the governor-general, who having passed his best years out of his native country, knew London and parliament only by description.

Burke always endeavoured to establish a similarity between the prætor of Sicily accused by Cicero, and the governor-general impeached by himself. It would, however, have been much easier to demonstrate the contrast exhibited by the two individuals. Verres was brought before the Roman senate by the Sicilians themselves, for acts of rapine and oppression. Hastings had quitted India amidst the affectionate approbation of all ranks, Asiatic as well as European. — Verres returned to Rome laden with wealth, of which he expended a considerable portion in procuring defenders. Hastings revisited England, not indeed poor, but with only a moderate competence; while Barwell, though only a contemporary member of the supreme council, had amassed some hundred thousands. Even Francis was a far richer man than the governor-general. — The acts of rapacity or extortion committed by the Roman were perpetrated by base and sordid motives; while the Englishman, even in those fines which he imposed or levied on the princes of Hindostan, carried the sums so raised into the company's treasury. Lastly, Verres, conscious of his enormities, and anticipating his final condemnation, dared not abide the issue of his trial, but, quitting Italy, became an exile. Hastings,

on the contrary, after presenting for many years a political mark, against which the greatest talents and eloquence of the country directed its keenest shafts, was acquitted by his judges. Between Verres and Rumbold it will be readily admitted that there existed great analogy. If we would seek in antiquity any case bearing a strong resemblance to that of Hastings among us, we must remount more than four centuries beyond the Christian æra. Pericles, accused of mismanagement in conducting the military and civil affairs of Athens entrusted to his guidance, pleading his cause before the Athenian people, presents some points that recalls to our minds the governor-general of Bengal. On the present occasion, every mark of attention and consideration was shown by the house of commons to Hastings, compatible with the forms of that assembly. He was allowed a chair; and a son of the archbishop of York, who had formerly been resident at Benares, attended on him, for the purpose of supplying him with the documents or papers requisite to his justification. In reply to his request of being permitted to assist his memory by *reading* his answer to the charges exhibited, the Speaker informed him that he was at liberty to avail himself of any aid which he might judge necessary for its defence.

Having first returned his acknowledgments to the house for their indulgence in hearing him at so early a stage of the prosecution, he then proceeded to read his exculpation. But its effect on a popular assembly accustomed to splendid displays of eloquence, was tame and tedious after the lapse of the first hour. He began by remarking on the singularity of the present proceeding, instituted against a man who had received from his employers the most unequivocal and flattering testimonies of their satisfaction. "I left Bengal," said he, "followed by the loudest proofs of universal gratitude; and since I landed in England, I have had the unanimous thanks of the court of directors for my services of five-and-thirty years. Furnished with such proofs of the approbation of those for whose benefit I had conducted the affairs of India, it did not occur to my mind that any other person

could urge an accusation against me. Much less did I conceive that high crimes and misdemeanors could be alleged in this house, as grounds for my impeachment before the peers. Doubtless, in the course of my administration, I have committed many errors; but I have endeavoured so to conduct the government of India, that it might prove beneficial to the company at home, while it diffused repose and felicity abroad. I am conscious that by standing forward as I now do, I may furnish proofs of my own misconduct. If, however, it is desirable to disclose the facts and measures that took place while I held the first office in Bengal, I wish to make the disclosure in this manner, whatever personal disadvantages may accrue from it to my cause, during the course of the present proceedings."

When Hastings had concluded his general observations on the prosecution, he produced separate answers to each of the charges. But, as his own powers became unequal to a long continuance of such exertion, he soon availed himself of Mr. Markham's assistance. After more than five hours had been thus employed, during which time a considerable diminution took place in the number of auditors, the chancellor of the exchequer moved an adjournment. On the ensuing day Hastings resumed his defence; which being terminated, he was desired to withdraw. Burke then briefly addressed the house, deprecating any comment on the recent justification as altogether premature, but recommending to every individual present a deliberate perusal of the whole proceeding. Not a word was uttered in reply. It may justly be questioned whether Hastings was well advised in desiring to be heard at the bar. In fact he derived no advantage from his personal appearance. How, indeed, could he expect to produce conviction in the minds of an assembly whose members possessed collectively so imperfect a knowledge of the country, policy, or government of Hindostan; to whom, neither the Rohillas, nor the Rajah of Benares, nor the Nabob of Oude, conveyed any definite idea? Hastings's friends amounted only to an inconsiderable number, not exceeding probably seventy; though, if ministers

joined them, no doubt could be entertained of the charges being rejected by a great majority. But how would Pitt and Dundas act? What criterion of merit or demerit, of crime or of innocence, would they adopt? Would they judge on the general principles, or on detached features, of the governor-general's public conduct? Would Bearcroft's or Hardinge's standard be preferred? On these points profound ignorance prevailed. Hastings's adherents, relying nevertheless on the favourable sentiments hitherto exhibited or expressed by Pitt towards him on various occasions, anticipated with sanguine hopes, that whenever the separate charges should be brought forward, the minister would take a decided part in his behalf. A short time demonstrated how erroneously they had embraced these opinions.

May.—London presented during the spring of 1786 a scene of general dissipation at the west end of the town. All the gloom which the disasters of the American war had diffused during successive years over the capital, seemed to have dispersed like a dream. The Prince of Wales, then in the prime of youth, led the way in every species of pleasure, and in many species of excess. His father, aware of the injury which such an example might produce among the younger branches of his family, had early removed his second and third sons from England: Prince Frederic being sent in December, 1781, to Hanover: while William Henry, bred to the navy, pursued his professional career at a distance from his native country. Mrs. Fitzherbert, commonly regarded, if not as the heir-apparent's *wife*, yet as united to him by a ceremony substituted in place of a legal marriage, received in all companies the consideration and respect which the sanctity of such a supposed connexion was calculated to inspire. I have already mentioned that she was in her second widowhood when she became known to him. It is a curious fact, that Edward the Black Prince espoused a lady who, like Mrs. Fitzherbert, had previously given her hand to two husbands. "The fair maid of Kent," as she was denominated, mother of Richard the Second, stood in that predicament. There appears, indeed, to

have been among the kings, and in the royal family of England, an extraordinary predilection for widows. Not to mention the unfortunate consort of Edward the Fourth, and Henry the Eighth's last queen; the three uncles of the Prince of Wales, all, either avowedly or secretly, acted the same part. I know that Lady Mary Coke considered herself united to Edward, Duke of York, who died in 1767 at Monaco, by as legitimate a union as the Duchesses of Gloucester or of Cumberland were united to their respective husbands. She was, indeed, much higher born than Miss Walpole or Miss Luttrell, being daughter of John, the celebrated Duke of Argyle, and she possessed extraordinary personal beauty. At more than seventy years of age, when I have been in company with her, she preserved the cheerfulness and vivacity of youth.

Cumberland-house, in Pall-Mall (now the department of the ordnance), might then be considered as the central point of elegant amusement in the metropolis. The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, after passing some years on the Continent, — principally at Avignon, with a view to the re-establishment of his finances, — on their return to England opened their house. A crowd of distinguished persons, male and female, filled the apartments once every week. That the duke was a very weak man, the circumstances attending his unfortunate connexion with Lady Grosvenor, and his marriage with Mrs. Horton, sufficiently attest. Yet, limited as his faculties were, his manner rendered them apparently meaner than they would otherwise have been esteemed. The same remark might be applied to the king his brother, who, had he possessed the grace of the Prince of Wales, would have impressed all who approached him with a conviction of his capacity. The Duchess of Cumberland, like almost every individual of the Luttrell family, by no means wanted talents: but they were more specious than solid: better calculated for show than for use, for captivating admiration than for exciting esteem. Her personal charms, allowance being made for the injury which they had sustained from time, — for in 1786 she was no longer young, — fully justi-

fied the duke's passion. No woman of her time performed the honours of her own drawing-room with more affability, ease, and dignity. The king held her in great alienation, because he believed that she lent herself to facilitate, or to gratify, the Prince of Wales's inclinations on some points beyond the limits of propriety; Carlton and Cumberland houses communicating behind by the gardens. Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, a younger sister of the duchess, — their father having been raised in the preceding year from the rank of an Irish viscount to the dignity of an earl of the same kingdom, — was domiciliated at Cumberland-house. She inherited no portion of the duchess's beauty, elegance, or prudence. Coarse, and destitute of softness in her manners, wanting principle, and devoured by a rage for play, she finally closed her life in a manner the most humiliating as well as tragical.

The *Luttrells* had succeeded, under George the Third, to the character for eccentricity enjoyed by the *Herveys* during the two preceding reigns; of which last mentioned family the Dowager Viscountess Townsend observed, that, "God had created men, and women, and *Herveys*." The present Earl of Carhampton, — who, as Colonel Luttrell, acted so conspicuous a part half a century ago, when he opposed Wilkes at Brentford, in the memorable contest for Middlesex, — still survives, in the possession of all his intellectual faculties, though advanced beyond his seventieth year. In his person, he was rather below than above the middle size; but active, of a pleasing figure, and a high spirit; verifying the adage of "*Petite mine, et grand jeu*." He possessed a mind cast in a very original mould, though uncultivated; and he was an indefatigable votary of pleasure. In 1812, soon after the restrictions imposed by parliament on the regent were withdrawn, Lord Carhampton lying in an apparently hopeless state, at his house in Bruton-street, Berkeley-square, where he laboured under a dangerous internal malady, intelligence of his decease was prematurely carried to Carlton-house. The regent, who was at table when the report arrived, lending rather too precipitate credit to the information, immediately gave away his

regiment, *the Carabineers*, to one of the company, a general officer; and he lost not a moment in kissing his royal highness's hand, on the appointment. No sooner had the report reached Lord Carhampton, than he instantly despatched a friend to Pall-Mall, empowered to deliver a message for the prince. In it he most respectfully protested, that far from being a dead man, he hoped to surmount his present disease; and therefore humbly entreated him to dispose of any other regiment in the service, except *the Carabineers*. Lord Carhampton humorously added, that his royal highness might rest assured, he would give special directions to his attendants not to lose a moment, after it could be ascertained that he was really dead, in conveying the news to Carlton-house.

The residence of the French ambassador at Hyde Park Corner formed, in 1786, another rallying point of pleasure. Ever since the conclusion of peace between the two crowns, Count d'Adhemar filled that distinguished post, to which the friendship of the Duchess de Polignac and the protection of the queen had elevated him. Assuredly he never would have been sent by Henry the Fourth to James the First; nor selected by Louis the Fourteenth to manage the interests of France at the court of Charles the Second. The business of the embassy was principally conducted by his secretary, Barthelemy, who has since performed a conspicuous part throughout the French revolution. After having been banished to the coast of Guiana, he still survives, respected under every government to which France has been subjected during the last five-and-twenty years. I knew him intimately; our acquaintance having commenced at Vienna, where he held the post of secretary to the Baron de Breteuil, ambassador from Louis the Sixteenth to the Empress queen Maria Theresa. Barthelemy was a native of Provence, and nephew to the celebrated abbé of that name, author of the "*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*;" a work, the erudition and ingenuity of which have secured its fame to all future time. D'Adhemar, in conformity with the manners of France, where every species of amusement is customary on Sunday evenings, opened his house weekly on that night

throughout the whole winter. About the same time he was attacked by a paralytic stroke, while standing in the drawing-room at St. James's. Such a disaster might naturally have suspended the entertainments at Hyde Park Corner: but, in order to conceal it as much as possible from his own court, and to impress the world with an idea that the attack could be only slight, his house was opened as usual. A faro table being set in one of the apartments, the company punted at it, while the ambassador lay in an adjoining room attended by physicians. I witnessed the fact. His recovery proving merely temporary, the Chevalier de la Luzerne replaced him in the following year.

10th — 31st May. — Throughout the whole month of May, Burke continued to call witnesses, for the purpose of proving various allegations of a criminal nature against Hastings. He then announced that he should commence his prosecution with the invasion of the territory of Rohilcund, commonly denominated *the Rohilla war*; and as soon as the house had disposed of the charge, he would proceed to *the affair of Benares*, and *rebellion of Cheyt Sing*. One, and only one debate of considerable interest took place, relative to the correspondence carried on between Mr. Middleton, while he was invested with the public character of minister at Lucknow, and the governor-general; which epistolary intercourse, Burke loudly insisted, ought to be produced. With that view, he moved that Middleton should be examined at the bar. But here he was again opposed by the master of the rolls. "I can only compare the demand," exclaimed Kenyon, "for the production of private papers from an individual criminally charged, with the avowed intention of criminating him, to the conduct of the Inquisition, where prisoners are put to the torture, in order to extort from them confessions of guilt. Even the act of breaking open Algernon Sydney's private chamber, ransacking his most secret manuscripts, and seizing on an unpublished paper, — which subsequently formed the ground of his accusation, and ultimately the pretence for his execution, — yet was justifiable, when placed in comparison with the present attempt.

Because, in Algernon Sydney's instance, danger to the state was pretended; whereas in this case no such pretext can be alleged, but an individual is to be made the instrument of his own conviction. Where then, I ask, is the man to be found who would reflectively do the thing which this house is now called on to authorize?"

Burke parried so severe an attack with the arms of wit, rather than with those of reason or of law. "Where," he asked, "was an inference to be drawn from his conduct that could be stigmatized as putting the accused to the torture? Why," continued he, "do I desire to see this correspondence? Is it to pry into the governor-general's amours, or to discover how many dancing-girls he had at his disposal? I do not want to know whether Mr. Hastings was afflicted with the malady of which Francis the First died, or what subjects of personal lamentation he might impart to Mr. Middleton. My object is to trace his official actions, and, by laying open his private instructions to the minister at Oude, to prove how he has dishonoured the British name, violated the British faith, and degraded our national character." Pitt, while he expressed his disapprobation of an attempt at compelling the production of papers, for the purpose of criminating either Hastings or Middleton, softened nevertheless the asperity of Kenyon's animadversions on Burke's motion. "As to the torture of which my learned friend has made mention," added he, "it ought not to be interpreted literally, and means only an endeavour to elicit truth by unfair and illegal methods. Such modes, if used to compel from an individual written evidence against himself, would be as censurable, and as repugnant to justice, as personal torture to extort verbal confession. It is to the court of directors that application ought to be made for the papers in question, if they are of a public nature: for, on the supposition of their being really private, it would be highly unconstitutional to call for them in any manner." The latter idea was, however, by Fox treated with scorn. "All the papers which we demand," said he, "are those belonging to us, to the state, and to the East India

Company. If his majesty had called on me, when no longer secretary of state, to deliver up all the papers in my possession, must I not have obeyed? Were the case otherwise, the inquisitorial powers of this house are paralyzed, and no state delinquent can ever be prosecuted to conviction." Pitt's opinion was nevertheless finally adopted.

1st and 2d June. — At length, after a delay of more than four months, Burke brought forward the first charge against Hastings; namely, *the Rohilla war*. Conscious how vast a responsibility he incurred, and how difficult a task he undertook, in endeavouring to point the indignation of parliament against a man who had maintained the authority of Great Britain over her possessions in the East, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and who had merited the acknowledgments of his employers; Burke called to his assistance all the resources of his comprehensive and illuminated mind. Nor did he despise those adventitious aids, which, by impressing his audience with a deep sense of the awful character of the prosecution itself, might awaken and rivet attention to his own efforts in the cause of national justice. Attracted by curiosity, or friendship, or party; for, even in this instance, where party ought to have been wholly excluded, it still found entrance; — a very great concourse of members took their seats at the usual hour of business. Burke nevertheless entreated a pause for a few minutes; wishing, he said, that the numbers present might bear a becoming proportion to the importance of the matter. Rising when he saw that the benches were crowded, and every countenance indicated attention, he began by a solemn invocation to British justice, from the oppressions of British power. With an affecting earnestness, he at the same time disclaimed all personal malevolence. "My anger," said he, "is not a private, but a public resentment. Not all the political changes of administration which we have witnessed during the last five years; neither summer retirement, nor winter occupation, nor the snow which nature has plentifully showered on my head during that period; — none of these has had power to cool the anger

which as a public man I feel, but which in my individual capacity I never have nourished for a single instant."

After an exordium so well calculated to dispose the human heart, as well as understanding, for receiving those impressions which he wished to make on both; he proceeded to attack the governor-general as a culprit of the first magnitude and atrocity. Throwing over himself, as he well knew how to do, the classic mantle of antiquity, he depicted in glowing colours the noble and venerable character which attached to a public accuser under the Roman republic, so long as a spark of freedom still existed among that people. Unable to adduce any spontaneous testimony in support of the charges that he enumerated, he attempted to derive from the silence of the natives of Hindostan a proof of the alleged acts of violence and oppression. With great ingenuity he converted this negative presumption of innocence into an evidence of guilt. "When I consider," said he, "though Mr. Hastings remained during thirteen years at the head of the Bengal government, that no one complaint has been yet transmitted home against him, I tremble at the enormous degree of power to which I have to contend." The defence recently delivered in by Hastings at the bar, Burke stigmatized as only a nominal exculpation, couched in language becoming an innocent and calumniated person, unjustly accused of heinous offences. No doubt there was to be traced in Hastings's manner, tone, and spirit on that occasion, as well as in the paper itself, something which justified Burke's comment, and which seemed to say, "I am not properly amenable to this tribunal before which I am summoned. My masters are the East India Company, not the house of commons. I have been approved by my employers; what has parliament to do with *me*?" It must indeed be accounted among the causes which eminently conduced to produce Hastings's impeachment, that he always appeared to consider the court of directors, or of proprietors, the only arbiters of his honour and fortune. To kings and to ministers he next extended his views; while he overlooked, or provoked, an individual who, though desti-

tute of political power, and only supported by the prodigious energies of his mind, could nevertheless arrest a successful governor-general of India on his return to England, load him with accusations, drag him before the house of peers, tie up his property, restrain his liberty, marshal the most resplendent talents of the country in array against him, and detain him, during successive years, in painful anxiety, under imputations of every description, notwithstanding his final acquittal.

Burke, having made these personal observations, then entered on the subject of the Rohilla war itself; which measure he held up to abhorrence, as an act of systematic violence, plunder, and wanton aggression, terminating in the extermination of the native inhabitants. A discussion ensued, which occupied two whole nights; the adjourned debate on the *first* of June not being finished till near eight in the morning of the *third*. Many individuals spoke on each side; but Pitt was not found among the number. Hardinge, in a speech of great length, admirably arranged and well digested, repeated all his preceding opinions. Having professed his conviction that an example was due to the national honour, ample proof of the facts charged by Burke having been laid before the house; he strongly adjured that assembly, as the great inquest of the realm, to put Hastings upon his account. "I am far from asserting," added he, "that the late governor-general if impeached, will ever be convicted; but should he be tried and acquitted, yet an example will have been made in his person. If, on the other hand, he is now screened, the disgrace of such a measure will cling, like a poisoned shirt, to the British name and government for ages. It will survive the parties of the day, and form a lasting reproach to the country." On the composition denominated "Hastings's defence," Hardinge was, if possible, even more severe than Burke. "I see in it," said he, "a perfect character, drawn by the culprit himself; and that character is his own. Conscious triumph in the ability and success of all his measures pervades every sentence. He depicts the various classes of men throughout Hindostan, natives or Europeans, as

equally impressed with a sort of superstitious faith in his genius and fortune. If we judge of his administration by the picture which he has here presented of himself, not a crime remains. All is talent, conducted by wisdom and merit." So deep was the impression made by Hardinge's speech, that when he concluded it at three o'clock in the morning, a general cry for adjournment arising, Pitt, though he declared his readiness to postpone the consideration of the subject to another evening, yet submitted, whether, if any of the numerous members whom he saw eager to speak might be desirous of replying instantly to particular points of the very able discourse just pronounced, permission ought not to be granted them for so doing before the house should adjourn. He could not express more unambiguously his high opinion of the effect produced by Hardinge's attack of Hastings.

If, however, that distinguished person found severe assailants, he likewise met with advocates of equal ability. Lord Mulgrave, during the first discussion, and Mr. William Grenville, in the course of the second, each undertook from the treasury bench his justification. Fox having called on Dundas to come forward, and either to condemn the Rohilla war, as he had done in 1782, when chairman of the *secret committee*; or at once to erase from the journals the *resolution* then moved and carried by him, which Fox declared to be the only mode of avoiding the recorded stigma of shameful inconsistency. "I admit," replied Dundas, "that these animadversions seem to be warranted by my conduct in 1782. But, though I then moved for Mr. Hastings's recall, I did it solely on grounds of expediency, and not with the slightest intention of instituting against him a criminal proceeding." — "I will nevertheless acknowledge," added he, "that I neither concur with my two friends, members of the board of control, in the justice or in the policy of the Rohilla war. It must, however, be recollected, that since that period Mr. Hastings has been appointed, by act of parliament, governor-general of Bengal. I consider his appointment as a tacit, if not an avowed pardon. He has subsequently rendered the most splendid ser-

vices to his country. An impeachment therefore, at this distance of time, would produce consequences far more injurious to our national interests in the East, than any advantage could compensate, to be derived from making him an example of parliamentary punishment." It seems impossible to dispute the truth, or to deny the solidity, of Dundas's reasoning, as applied to the Rohilla war. To have punished Hastings for that measure, after it had been virtually approved, or at least obliterated, by his nomination to the office of governor-general; would have been to imitate the most odious act of the base and odious reign of the first of the Stuarts: — I mean, the attainder and condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh.

If the allusions made to Lord Clive by Hardinge, on a former debate, were severe, Lord North's present line of action gave rise to observations not less pointed; Hastings having been three times named by parliament, governor-general of Bengal, after the termination of the Rohilla war, between 1774 and 1781, while that nobleman continued at the head of his majesty's councils. How, therefore, could he now join in impeaching a man whose measures he must have ministerially approved? Yet, as Lord North attended in his place, and took his seat near Burke, it was evident that he intended to support the charge. Such a conduct seemed much more liable to the imputation of inconsistency, than the contradiction of which Dundas was accused by Fox. Lord North became in fact the mark at which the principal blows were aimed, not only from the treasury bench, but from other quarters. "What opinion," exclaimed Powis, "must this assembly form of a minister, who could not have been ignorant that Mr. Hastings was accused by the members of the supreme council, his colleagues, with the whole culpability of the Rohilla war, and yet continued to maintain him in his high employment?" The Earl of Mornington, then member for an obscure borough on the confines of Cornwall, belonging to the Percy family; and who did not foresee that before the century closed, he should be, himself, one of Hastings's successors in the supreme government of India; first presented himself, I believe, on that day,

to the notice of the house. He, as well as the master of the rolls, attacked Lord North with great asperity. Even Hardinge admitted that, "though every other individual present should join against Hastings, the noble lord in the blue ribband must vote for his acquittal on the actual charge." Under this accumulated load of censure, Lord North rose repeatedly, in exculpation or explanation of his conduct, which he justified on plausible, if not on solid grounds. He protested that he had ever condemned the Rohilla war, and had made every effort, as soon as the intelligence reached him, to procure, by means of the court of directors, the recall of Hastings:—efforts, which, he said, were rendered abortive by the court of East India Proprietors, who continued the governor-general in his high situation. Satisfactory as these reasons might however be esteemed, Lord North did not trust to their solidity. He withdrew before the question was put from the chair; probably considering it to be more decorous, though he might lend his sanction to the prosecution of Hastings, not to vote against him in person.

The division, clamorously demanded from every part of the house, at length took place; when only sixty-seven persons were found to support Burke's motion, declaring that "there was ground for charging Warren Hastings with high crimes and misdemeanors on the matter of the Rohilla war." One hundred and nineteen votes negatived the proposition. I formed one of that majority. The aggregate number did not exceed a third part of the whole house of commons, as then constituted. It was therefore evident that near 370 members, out of 558, declined to vote on the question. Great exultation was expressed by Hastings's friends, at the result of this first charge; and various members of the opposite party avowed, that if the event of the next article, which respected the treatment of *Cheytt Sing*, should prove similar to the present, Burke still intended to bring forward one other charge; namely, the *Beguma or Princesses of Oude*. But they added, that if it should be likewise negatived, he was determined to throw up the prosecution; leaving on parliament the responsibility, or, as

he denominated it, the disgrace, of quashing the impeachment. Sanguine expectations were entertained by many of the late governor-general's supporters, that the whole business would speedily terminate triumphantly for him. And it being well known that his majesty considered him as one of the most able and meritorious subjects in his dominions, Hastings's elevation to the British peerage was anticipated with a sort of certainty, whenever his acquittal should be pronounced by the house of commons. It was even predicted, as an imminent event, within the walls of that assembly. Roger Wilbraham, who had been recently chosen member for Helston, when he seconded Burke's motion relative to the Rohilla war, having contemptuously descanted on Hastings's recognized talents of conciliation, instanced three individuals; namely, Sir Elijah Impey, Major Scott, and Mr. Dundas; all whom he had found means to convert from enemies into friends. Wilbraham enjoined, "The honourable governor will, I make no question, give ample proof of his conciliatory talents in the house of peers." Such, indeed, was the opinion generally received throughout the metropolis and the country, during the first days of June.

We must, nevertheless, allow that this supposition reposed on very doubtful or precarious foundations. Pitt, it was true, had voted for Mr. Hastings's acquittal on the late charge; but he had not *spoken* in defence of the Rohilla war. Maintaining throughout both debates a pertinacious silence, he contented himself "*pedibus ire in sententiam*," like an obscure member of parliament. This line of conduct sufficiently indicated how far he was from thoroughly approving Hastings's attack of Rohilcud. Nor did Dundas hold out more reason to expect any systematic support from him, in the progress of the prosecution. He had indeed *spoken*, as well as *divided* against Burke; but, though he thought that the governor-general ought not to be impeached for a measure undertaken so many years antecedent to the accusation, yet he maintained his original condemnation of the act itself. Mr. William Grenville defended both the war, and its author. His character, talents, and

close connexions of consanguinity with the chancellor of the exchequer, all lent weight to his opinions. He had, however undergone a very severe personal reprehension from Fox, for "the dangerous and relaxed maxims of corrupt morality, which he used as arguments in defence of Hastings." "I am concerned to hear such doctrines," exclaimed Fox, "fall from such a person: — doctrines most inauspicious to the country, if, as his rank and abilities highly entitle him to expect, he should at some future time become, himself, first minister."

This hypothetical prediction was accomplished twenty years afterwards, in 1806, when, on Pitt's decease, Mr. Grenville, already created a peer, was placed at the head of the treasury; Fox accepting the office of secretary for foreign affairs, in the same administration. Jenkinson, likewise, defended the Rohilla war, and warmly supported Hastings. Some years earlier, his personal interposition would have materially affected the division. But those times no longer existed, when in every part of the house were found the *king's friends*. The very race had almost become extinct, and another class of men, *the minister's friends*, supplied their place. Pitt, master of a decided majority in parliament, idolized without doors, not embarrassed with an unpopular war, like Lord North; and having only to contend against a party which had lost the affection of the country; lay under no necessity of consulting the royal wishes, or of sacrificing to them his own principles, inclinations, or convictions. He might dictate his pleasure at St. James's. For, to whom could the king, if displeased, have recourse? The Marquis of Lansdown would not have ventured to accept the reins of government, nor did he possess the means of retaining them during a single month, in opposition to Pitt. Never was any minister more powerful, nor more independent of the crown, than Pitt in the year 1786!

13th June. — No sooner had the house of commons met, subsequent to the Whitsuntide recess, than Fox brought forward the second article of impeachment; namely, Hastings's treatment of Choyt Sing, Zemindar or Prince of the

province of Benares. The attendance fell little short of the numbers present at the agitation of the Rohilla war; great and general anxiety pervading the assembly, occasioned by their ignorance of the part which Pitt meditated to take in the discussion. I am indeed of opinion that, with the single exception of Dundas, not an individual on the treasury bench knew, at the moment when the debate began, what sentiments the chancellor of the exchequer would deliver on the occasion. Fox, with his usual ability, stated the charge; consisting principally in the severe, arbitrary, and exorbitant pecuniary fine extorted by Hastings from the Rajah. This fact he detailed with great animation, pointing the indignation of his audience against so tyrannical a measure; and demanding whether they chose to become the avengers of the oppressed, or the accomplices of the tyrant? For the recent vote respecting the Rohilla war, he admitted there might be some pretext, drawn from the length of time which had elapsed since its commission. None could be pleaded on the present occasion. The facts were undeniable and atrocious. From the decision of that evening, France and Europe would learn what system of government was henceforward to be adopted in the East; and whether, upon full proof of guilt, a British house of commons possessed sufficient virtue to punish the author of such enormities.

Pitt rose very soon after Fox concluded; and, though I deeply lamented the line of action embraced by the first minister on that evening, yet scarcely ever did I find greater reason to admire the range of his faculties, the lucid order of his ideas, or the facility, plenitude, and grace of his elocution. After lamenting that his duty imperiously prevented him from obeying the impulse of his inclination, by absenting himself altogether from the present proceedings; — "for," continued he, "I feel the utmost difficulty, as well as repugnance, to decide on judicial questions connected with Asiatic principles and habits, under the impression of feelings and opinions imbibed, as well as matured, under the British constitution;" — yet, he said, he had endeavoured to make himself master of the case. In the progress of his speech,

he laid open the whole system of feudal tenures, together with the nature of military and civil subordination, as recognized throughout Hindostan; the obligations imposed by it, and the extent of power vested in the supreme ruler or sovereign. Reasoning from these assumptions, all which he brought to the touch-stone of history, he satisfactorily demonstrated that Hastings possessed the right to call on Cheyt Sing for aid, both pecuniary, and in men. It was an equally incontestable fact, that the governor-general became justified in imposing a fine upon any refractory or disloyal feudatory. Pitt showed that the contumacy, followed by the rebellion of the rajah, clearly subjected him to deposition. As he proceeded, he neither spared the severest reflections on the individuals engaged in the prosecution; nor did he fail in paying the highest encomiums to the firmness, decision, and vast resources of mind displayed by Hastings, under circumstances the most critical. The comments which he made on Fox, as well as on Burke, for the arts of misrepresentation to which they condescended, in order to prejudice the object of their attack, were strongly pointed. But on Francis, who had seconded the motion, he launched his bitterest animadversions; not hesitating to stigmatize certain parts of his conduct, while acting as a member of the supreme council, with the epithet of malignant, and of a nature impugning the rectitude of his character.

After bearing such distinguished testimony to Hastings's public merits, and rebroating the line of action embraced by his accusers; after proving the right inherent in the Bengal government to fine a contumacious Zemindar, and showing that he had merited punishment; it seemed necessarily to follow that the late governor-general must be pronounced innocent. But the chancellor of the exchequer, disappointing, I believe, equally the expectations of his friends and of his opponents, declared that, however commendable Hastings's motives might be, yet "the fine imposed on Cheyt Sing was exorbitant, unjust, and tyrannical." "I therefore," continued he, "shall agree to the motion before the house. But I confine myself solely to the *exorbitancy* of the fine, approving every preceding

as well as subsequent part of Mr. Hastings's conduct, throughout the whole transaction." The astonishment produced by so unexpected a declaration, it would be difficult adequately to describe. Various persons rose to express their concern at Pitt's condemnation of the governor-general. Only one individual spoke in its commendation. Lord Mulgrave, and Mr. William Grenville, who were both seated near the minister on the treasury bench, successively protested, that whatever concern it occasioned them to differ with him, yet, as honest men, they could not think Hastings deserving of impeachment, nor could concur in the *resolution*. Even the attorney-general (Arden), with more independence of mind than I believed him to possess; and though indebted to Pitt's friendship, far more than to his own legal ability, for every step which he had made towards the great dignities of the law; quitted him on this occasion. He justified his intended vote in a few manly words. Major Scott deplored the ministerial declaration, as forming a hard return, for the meritorious exertions of a great functionary placed in a post of extreme danger; whose transcendent services, while Pitt acknowledged, he now abandoned to his enemies, on account of the *quantum* of a fine levied, not from any corrupt motive, but for the public service, in a moment of distress. Dempster himself, one of the most conscientious men who ever sat in parliament, elevated above all party views, and proverbial for candour, expressed similar convictions. "Mr. Hastings," observed he, "has been the saviour of our possessions in the East; and if he merits impeachment for any act of his whole life, it is for having been so weak a man as to return to this country with a very limited fortune."

I said that only one member of the assembly rose to applaud Pitt's speech, and the sentiments which it expressed; but that member was Powis. After lavishing many encomiums on the spirit which characterized it, he added, sarcastically, his lamentations at perceiving that the chancellor of the exchequer was deserted by his friends. "Two of the ministers for India," continued Powis, "have not only held doctrines altogether

repugnant to those professed by the head of the administration, but have virtually maintained that political expediency sanctions injustice:—a principle to which I never can assent." Irritated at these animadversions, Lord Mulgrave exclaimed, that "the minister seated near him would be wholly unfit to conduct the affairs of this country for a single day, if, when a question such as the present was agitated, where the house acted as accusers, and in some measure as judges, he could expect his friends to sacrifice their opinions." Nor did Mr. Grenville acquiesce in Powis's reflections without severely retorting on him; denying at the same time, as Lord Mulgrave had previously done, his having ever asserted that injustice could derive a sanction from political expediency. Pitt now interposed. "I lament," said he, "that any difference of opinion should have arisen between my friends and me: but it is an honourable difference; not upon a principle; only on the application of a principle. I think the fine of five hundred thousand pounds imposed by the governor-general on Cheyt Sing most exorbitant. My honourable and noble friends think otherwise." Here the debate closed, though at an early hour; the part taken by the minister leaving no hope from protracting the discussion, nor any doubt whatever as to the final issue on the division. In fact, the question being called for, seventy-nine members, of whom I was one, acquitted Hastings; while precisely the same numerical majority which supported him on the first charge, declared him culpable on the second; namely, one hundred and nineteen. The aggregate numbers on both occasions differed only twelve, all of whom were taken from ministerial ranks, and thrown into the opposite scale. On the other hand, as Burke's friends did not exceed sixty-seven on the division relative to the Rohilla war, we must admit that full fifty individuals followed Pitt without hesitation. Dundas never opened his lips during the whole evening; but he took care to vote with his principal.

That fifty, or even a hundred persons, should have supported the chancellor of the exchequer on a measure of state, without nicely weighing its merits, can

excite no surprise. Every first minister of England must be able to rely on such a phalanx, who ask no questions. Such is necessarily the genius of our government and constitution, in practice, though not in theory. But, in a case where ministerial feelings or interests could have no place, and on which the house assumed a juridical character, more severe scruples might have directed their votes. These reflections derive strength, if we consider that the far greater number of those who divided with Pitt were men of high birth and independent fortunes, though not, it may be thought, of independent minds:—for it will scarcely be maintained, that they could conscientiously acquit Hastings on the Rohilla question, and yet impeach him on the charge relative to Cheyt Sing. The fact very forcibly proves how great an influence Pitt exercised over his parliamentary adherents. No minister in our time has equalled him in his empire over the individuals who followed his fortune. I do not except from the force of the remark even the Marquis of Londonderry himself. In the course of a short conversation which succeeded the division, carried on across the table, Burke observed with more than his usual complacency, that the chancellor of the exchequer had accused his want of diligence in carrying on the prosecution, and found fault with his charges. "But," concluded Burke, "as he has given me his vote this evening, I am satisfied to take one along with the other." Instead of a peerage, a place in the privy council, and a seat at the East India Board, Hastings beheld now before him the probable prospect of an impeachment, with its train of vexations, delays, and expenses. Inconsistency, heightened by political ingratitude, were imputed to Pitt. Enmity and rivalry were attributed to Dundas, who, as the public believed, dreaded Hastings's presence and ability at the board of control.

14th — 16th June. — An incident of a singular nature took place at this time, and which, as connected with the late governor-general, occasioned very malignant comments. The Soubah of the Deccan, Nizam Ally Cawn, one of the most powerful princes of Hindostan,

impelled, as he asserted, by a spontaneous sentiment of regard or veneration for the King of Great Britain, transmitted to Calcutta a diamond of great size and value, which he wished the governor-general to present to his majesty. But Hastings having quitted the Ganges previous to its arrival in Bengal, the packet containing the bulse was forwarded to him; and, in consequence of various accidents, did not reach him before the 2d day of June, the evening on which he was acquitted upon the charge of the Rohilla war. A chain of circumstances wholly casual delayed its presentation to the sovereign till the 14th of the same month, the day subsequent to the decision on the business of Cheyt Sing; when Lord Sydney, as president of the East India Board, delivered the packet, together with a letter from the Nizam, to the king. Hastings himself witnessed its presentation at the levee, having sent the diamond, through the intervention of Major Scott, to Lord Sydney. Two days afterwards, it being agitated in the house of commons to postpone the further consideration of the charges against Hastings till the ensuing session, Major Scott strongly objected to a single hour's delay. He even protested that the fate of India, and of the British empire in the East, might depend, as he believed, on terminating the present prosecution before the prorogation of parliament should take place. To these denunciations he added some dark and undefined expressions of alarm at the intelligence recently received from Calcutta; which he represented to be of a description involving the interests, if not the future existence, of the East India Company.

16th — 26th June. — Whatever apprehension such language might be calculated to excite, no attempt was made at the time to enquire into its nature; but, the subject being renewed on the 21st of June, Sheridan, alluding to it, observed, that if Major Scott really knew of any disastrous information from India, he ought to state it to the house. "For my own part," continued he, "I have made every enquiry in my power, with a view to learn whether any extraordinary news has been recently brought over from the East.

But I can learn nothing extraordinary, except the receipt of an extraordinary large diamond, asserted to have been sent to Mr. Hastings, and presented to his majesty at an extraordinary and critical period of time. It is likewise extraordinary, that the individual selected for the purpose of presenting this diamond should be Mr. Hastings." Scott, taken by surprise, made no immediate reply. As soon, however, as he had collected the proper documents for repelling an insinuation so personal to Hastings, and which seemed even to go still higher, he took occasion to allude to it, while addressing the house on the debts and revenues of India. "An honourable gentleman" said the major, "has mentioned the presentation to his majesty of an extraordinary diamond, at an extraordinary period of time. I dare say he did it without serious intention; but as every circumstance attending the transaction has been infamously misrepresented, I trust I shall be permitted to rescue my own character, no less than that of Mr. Hastings, from such calumnious reflections." He then minutely detailed every fact relative to the diamond, producing letters or papers in proof of each separate assertion. Having finished his narration, he subjoined, "I do not comprehend what inferences can be drawn from the whole business, derogatory either to Mr. Hastings's honour, or to that of any other person. I delivered the letter and the bulse publicly to one of his majesty's secretaries of state. Whether the bulse did or did not contain a valuable diamond, I most solemnly declare I am ignorant. Nor can any man suppose that, however valuable such a present might intrinsically be, it could form an object of the least consequence to the great personage in question." The debate continued for a considerable time subsequent to this explanation; but neither Fox nor Sheridan, though, each rose to address the house, adverted to it in their speeches. Newspapers and print-shops formed the channels through which the enemies of Hastings generally transmitted their accusations or insinuations over the kingdom.

With the decision on the charge relative to Cheyt Sing, terminated the pro-

ceedings carried on against Hastings during the session. Burke professed, indeed, his readiness to proceed, though he stated his apprehensions that, at so advanced a period of the year, it would be found impracticable to procure an adequate attendance. If, however, the house should be of an opposite opinion, he said, he was prepared, with the least practicable delay, to bring forward the next article, which regarded the Princesses of Oude. Fox expressing himself a warm advocate for despatch, and Pitt not opposing it; while Major Scott represented the injustice and cruelty of procrastinating the prosecution; Mr. Hamilton (subsequently more known as Marquis of Abercorn) gave notice that he would move for a call of the house. He did so, a few days afterwards, declaring that he was solely impelled by his feelings for an *accused* and *persecuted* individual, to invoke their justice on the present occasion. He testified some surprise at not finding Fox in his place, from whom he had expected personal support; deplored the hard fate of a man who, after having devoted his life to one of the greatest offices which could be held by a subject, which he had executed so meritoriously, found only accusation on returning home; and concluded by making the *motion* for a call. Sheridan immediately rising, denied that his absent friend had ever professed a wish for continuing the prosecution during the present session, unless an attendance could be procured becoming its gravity and importance. In language equally forcible as persuasive, he pointed out the imputations to which the house would be subjected, if, when hardly more than one hundred and twenty members could probably be brought to divide on any of the remaining articles, they should still persist. These reasons perfectly convinced the great majority of the house, though they failed in producing the same effect on Mr. Hamilton.

Sheridan having fully argued the question of the call, then addressed himself personally to that gentleman. "He has denominated Mr. Hastings," said Sheridan, "an *accused* and *persecuted* man. Is such language either decent in itself, or to be endured within these walls? That Mr. Hastings is an *ac-*

cused man, I admit: but how is he a *persecuted* man? I will not, however, endeavour to prove that he is *not persecuted*; because if allusion is intended to the recent vote on the charge relating to Cheyt Sing, the honourable member sits on the same bench with several of Mr. Hastings's *persecutors*, who know much better how to justify their conduct than it would become me to attempt to do it for them." Hamilton, ardently attached as he was to the chancellor of the exchequer, yet possessed great independence of mind, joined with a haughty inflexibility of character. Deeply impressed with a sense of Hastings's services to the state, he disdained to follow the crowd of ministerial dependants who alternately acquitted or condemned him, as their leader dictated. Even the speech pronounced by Pitt on the same evening, which admitted the impossibility of enforcing the proposed call, and concurred with Sheridan in advising to postpone all further proceedings, made no impression on Hamilton. Rising at the close of the debate, and addressing himself first to Sheridan, "It has been proposed to me," said he, "to explain away the word *persecuted*. I do not mean to assert that *the house of commons persecutes* Mr. Hastings. This house, I well know, *persecutes* no individual. But the acrimonious language used respecting him within these walls, I denominate *persecution*." Then turning towards Pitt, who was seated at a very inconsiderable distance from him, he added, "I entertain little doubt that I shall find myself this evening in a minority. Nevertheless, I will divide the house on my *motion*." Only thirty persons were found to sustain it, while ninety-nine voted for suspending the prosecution. Thus terminated the proceedings against Hastings during the session of 1786; and with them may be said to have terminated the session itself, though his majesty did not immediately prorogue the parliament.

July.— If we would name two individuals who, more than any others of their countrymen (unless we except Lord Heathfield), contributed to shed a portion of the glory over the calamitous period of George the Third's reign which intervened from 1775 to 1783, during the prosecution of the American war,

we should select Hastings and Rodney. The one preserved our empire in the East, while the other triumphantly rescued Jamaica from the attack of the combined fleets of France and Spain. We may, however, almost defy antiquity to produce more signal instances of national ingratitude or neglect than were exhibited in their persons. Hastings, recalled by the court of directors as early as the year 1782, in consequence of a vote of the house of commons, was only continued in his high employment by the efforts of the court of proprietors. Rodney was superseded, nearly at the same time, in the moment of victory, by a secretary of state, who did not hesitate to send out as his successor an admiral unknown by distinguished service; and to whom the secretary was indebted for money lost at the gaming-table, as common fame reported, without receiving any contradiction. The former, instead of a peerage, met an impeachment, and was not even placed in the privy council till he had passed his eightieth year. A peerage of the lowest gradation was rather extorted from, than conferred by, the Rockingham administration, on the latter. Neither the one nor the other attained to affluence. The governor-general's best, if not only support, was derived from the annuity granted him by the East India proprietors. The admiral subsisted principally, if not entirely, on his pension, and his naval pay; both which constituted an inadequate provision for a man encumbered with a numerous family. To him, the capture of St. Eustatius proved only a fruitful source of litigation, vexation, and loss. At this very time, one of the many prize causes which by appeal were carried before the privy council, on the part of the owners of property seized at St. Eustatius, was determined against him, to the amount of at least fifteen thousand pounds, including damages and costs. In 1786, Lord Rodney, then verging towards seventy, resided in a hired house at Knightsbridge, where I have participated his dinner, which was very far from splendid. He survived till May, 1792. His dissolution was sudden, he having retired to rest in his usual health, at his house in Hanover-square, without any symptom that indi-

cated approaching death; but, about two or three in the morning, he rang his bell. A black servant, who had attended on him many years with equal affection and fidelity, instantly repaired to his bedside; and finding him almost senseless, ran to procure medical assistance. Before however any aid arrived, he had expired.

Jenkinson was more fortunate, or rather, he was wiser, than either Hastings or Rodney. Scarcely had parliament been prorogued, when he attained the great object of his ambition, the British peerage, without passing, as was then common, through the intermediate stage of an Irish title. A few weeks afterwards, he was made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. At the same time, a new board of trade being constituted, Pitt placed Lord Hawkesbury at its head, as president. So many marks of royal and ministerial favour had been earned by five-and-twenty years of public service, aided by eminent and solid, though not brilliant talents; by unremitting labour, patience, and a variety of attainments, all principally directed to one point. Scarcely any subject, during the course of George the Third's long reign, has supported a heavier load of unpopularity than Jenkinson. Lord North, it is true, when called on repeatedly in the house of commons, declared that all the assertions of secret influence were unfounded; or at least, that he never had discovered any such concealed agency lurking behind the throne. Some of the last words which Jenkinson himself ever uttered in the same assembly, constituted a peremptory denial of the imputation. I was present on the occasion. It took place during the course of the second debate on the Rohilla war, early in June, 1786, only a short time before he went up to the house of peers. In the progress of the investigation, Jenkinson, who had spoken in defence of Hastings, was attacked both by Fox and Sheridan. They, availing themselves of the term *influence*, which he had inadvertently used, accused him of having been, in his own person, the depository of an unconstitutional power of that nature. He instantly rose, and, in animated but temperate language, repelled the accusation. "I treat it," said he, "as I have

uniformly considered all the vulgar allusions of the same description levelled at me, with indifference and contempt. And I defy any man living to prove that either within, or without these walls, I have ever exerted undue or improper influence." No reply was made to this pointed declaration; but conviction did not follow it, the charge not admitting of proof, and resting on general belief. That during many years he enjoyed more of the royal confidence than any other subject, it seems difficult to doubt. Nor did he disclaim it; only protesting that he never had exercised any *undue* or *improper* influence over his sovereign's mind.

On his elevation to the peerage, he assumed for his motto,

"Palma, non sine pulvere;"

which words his enemies translated,

"This is the reward of my dirty work."

Dean Swift had in a similar manner rendered Queen Anne's device of "*Semper eadem*," by the words, "*Worse and worse*." The authors of the "*Rolliad*," who had satirized Jenkinson while a commoner, did not leave him in repose after he had reached the house of lords. They published "a congratulatory ode" on his creation, parodied from Horace's

"*Quem virum, aut heroa;*"

in which poem, describing his admission among the peers, it is asserted that he will "*slavish doctrines spread:*"

"As some ill-omen'd baleful yew,
That sheds around a poisonous dew,
And shakes its rueful head."

Nor did they omit to mention the "mysterious diamonds," presented with a view "to check the impending vote." Lord Hawkesbury, though during his whole life he never sat in cabinet, yet enjoyed as much consideration as any member of the administration, if we except Pitt. Unquestionably the king not only approved, but contributed to his being created a *baron*. Whether his majesty wished him to be raised to the dignity of

an *earl*, an event which took place about ten years later, is not equally clear.

During the four or five concluding years of his life, he retired from the world, and from public affairs in a great measure, enjoying the uncommon felicity to behold his eldest son placed in the high office of secretary of state, as well as lord warden of the Cinque Ports; and advancing with slow, but steady pace, to the head of the treasury. Neither the first Lord Holland, nor the great Earl of Chatham, witnessed the political elevation of their sons. Lord Guilford, indeed, saw his son occupy the highest employments during a space of twelve years; but he survived to be a spectator of Lord North's fall, and might have exclaimed with the King of Pylos, while contemplating the funeral pyre of Antiochus —

"—*cur hæc in tempora duret,
Quid facinus dignum tam longo admisit ævo!*"

On the contrary, Jenkinson's close of life received almost every alleviation which nature or fortune can bestow on that period of our existence. His acquisitions, already ample, were considerably augmented, about three years after he attained to the peerage, by the decease of Sir Banks Jenkinson, to whose title, as well as estate, he succeeded. Even his faculties remained unimpaired when he had passed his eightieth year; but a debility in his limbs, particularly in the knees, rendered him, during a considerable time previous to his death, incapable of moving or rising without assistance. If we reflect that he was near four-and-thirty when he commenced his career, as private secretary to the Earl of Bute; that he attained to an unrivalled height of confidence with George the Third; finally, that he was created a baron before he reached his sixtieth, and an earl before he reached his seventieth year; — we shall readily admit that he must have possessed great, as well as rare, endowments of mind.

While the king, liberated from a calamitous war, and elevated to a pinnacle of popularity which he had never reached during the first twenty-two years of his reign, became annually more an object of general attachment; the Prince of Wales

had plunged himself into irretrievable domestic embarrassments. His income, though not adequate to exhibitions of splendour, yet when increased by the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, might well have enabled him, with economy, to support the dignity of his high station. But profusion characterized every department of Carlton-house, and a debt had already accrued, exceeding two hundred thousand pounds. His majesty, to whom the prince made application for assistance, having returned an immediate and positive refusal, his royal highness embraced the resolution of dissolving his household. This determination he executed without delay; thus converting to his own personal wants or gratifications, the allowance given him by parliament for maintaining the state of a prince of Wales. The nation would, however, have highly approved his renunciation of all the paraphernalia of grandeur, if in consequence any progress had been made in extinguishing his debts. But they continued, on the contrary, during many years to augment, and at length reached a point at which the legislature was compelled to interfere, by nominating commissioners to superintend their liquidation. To so humiliating a situation had personal indulgences reduced the heir-apparent, at twenty-four years of age! The king, who well knew his character, fascinating under many points of view, and therefore calculated to attach, took effectual care to remove from any contact with him all his brothers. Frederic, Duke of York, resided altogether at Hanover. William Henry, brought up to the naval service, commanded the "Pegase," a ship of seventy-four guns; and had recently left Plymouth for his destination, Newfoundland: while Edward, the fourth son, was sent over to Geneva, under the care of a governor. His majesty now entered his three youngest sons, Ernest, Augustus, and Adolphus, as students at the Hanoverian university of Gottingen, to which seminary they repaired. Only the eldest of the seven sons remained at home in a dismantled palace, all the state apartments of which were shut up, his establishment dismissed, and himself reduced in external appearance, to the condition of a private gentleman.

2d August. — A most atrocious,

though happily, impotent attempt, which was made at this time on the king's person, might nevertheless, if it had been directed by a sound intelligence, have transferred the crown to the Prince of Wales. As his majesty alighted at the garden-door leading into St. James's Palace, where he arrived in his carriage from Windsor, a female, who had placed herself there, presented him a petition. Nearly in the same instant, while he was about to receive it, she pushed at him a dessert-knife, which lay concealed under the paper. Fortunately, the blade being weak in the middle, where it had been ground away, doubled or bent, from the resistance made by the king's waistcoat, without inflicting the slightest wound; and before she could repeat the stroke, one of the yeomen of the guard forced the weapon out of her hand. The king displayed the greatest self-collection, observing to the persons present that he had received no injury, and ordered them not to do her the slightest bodily harm. He then dressed himself for his levee, which he held, precisely as he would have done on any other occasion. The woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, being pronounced insane, was transferred to a cell at Bedlam. Her alienation of mind received, indeed, sufficient confirmation from an inspection of the instrument which she had chosen for perpetrating the deed. Every circumstance attending it afforded matter of derision to the opposition. Addresses of congratulation being presented to the sovereign on the event from almost all parts of the kingdom, the individuals who received the honour of knighthood were contumeliously denominated "Knights of St. Margaret." Even the danger itself was treated as imaginary, and his escape as undeserving of national gratitude. In an "eclogue" published immediately afterwards, entitled "Margaret Nicholson" (parodied from the "Daphnis" of Virgil), where Wilkes and Jenkinson maintain the dialogue; after representing the whole transaction under colours calculated to render it ridiculous, Jenkinson exclaims,

"Ah! whither had we fled, had that foul day
Torn him untimely from our arms away!"

What ill had mark'd the age, had that dire
 thrust
 Pierc'd his soft heart, and bow'd his *bob* to
 dust !"

When we consider how personally insulting were these compositions, where wit and poetry combined to hold up the king to the contempt of his subjects, we cannot wonder that he shut the door of his cabinet against their authors and abettors. Every couplet tended to confirm the administration in power. The errors of Fox and his followers, even more than Pitt's resplendent talents, conduced to prolong his administration.

On the day when Margaret Nicholson made the attempt to assassinate his majesty, the Chevalier del Campo, minister plenipotentiary from the court of Spain, arriving at St. James's with the intention of attending the levee, learned the intelligence on his entering the palace. Finding however that the king had not postponed the levee on that account, he went up, stood in the circle, and received those marks of familiar condescension with which George the Third always treated the foreign envoys. On quitting the royal presence, he instantly ordered four post-horses to be put to his carriage; drove down to Windsor; and walking up to *the Lodge*, seated himself in the hall. Conscious that information of the attempt would speedily arrive, either by common report or by a special messenger, and aware that fame might exaggerate the fact, he determined to be in person the bearer of the intelligence to the queen. After waiting patiently near two hours, a royal footman arrived, bringing the particulars of the transaction. Del Campo then announced himself, sent in his name to her majesty, and requested permission to present himself before her. He was immediately admitted, and informed her of the whole matter; adding, that he had attended the levee, conversed for some minutes with the king, and had left him in the best health and spirits. A finer *trait de courtesan* is not to be found in *Dangeau*, or in *St. Simon*. The Duke d'Antin could scarcely exceed it, when paying his court to Louis the Fourteenth. Nor was it lost on the King and Queen of Great Britain. The Chevalier del

Campo, created a marquis, received in the following year the appointment of ambassador from his Catholic Majesty to the court of London, in which capacity he remained here till 1795. I knew him well. He was said to be of English extraction, and of a very obscure origin; but Gondomar, who obtained so powerful an ascendant over the timid and pusillanimous councils of this country under the first of the Stuarts, might have owned that del Campo was not unworthy to occupy the post which he himself had filled. Del Campo, though of a very diminutive figure, possessed pleasing manners, spoke English almost like a native, entertained with great elegance, and always laboured to maintain the most amicable relations between the two courts of London and Madrid.

8th August.—Among the distinguished individuals who at this time were created British peers, the Duke of Queensberry received the title of Baron Douglas. He is better known as Earl of March, having passed his fiftieth year before he succeeded to the dukedom of Queensberry. Few noblemen have occupied a more conspicuous place about the court, and the town, during at least half a century, under the reigns of George the Second and Third. Like Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, he pursued pleasure under every shape; and with as much ardour at fourscore, as he had done at twenty. After exhausting all the gratifications of human life, towards its close he sat down at his residence, near Hyde Park Corner, where he remained a spectator of that moving scene, which Johnson denominated "the full tide of human existence," but in which he could no longer take a very active part. I lived in almost daily habits of intercourse with him, when I was in London, during the last seven years of his protracted career. His person had then become a ruin; but not so his mind. Seeing only with one eye, hearing very imperfectly only with one ear, nearly toothless, and labouring under multiplied infirmities, he possessed all his intellectual faculties, including his memory. Never did any man retain more animation, or manifest a sounder judgment. Even his figure, though emaciated, still remained elegant: his manners were noble and polished;

his conversation gay, always entertaining, generally original, rarely instructive, frequently libertine; indicating a strong, sagacious, masculine intellect, with a thorough knowledge of man. If I were compelled to name the particular individual who had received from nature the keenest common sense of any person I ever knew, I should select the Duke of Queensberry. Unfortunately, his sources of information, the turf, the drawing-room, the theatre, the great world, were not the most pure, nor the best adapted to impress him with favourable ideas of his own species. Information as acquired from books, he always treated with contempt; and used to ask me, what advantage, or solid benefit, I had ever derived from the knowledge that he supposed me to possess of history;—a question which it was not easy for me satisfactorily to answer, either to him, or to myself. Known to be immensely rich, destitute of issue, and unmarried, he formed a mark at which every necessitous man or woman throughout the metropolis directed their aim. It is a fact, that when he lay dying in December, 1810, his bed was covered with billets and letters to the number of at least seventy; mostly, indeed, addressed to him by females of every description, and of every rank, from duchesses down to ladies of the easiest virtue. Unable from his extenuated state to open or to peruse them, he ordered them, as they arrived, to be laid on his bed, where they remained, the seals unbroken, till he expired.

Throughout his whole life he had been a votary, but not a dupe to women. Nor was he incapable of forming an honourable attachment, however licentious might have been his practice. He nourished an ardent, and a permanent passion, during several years, for a lady of distinction whom I well knew, daughter of a first minister of Great Britain, Mr. Pelham. But her father considering him as a nobleman of dissipated habits, character, and fortune, interdicted their union. It must be owned that the duke was fortunate in this prohibition;—for she became the most infatuated gamester in the three kingdoms, unless Lady Elizabeth Luttrell formed an exception. When seated at faro, she sometimes

exhibited all the variations of distress, or rather of anguish, in her countenance. Mr. Pelham having no son, bequeathed to her, and her younger sister, that charming retreat in Surrey, which Thomson justly celebrates when, tracing the vale of Thames, he mentions—

“*Esher's groves,
Where in the sweetest solitude, embrac'd
By the soft windings of the silent Mole,
From courts and senates Pelham finds repose.*”

Miss Pelham, who found neither felicity nor repose among those shades, and whose whole faculties were centered in the occupation of play, dissipated her fortune; and notwithstanding her great connexions of every kind, reduced herself in age to become absolutely dependant for support on her sister's affection.

To return to the Duke of Queensberry. If he had lived under Charles the Second, he might have disputed for pre-eminence in the favour of that prince, with the Arlingtons, the Buckinghams, the Falmouths, and the Dorsets, so celebrated under his reign. Many fabulous stories were circulated and believed respecting him; as, among others, that he wore a glass eye, that he used milk baths, and other idle tales. It is however a fact, that the duke performed, in his own drawing room, the scene of Paris and the Goddesses. Three of the most beautiful females to be found in London presented themselves before him, precisely as the divinities of Homer are supposed to have appeared to Paris on Mount Ida: while *he*, habited like “the Dardan shepherd,” holding a gilded apple in his hand, conferred the prize on her whom he deemed the fairest. This classic exhibition took place at his house opposite the Green Park. Neither the second Duke of Buckingham, commemorated by Pope, whose whole life was a voluptuous whim, nor any other of the licentious noblemen his contemporaries, appear to have ever realized a scene so analogous to the manners of that profligate period. The correct days of George the Third were reserved to witness its accomplishment.

The Duke of Queensberry, during the last years of his life, having reluctantly withdrawn from Newmarket, from the

Clubs, and from St. James's, passed his time with a few select friends, of which number I was frequently one; sometimes, though rarely, venturing into public. His passion for music, when added to his wish of being still seen upon the great arena of the world, carried him occasionally, notwithstanding his deafness, to the Opera-house; where he completely personified Juvenal's

"Quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
Qui vix cornicines exaudiet, atque tubarum
Concentus!"

The duke had his *French* medical attendant always near him, as the successor of Augustus retained his *Greek* physician. The *Père Elisée* answered precisely to Tacitus's description of Charicles. "Erat medicus arte insignis," says the Roman historian, "nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam præbere." When approaching the verge of life, and labouring under many diseases or infirmities, the duke's temper, naturally impetuous, though long subdued to the restraints of polished society, often became irritable. As he had too sound an understanding not to despise every species of flattery, we sometimes entered on discussion, during the course of which he was not always master of himself. But he knew how to repair his errors. I have now before my eyes his last note to me, written by himself in pencil, only a short time before his death. It runs thus:—"I hope you will accept this as an apology for my irritable behaviour when you called this morning. I will explain all when I see you again."—Notwithstanding the libertine life that he had led, he contemplated with great firmness and composure of mind his approaching, and almost imminent dissolution; while Dr. Johnson, a man of exemplary moral conduct, and personally courageous, could not bear the mention of death, nor look, without shuddering, at a thigh-bone in a church-yard. The Duke of Queensberry, like Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, might have said with truth,

"Incertus morior, non perturbatus."

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His decease, when it took place, occasioned no ordinary emotion throughout London, on account of the number of individuals who were interested in the distribution of his fortune. Besides his estates in Scotland and in England, he left in money about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. Nearly seven hundred thousand pounds of this sum he gave away in legacies: the remainder he bequeathed to the present Countess of Yarmouth. Notwithstanding his very advanced age, he would have lived longer, if he had not accelerated his end by imprudence in eating fruit. Of him it might have been said, as of Augustus, "*Causam valetudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi.*"

17th August. — Towards the middle of the month, "the great Frederic," as he was justly denominated by his contemporaries, closed his mortal career. No sovereign in modern ages has been so well entitled to that epithet, if we contemplate the variety of his talents. Francis the First, and Henry the Fourth, of France, were more heroic, and far more amiable: but the universality of Frederic's attainments places him above competition. We have not had any prince since Elizabeth, except William the Third, who can be compared with him; and William, though possessing many sublime endowments, was neither himself a man of letters, nor protected men of literary talents. Frederic's reign, of six-and-forty years, divides itself into four distinct periods. The first, comprising from 1740 to the close of 1745, made him known to Europe, and gave him Silesia. Schwerin acquired that fine province for Prussia, by the victory of Mollwitz. I am old enough to have conversed with officers who fought in that engagement. They all admitted that the king precipitately quitted the scene of action; not indeed, as Horace says *he* left the field of Philippi; but yet so hastily, as induced Schwerin to advise his majesty to wear his arm in a sling during some days, for the purpose of impressing the troops with a belief that he had been wounded. The second period comprises ten years, from 1746 to 1756, passed in learned leisure among the eminent poets, philosophers, and wits, whom he had assem-

bled at Sans Souci. They gave him fame, and he gave them pensions as well as dinners. He received Voltaire with honours such as the younger Dionysius showed to Plato in antiquity; but their friendship terminated even more violently than the union between the tyrant of Syracuse and the Athenian sage. Frederic found it indeed easier to retain Silesia in subjection, than to maintain tranquillity among the men of genius who composed his society. Their jealousies, animosities, and mutual recriminations, were embodied in satirical productions, which still survive and manifest the bitter acrimony that subsisted between Voltaire and Maupertuis.

Throughout the third division of Frederic's reign, commencing with 1756, and terminating in 1763, he scarcely tasted a day's repose; now a conqueror, overrunning Bohemia or Moravia, and menacing Vienna; to-morrow, a beaten fugitive, without a home, and surrounded by hostile armies. If he had gained the battle of Colin in 1757, or if he had succeeded before Olmutz in 1758, Maria Theresa must have abandoned her capital, as her grandfather Leopold had done in 1683, when the Vizier Cara Mustapha entered Austria; and as she herself had been compelled to do by the French and Bavarians, at the commencement of her reign. Frederic would have dictated peace on the bank of the Danube, as Bonaparte did in 1805 and in 1809. On the other hand, Francis the First, upon the morning after the defeat of Pavia, or Henry the Fourth, on the night before the combat of Arques, did not stand in a more desperate position, than was Frederic, subsequent to the defeats of Hohenkirchen, and of Cunersdorff. His escape, political and personal, from the dangers of "the seven years' war," which had nearly swept from the map of Europe, the very name of the Prussian monarchy, holds to prodigy. The fourth and last period of his eventful government (with the exception of one summer passed in the field, when, in 1778, he opposed Joseph the Second, relative to the Bavarian succession), presents him occupied in the pacific cares of a wise, economical, and enlightened prince. Apprehensive of the

restless ambition of the Emperor Joseph, and repulsed in all his efforts to detach France from Austria; he, when approaching the end of his life, most unwillingly turned his views towards England. For no fact is more certain than his partiality to the French, and his aversion to the English nation. Necessity alone compelled him to unite with Great Britain, by signing "the Germanic League," the object of which treaty was to secure the liberties of the German empire. It formed the last act of his foreign policy.

Like Augustus, he expired at the age of about seventy-five; but not as the second Cæsar died, "*in osculis Liviz*." No female, either wife or mistress, approached Frederic's couch. Men performed those offices about his person commonly rendered by the other sex in similar circumstances. Mrs. Piozzi, who visited Potsdam a short time after his decease, says that she saw the *Suetonius*, which was carefully preserved, as being the last book opened by the king before he died; the leaf folded down at the passage containing the particulars of Augustus's end. Both were undoubtedly great actors throughout their whole reigns. Both retained their faculties to the last, and suffered little pain in the act of quitting life. The emperor, indeed, seems to have been only anxious to leave the stage with grace, on which he had so long performed the principal character: and if the particulars recounted of his death are accurate; if he could cause his hair to be combed, his cheeks to be smoothed, and could address his friends in the language attributed to him; we may rather assert that he ceased to exist, than that he died. "*Sortitus exitum facilem, et qualem semper optaverat*," says Suetonius. The king sunk under a complication of diseases," "*morborum omne genus*," aggravated by intemperance. Eel pies and polenta accelerated his dissolution; but, like many other princes of his house, he was finally carried off by water on the chest. In the spring of the year 1787, a man who had been his valet, or *hussar de la chambre*, came over to England, and exhibited in London two figures executed in wax. One represented Frederic seated at his desk, engaged in

writing; the other displayed his dead body extended in the *catafalque* previous to his interment. Both were habited precisely as Frederic had been; but the former figure had on, from head to foot, the identical uniform and clothes of every sort worn by his Prussian Majesty when alive, which became the perquisite of the individual in question, by virtue of his office. He assured me that the king expired in *his* arms, and I questioned him respecting the manner of Frederic's dissolution, as well as his last words. "Monsieur," answered he, "il étoit suffoqué par l'effet de l'eau qui lui montoit aux poudrons. Sentant augmenter la difficulté de respirer, il m'ordonnoit de relever sa tête. Comme je le faisois, il répétoit à chaque instant, *Plus haut, encore plus haut*. Il est mort avec les mots *plus haut* dans la bouche." Such was the end of "the great Frederic."

He was more feared and admired than beloved; nor was he at all regretted. At no period of his life, indeed, did he inspire affection; nor probably, feel it warmly for any individual, male or female. His inhuman treatment of Trenck, whom he seized on neutral ground, and immured in a dungeon of the Star Fort at Magdeburg, where he remained in chains above nine years, excited the abhorrence of all Germany. Trenck took vengeance on Frederic's memory, by holding him up to Europe as another Dionysius. His subjects, however, compensated by honours for their deficiency of attachment towards him. Medals were struck at Berlin, where on one side appears his head, encircled with a radiated crown; while on the reverse, the Genius of Prussia, kneeling, her hands extended, invokes him as a tutelary deity, in the words of Virgil, addressed to the *first* Cæsar,

"Sis bonus, O, felixque tuis!"

Nor are the "*terris datus*," and the *cælo redditus*," omitted, which mark his apotheosis. Flattery never offered such homage even to Louis the Fourteenth. Neither Boileau nor Racine ventured to place him among the gods; though Rubens, in his "Luxembourg Gallery," where the mythology of Greece is strangely blended with Christian allu-

sions, has represented Henry the Fourth taken up to Mount Olympus. Frederic, as I have been assured, gave directions to bury his body on the lawn before the palace of Sans Souci, with his dogs; but a command so repugnant to every sentiment, religious and decorous, was not executed. If we reflect how inferior a rank the Prussian monarchy occupied in the scale of European kingdoms when he acceded to the throne; and how formidable, as well as extensive, he left it at his decease; we cannot be surprised that his subjects exhausted panegyric on his memory. Frederic William, his nephew and successor, one of the most amiable and worthy sovereigns of our time, possessed almost every quality which his predecessor wanted, and wanted almost every quality which his uncle displayed. He failed, it is true, in the campaign of 1792, in Champagne; and was ultimately reduced, three years later, to abandon the confederacy formed against France. But would "the great Frederic" himself, even in the vigour of his age and talents, have succeeded better, if he had been compelled to oppose the revolutionary energies of that republic? It may be justly doubted. His tactics, which at Rosbach acquired him so splendid a victory over the generals of Louis the Fifteenth, would not have enabled him to triumph with equal facility over the troops of an armed nation, animated by a passionate, though ferocious love of freedom. His Thuringian laurels might have been changed to cypress, on the plains of Champagne. Perhaps in no respect was he more fortunate, than in the time when he flourished. If, instead of Prince Charles of Lorraine, of Daun, and of Soltikoff, he had been opposed to Massena, to Ney, and to Bonaparte, who can venture to say what would have been the result? Auërsstadt might have taken place half a century earlier; and of Frederic, like Charles the Twelfth, it might have been asserted, that

"He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

September. — I passed a part of the

autumn at Paris. The affair of the diamond necklace, which during the preceding year had occupied all attention, no longer agitated the minds of its inhabitants. After a long, patient, and minute examination of that mysterious tissue of crimes, the parliament delivered its sentence on Madame de la Motte-Valois. The punishment inflicted, severe and degrading as it was, by no means exceeded, if indeed it equalled, the enormity of her offences. She was branded with a hot iron, and afterwards transferred to the prison of the Salpêtrière, in order there to be confined for the term of her life. Marie Antoinette little imagined that, in the revolution of six years, she should herself be committed to a more severe place of imprisonment, preparatory to ascending the scaffold. The Cardinal de Rohan, who had evidently been made the dupe and the victim of a train of artifices, was declared innocent; but, though judicially acquitted, he could not be exempted from the imputation of most culpable temerity and fatuity. Nor was he permitted to remain at Paris. By order of the sovereign, he departed immediately for his abbey of *La Chaise Dieu*, situate in the sequestered province of Auvergne. The parliament having, in legal phrase, *purged* him from the accusation, the Parisians said, that "le parlement l'avoit purgé, et le roi l'avoit envoyé à la Chaise." Mademoiselle d'Oliva, who had personated the queen, was put out of court; the tribunal before which she appeared being convinced, that though she aided the accomplishment of Madame de la Motte's nefarious schemes, yet she did not participate in their guilt. While imprisoned in the Bastille, she was delivered of a son; and about four years subsequent to her liberation from that fortress, she died at the village of Fontenay, near Paris, in a state of extreme destitution, aged scarcely twenty-nine years. A more just, moderate, and upright sentence than was pronounced by the parliament of Paris, never, I believe, emanated from any court. We have witnessed judgments in our own time, pronounced from the King's Bench in Westminster-hall, to which all those epithets could by no means be applied.

Notwithstanding the incontestable

proofs of the queen's utter ignorance of the whole atrocious project of Madame de la Motte, yet such were the strong prejudices entertained throughout France against that high-spirited and imprudent princess, that many persons either doubted, or affected to call in question, her innocence. Hume somewhere says, "An English *Whig*, who asserts the reality of the Popish plot under Charles the Second; an Irish *Catholic*, who denies the massacre in 1641; and a Scotch *Jacobite*, who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, — must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices." I should add to this list of persons impervious to common sense, the believer in Marie Antoinette's complicity with a vile female adventurer, in a series of fraud and villany meriting the galleys. While I am engaged on this subject, I cannot omit to mention that the forgery of Madame de la Motte was not the first attempt made to counterfeit the queen's signature. Eight years earlier, in March, 1777, a lady, wife of a treasurer-general of Louis the Sixteenth's household, by name Victoire de Villars, sent a billet, signed Marie Antoinette, to Mademoiselle Bertin, her majesty's milliner, ordering some articles of dress. Deceived by the similarity of the hand-writing, she complied with the order. Madame de Villars was then about twenty-eight years of age, handsome, gallant, and expensive. The queen, when informed of the fact, reprimanded, and pardoned her. Not deterred by such a proof of royal lenity, she repeated the experiment; but Maurepas, then first minister, judiciously concealed the fact from Marie Antoinette, and sent the lady to the Bastille. There she remained twenty months, at the end of which time she was transferred to a convent at Paris. She died a short time afterwards in that confinement. Soon after the termination of Madame de la Motte's trial, the Queen of France brought into the world a daughter, who, happily for herself, survived her birth only a short period. Louis the Sixteenth had already two sons: the dauphin, whose ill health and defective configuration did not promise long life; and the Duke of Normandy, born in the

preceding year. But he now calculated with such certainty on a third male heir to the throne, that he had already determined on giving the child the title of Duke of Lorraine; a dignity which never had been conferred on any French prince since the acquisition of that duchy, and its incorporation with the monarchy. His disappointment and vexation were so great, on learning the sex of the new-born infant, that for some time he refused to enter the queen's bed-chamber. When at length, yielding to the entreaties of those about him, he allowed himself to be conducted to her apartment, he manifested the same ill humour. Holding out her hand to him, "Comment," said she, "vous me boudez parceque je ne suis pas accouchée d'un garçon? Cela depend-il donc de moi? N'est-ce pas Dieu qui dispose de ces affaires?" Louis, who was most warmly attached to his consort, and too reasonable to resist such an appeal to his understanding, soon resumed his wonted complacency. The court of Versailles in 1786 still exhibited a scene of dissipation; but in the augmenting disorder and embarrassment in the finances announced an approaching convulsion. Calonne, to whom their management was entrusted, however able, intelligent, and active he might be, inspired little confidence, because his character for principle and economy by no means equalled his talents.

The Duchess de Polignac, who had passed some time in London, on a visit to the French ambassador, during the summer, returned hastily to France, when she received intelligence of the queen's accouchement. Her favour seemed to augment every year. Scarcely did the Duchess de Chevreuse, under Louis the Thirteenth, possess a greater ascendant over Anne of Austria, than Madame de Polignac exercised over the affections of Marie Antoinette. Notwithstanding the fatal velocity with which France was annually, though insensibly, propelled towards the gulph of revolution and subversion; yet her councils, sustained by the recollection of American emancipation, which her arms had so recently effected, and directed by Vergennes, still maintained a character throughout Europe for wisdom and vigour. Im-

mense sums were expended at Cherbourg, where, in defiance of nature, the French ministers appeared to be determined on forming a great naval port and arsenal, worthy the genius of Richelieu. Sixteen millions sterling were said to be destined for their completion, and two hundred and forty pieces of cannon for their defence. New cones and cassoons sunk in order to form an artificial harbour, perpetually supplied the place of those swallowed up or destroyed by the fury of the winds. With a view to accelerate the progress of so vast a national work, the king, surmounting his habitual inactivity, visited Cherbourg in the course of the summer. Such was the imposing but fallacious aspect of France at this period.

November and December.—An unusual sterility of political transactions deserving notice characterizes the close of 1786. Some changes had taken place among the opposition ranks in both houses of parliament. By the decease of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Surrey quitted the lower house, where his devotion to Fox, joined to his talents, and a course but manly eloquence, rendered him conspicuous, as well as useful. If, however, he occasioned a vacancy in that assembly, he re-appeared under a higher title in another, which during more than eighty years had not beheld within its walls the first peer of Great Britain. Lord Keppel finished likewise his career at this time, and with him became extinct the *viscounty* which Lord Rockingham and Fox had compelled George the Third to bestow on him,—not for his victories over the enemy, but for his sufferings in the cause of party. His name will never be pronounced by posterity in conjunction with those of Hawke, Rodney, Duncan, or Nelson; and it might have been as well for his naval reputation, if, instead of placing him at the head of the English fleet in 1778, for which command his state of health rendered him unfit, Lord North and Lord Sandwich had left him in repose.

Eden having surmounted all the impediments opposed to a commercial treaty between England and France, ventured, under cover of so meritorious a public service, to revisit London dur-

ing the recess of parliament. Whatever obloquy or reproaches he underwent from his former political friends, he was most graciously received at St. James's ; where he presented to his majesty a portrait of Louis the Sixteenth, sent by that prince as a pledge of amity on the present auspicious occasion, when the two countries entered into bands of trade. Eden deservedly acquired great reputation by his success in this complicated, difficult, and important negotiation, which demanded talents of no ordinary kind. He had, indeed, to combat prejudices, enmities, and obstacles, such as few individuals could have overcome. How little success the Duke of Dorset, then our ambassador at the court of Versailles, anticipated from Edne's mission, may be inferred by the manner in which he mentions it, when writing to myself. His letter is dated "Paris, 6th of April, 1786," not long after Eden's arrival in the French capital. "Eden was presented last Tuesday. He was very graciously received by the king and queen. *His treaty* will never come to any thing, though he has the most sanguine hopes about it. He is convinced all will be settled in six months. Such an idea, I have already told him, is the height of folly." The duke, who did not relish so able an interloper in his sheepfold, would probably have witnessed without deep concern the accomplishment of his own prediction. As I concluded the year 1785 with Eden's defection and appointment, so I shall finish the present year with his successful, or rather, triumphant re-appearance on the theatre of public life in London.

January, 1787. — While composing the present memoirs, I have endeavoured carefully to avoid any unnecessary mention of myself, well knowing how little interest the concerns of the author can individually excite in the minds of posterity. I am nevertheless about to violate this rule, in order to relate a circumstance in which I was the sole actor. During the first days of January, I amused myself by writing a "Short Review of the Political State of Great Britain at the commencement of 1787." In it I delineated with an impartial, but, as I readily admit, an imprudent pen, the

character of George the Third, of Pitt, and of Fox ; unmixt with the slightest tinge of enmity, or of flattery. Of the Prince of Wales I spoke with due admiration, when describing the graces of his figure, manner, conversation, and deportment, all of them formed to captivate mankind ; but, with becoming severity, of the faults and errors of his character.

The production being completed in a very few days, without communicating my secret to any person whatever, I called on Debrett, a bookseller who had succeeded to the noted Almon in Piccadilly. I made him a present of the manuscript, under one condition only, — that of secrecy. Neither he nor I indeed foresaw, nor even imagined, the effect that it would produce ; and still less did we anticipate its extensive sale. A few copies of it were sent, by my direction, to certain individuals, on Saturday, the 20th of January ; but the pamphlet was not published till Monday, the 22d of the month. Yet, in the short space of ten days, by the 1st of February, six editions, each consisting of one thousand or fifteen hundred copies, were already sold. On the 23d of February, appeared a French translation of it, entitled "*Coup-d'Œil sur l'Etat Politique de la Grande Bretagne au commencement de l'Année 1787.*" Traduit de l'Anglois sur la sixième édition. — The French translator enriched his work with annotations. Six *Answers* were made to the pamphlet, within four weeks from its publication ; one of which was universally, and, I apprehend, justly attributed to Lord Erskine, then attorney-general to the Prince of Wales. To Francis, since became Sir Philip Francis, common report assigned another of these *Replies*. Major Scott assumed the fact, and reasoned on it, when addressing the house of commons in his defence of Mr. Hastings, on the 8th of February. Nor did Francis deny it. Scott having stigmatized the Reply "as a most atrocious and infamous attempt to oppress a man already persecuted ;" then added, "We all know that a pamphlet was published lately, which, though not universally approved, has been universally read. It has already gone through *seven* editions ; and I am assured that the publisher expects to sell *twenty thousand* copies of it.

Among those suspected, or named as its author, Mr. Hastings himself, and various of his friends, have been mentioned. The publisher has however publicly and unreservedly declared, that neither Mr. Hastings, nor any person either directly or indirectly connected with him, composed that work." In fact, conscious that the writer had made numerous enemies, by the boldness and impartiality of the portraits there sketched, I retained the secret in my own bosom; and this *posthumous* avowal is the first that I have ever publicly made on the subject. The "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," the "Letters of Junius," the "Pursuits of Literature," and many other anonymous productions published in my time, though confidently attributed to particular individuals, have never been owned. I believe, we have no certainty that "Gulliver's Travels" were written by Swift: yet no doubt is entertained on the point.

Debrett assured me that the servants sent from every part of London to procure the pamphlet in question, burst into his shop, and almost tore it off the counter; many, as he believed, without paying for it. His shop became indeed, during successive days, a scene of altercation and dispute relative to the author; some individuals extolling, while others equally condemned the work. All nevertheless admitted that the person who composed it well knew the characters whom he described. The Prince of Wales expressed great indignation at the parts of the performance which related to himself. He even sent his attorney-general repeatedly to Debrett, peremptorily demanding to know from him the name of the writer; menacing, if he withheld it; to make him personally responsible, and to prosecute him for a libel. But Debrett replied, that the author having given him the work, which to him had proved a source of such profit; and having bound him to secrecy; he neither could, in honour, or in gratitude, betray the trust reposed in him. The Prince's threats, perhaps intended only for purposes of intimidation, produced no consequences. Seven years afterwards, conversing with Debrett on the subject, I asked him what number of copies he had sold? He answered, "At least, as

he believed, seventeen thousand;" but he added, that "not having entered the work at Stationers' Hall, as he ought to have done, it was surreptitiously printed at Edinburgh, and at Dublin, where vast numbers were sold." I desired him to state on paper, as a matter of curiosity, the extent of the sale in *his own shop*. He did so, and I transcribe the note from his original now lying before me.

"SIR,—In answer to your question, I am of opinion that upwards of seventeen thousand copies of the "Short Review," &c. were sold by, Sir, your much obliged and most humble servant,

"JOHN DEBRETT.

"Piccadilly, Jan. 28, 1794."

I now resume the thread of my narration.

8th January.—Early in the present month died Sir William Draper; a man hardly better known to posterity by his capture of Manilla, than by his correspondence with *Junius*. Sir William was of obscure extraction, but endowed with talents which, whether exerted in the field or in the closet, entitled him to great consideration. His vanity, which led him to call his house at Clifton, near Bristol, "Manilla Hall," and there to erect a cenotaph to his fellow-soldiers, who fell before that city during the siege, exposed him to invidious comments. But Lord Amherst, in whom vanity was not a predominant passion, gave in like manner the name of "Montreal" to his seat in Kent. Sir William was doubtless impelled by the desire of displaying his intimacy with the Marquis of Granby, to take up his pen in that nobleman's defence. *Junius's* obligations to his officious friendship was indelible: for, however admirably written may be his letter of the "21st of January, 1769," which opened the series of those celebrated compositions, it was Draper's answer, with his signature annexed to it, that drew all eyes towards the two literary combatants.

Great as were *Junius's* talents, yet, if he had been left to exhale his resentment without notice or reply, he might have found it difficult to concen-ter on himself the attention of all England. — But, the instant that Sir William avowedly entered the lists as Lord Granby's

champion, a new interest was awakened in the public mind. From the employment which he had voluntarily undertaken of defending his *friend*, he was speedily compelled to defend *himself*; *Junius*, after exposing the commander-in-chief to national condemnation or derision, turning round upon Draper. — In vain did the imprudent auxiliary pressed by questions of the most painful description, which he had drawn upon his own head, endeavour to provoke his invisible adversary to meet him in Hyde Park. *Junius*, while he admitted that the appeal to the sword was consistent enough with Sir William's *late* profession, demanded, "After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do *you* presume to call yourself a soldier?" Nor did he fail to point out the absurdity of attacking an anonymous writer, and then expecting him to quit his incognito, and to declare his real name. Sir William was so injudicious as to renew the correspondence, six months after its first termination. But he derived no advantage from it. *Junius* treated him as the Marchioness de Chaves's secretary treated Gil Blas; — disarmed and dismissed him. Yet, Draper's letters, if they could be considered separately from those of his antagonist, are classical and elegant productions. When perused, as Sir William's must ever be, in conjunction with the answers made by *Junius*, they shrink into comparative inferiority.

23d January. — The session of parliament at length opened under circumstances of extraordinary tranquillity and unanimity. It eventually proved one of the shortest that has taken place during the present reign, having only lasted a few days more than four months; while Lord North's parliaments, which were usually convoked in November, rarely rose before July. The treaty of commerce, recently concluded by Eden, formed the prominent feature of his majesty's speech. Perhaps, however, I ought not to omit the intended formation of a settlement on the coast of New Holland destined to receive the malefactors with which the prisons of the kingdom overflowed; a measure rather indicated than announced, but which was carried into execution at

this time. As the inability of the leaders of *opposition* to divide the house with the slightest hope of success was well known, the attendance bore a proportion to their diminished consideration. Fox and Burke indeed were present, but Sheridan did not appear in his place. Mr. Matthew Montagu seconded the address to the throne. It was of *him* that General Montagu Mathew, brother to the Earl of Landaff, said in the last house of commons (upon some mistakes arising relative to their identity, produced by the similarity of their appellations), "I wish it to be understood that there is no more likeness between Montagu Mathew and Matthew Montagu, than between a chestnut horse and a horse chestnut." Mr. Montagu's paternal name was Robinson; but the celebrated Mrs. Montagu, his aunt, who so long occupied the first place among the "*gens de lettres*" in London, having adopted him as her heir, he received her husband's name. At her feet he was brought up; a school more adapted to form a man of taste and improvement, than a statesman or a man of the world. At her decease he inherited not only her ample landed property, but her palace (as it would be denominated at Rome or at Naples), situate in Portman-square. Yet thus highly favoured by fortune, and presumptive heir to an Irish barony (Rokeby), he has always resembled Pope's *Curio*, of whom the poet says that

—— "Curio, restless by the fair one's side,
Sighs for an *Otho*, and neglects his bride."

Mr. Montagu's sighs have not indeed been directed to the attainment of a medal, but to the acquisition of a more solid object.

This gentleman, after eulogizing in animated language "the commercial treaty," as forming more than a compensation for the monopoly of the American market, lost to Great Britain; by a natural transition, reverted to the minister whose genius had effected so beneficial a work. Regardless of the embarrassment which his own praises, however merited they might be, must excite in the chancellor of the exchequer, who sat just below him, Montagu dilated on his resplendent pub-

lic services. "These," he said, "justly entitled him to equal honours with those earned by his illustrious father. Exalted as the Earl of Chatham's glory had been in war, not less should the son attain in the annals of peace." It might have been thought that such a panegyric, when aided by time and circumstances, formed no bad foundation for an English peerage. Yet, though Mr. Montagu has been a member of various parliaments, and has represented many Cornish boroughs between 1787 and 1812; never apparently losing sight of his object, and occasionally directing his eloquence to its attainment; his efforts have hitherto failed of success. Whether this fact is to be explained by his want of ability, of address, or of perseverance, it is certain that the doors of the British house of peers seemed to be closed against him. He still remains a commoner. Fox, while he paid some compliments to Montagu's maiden speech, did not treat with the less derision his predictions of the future financial or commercial benefits that would flow from Eden's treaty. He even indulged in some very severe animadversions on the policy of entering into such connexions with France; described ministers as in *the honeymoon* of their new union with that power; depicted Louis the Sixteenth as more formidable than Louis the Fourteenth had ever been; and declared that he thought it necessary to protest against the French mode of talking, introduced on that evening. He concluded nevertheless by giving the address his affirmative.

Pitt, who did not fail to perceive this inconsistency, instantly exposed it with all the force of ridicule. He then entered with great ability on the defence of the system itself, which he depicted as fraught with advantages to both countries. "France and England," said Pitt, "have by their past conduct acted as if nature had intended them for mutual destruction. But, I trust, the time is now arrived when they shall justify the beneficent order of the universe, and demonstrate to mankind that they can systematically cultivate a friendly intercourse, cemented by mutual benevolence." Having discussed the

subject in a manner equally lucid and masterly, yet less diffusely than Fox had done; "I am happy," concluded he, "that notwithstanding the vehemence with which the right honourable gentleman has *argued against* the address, he is ready to *vote for it*. I hope he will continue the same line of action throughout the session. For, if he makes a practice of voting in direct opposition to his own speeches and arguments, we may look for a greater degree of unanimity than we can otherwise expect." With this sarcastic remark the debate closed, no person rising on either side of the house to prolong it, though Fox offered a few words of explanation. His inferiority in strength could not be more clearly manifested, nor the parliamentary supremacy of the minister more triumphantly exhibited. The mutability of human affairs was forcibly exemplified on that day. Three years earlier, upon the 23d of January, 1784, Fox, then completely in possession of a devoted majority, after throwing out Pitt's "East India Bill," might have carried almost any vote, however violent, against him. In January, 1787, Fox's numbers had sunk so low, that he did not venture on a division; while his antagonist, confirmed in power, popular, and master of both houses, beheld himself, though not yet twenty-eight, more completely arbiter of the cabinet than his father had ever been at any moment of the last or of the present reign.

26th January — 6th February. — Sheridan, to whom was committed the task of bringing forward the third charge against Hastings, gave notice of his intention to move it early in February. It was only delayed during a few days, in consequence of a wish expressed to examine previously Mr. Middleton, who had been resident or minister at Lucknow, and likewise Sir Elijah Impey; both of whom appearing at the bar, underwent a most severe interrogatory. Pitt manifested, on the other hand, no less impatience to enter on the examination of the commercial treaty with France; but Fox strenuously resisted any precipitation relative to a point of such magnitude and importance. With great earnestness he deprecated the

slightest violation of the subsisting treaties with Portugal, and loudly demanded, as a necessary preliminary to all debate on a subject so new, as well as so intricate, that a call of the house should take place. After various ineffectual attempts, during several successive days to attain it by concession on the part of the minister, who maintained that it was unnecessary, the question came to issue. A more angry and personal altercation than arose on that evening, could scarcely have occurred in a French "constituent assembly;" Cornwall the Speaker not interposing his authority, as he ought to have done, for moderating such intemperate warmth. Pitt having moved "to take into consideration on the 13th of February, the treaty recently signed between his majesty and the most Christian king," Lord George Cavendish, uncle to the Duke of Devonshire, proposed to substitute as an amendment the words, "20th of February." Lord George, who then represented the county of Derby, possessed very limited talents; but his rank, his fortune, and the hereditary probity of the Cavendish family, which in no individual of that line was more recognized than in *him*, supplied the place of ability. Nor had Fox a more zealous adherent within those walls.

Burke exhibited a total want of self-control throughout the whole discussion. "The chancellor of the exchequer," said he, "with that confined intellect which leads men of narrow views to look at great objects through contracted mediums, seems to consider this treaty as a mere commercial matter. He regards it as the concern of two little counting-houses, not of two rival states; as if the sign of the *Fleur de Lis*, and the sign of the *Red Lion*, were contending which house should obtain the best custom. I see it in a more national point of view. We are about to unite with that power, against which, nature, not less than policy, has designed us to form a balance." The minister having in the course of the evening severely attacked Fox, "When animadversion," exclaimed Burke, "is seasoned by wit, the satire, though keen, becomes softened. But when gross, miserable, and stupid abuse assumes the character of

admonition, it recoils on its author. The chancellor of the exchequer declares that he had the *misfortune* to sit for a short period, in my friend's place. No doubt he spoke from his feelings: for, to an aspiring young man, never easy except in the possession of power, a situation on this side of the house must necessarily be irksome. Mounted as he is on a stage, and exhibiting with his *merry-men* about him, by the aid of a ladder which a *state carpenter* has contrived; scarcely does he deign even to look on creatures so low as the opposition."

Wilberforce interposing, expressed his concern that a person possessed of such endowments should be enslaved by his own temper. But Pitt did not commit his defence to any lips except his own. "I appeal," said he, "to the judgment of all present, whether a speech more abusive, more personal, or more outrageous, has ever been heard. *With his character, he has lost all command over himself, and he now rarely speaks without exciting an equal mixture of disgust and of compassion.*" Fox, with calmness and moderation, endeavoured to protect his friend, if he had been capable of hearing reason. Instead, however, of repressing his violence, he gave it the rein. Yet, not without demonstrating that even in his fall, he knew how to draw his robe with grace about him. "I thank the chancellor of the exchequer," said Burke, "for his *compassion*: I even regard the obligation as greater, because he has so little to spare. With respect to his *contempt*, that being a commodity in which he deals largely, I return it on his hands, as of no sort of value." A division taking place, ministers carried the question by a vast majority; only eighty-nine individuals supporting Lord George Cavendish's motion, while it was negatived by two hundred and thirteen.

That Burke exposed himself to much censure on that evening by his intemperate conduct, whereas Fox displayed great self-control, cannot be disputed. We must not, however, overlook the essential difference in their positions, and in their formation of mind. Fox, endowed by nature with uncommon suavity and placability of disposition, was rarely thrown off his guard, and he might still be considered as young, having only just

completed his thirty-eighth year. The death of his nephew, Lord Holland, then a boy of thirteen, might at any moment have placed him in the house of peers, and once more have put him in possession of an ample fortune. A change of sovereigns would infallibly raise him again to power, and render him master of the cabinet. Marriage, a state for which he betrayed no aversion, opened to him the means of repairing all his losses at play, if he contracted an advantageous alliance. The buoyancy of his temper, sustained by conviviality, society, and amusement, did not allow him to sink under the inconveniencies of poverty. Carlton-House, and Brookes's Club, still prolonged his nights; while Mrs. Siddons attracted him to the theatre, and, in *Belvidera*, or in *Calista*, charmed away for the moment all painful recollections of political defeat, or exclusion from office. How often have I seen him, seated in the orchestra of Drury-lane theatre, among the musicians, for the purpose of more accurately hearing and viewing that incomparable actress, pay her the copious tribute of his tears!

But, widely different was Burke's situation, and far less exhilarating were his prospects. His original patron, the Marquis of Rockingham, being dead, he could only look to the Duke of Portland for future remuneration, if ever the party of which he constituted the head should again force their way into the royal closet. Linked with Fox, their destinies appeared to be inseparable; nor did Burke foresee, at that time, how soon the ties which united them would be rent asunder. Still less did he anticipate, that the "aspiring young man, surrounded by his *merrymen*, and mounted on Jenkinson's shoulders," would extend support to his declining age, and smooth the evening of his day. Scarcely more than six years elapsed, before I saw Burke seated on the treasury bench, between Pitt and Dundas. In 1787, he was verging towards sixty, and could not, like Fox, extend his views to any remote futurity. His temper, naturally irritable and impatient of contradiction, became sharpened by disappointments. Nor could he find resources in the clubs of St. James's-street, in the boxes of Drury-lane theatre, or in

the orgies of Carlton-house. At his retreat near Beaconsfield, he would, indeed, have tasted all the felicity which a classic mind could derive from retirement, letters, and a learned leisure; but, contracted finances, together with the toil of parliamentary attendance, embittered his enjoyments. Of fame he had sufficient, and he was weary of political opposition; yet unable to retire from parliament, which to him had afforded no harvest, except bays. So pressing, indeed, were his wants become in 1793, that I have been assured he sold the two pensions of eighteen hundred pounds each, for three lives, then granted him by the crown, without almost a week's delay. They were put up to sale on the Exchange, and produced about thirty-six thousand pounds. The present Earl of Hardwicke is one of those three lives, as his son the late Lord Royston was another. To the French Revolution and its sanguinary excesses, he therefore owed the independence of his last years. He even owed more; for, the efforts of mind that he exerted to stem the torrent of subversion, and to awaken resistance among the powers of Europe, redeemed his charter in the estimation of the country. After the king's recovery from his first great intellectual malady in 1789, Burke had fallen very low in the general opinion. I repeat, however, that all circumstances considered, Burke appears most resplendent, as well as exempt from imputations of inconsistency, previous to Lord North's resignation.

7th February. — The acrimonious debate to which I have alluded, was followed, on the subsequent evening, by the most splendid display of eloquence and talent which has been exhibited in the house of commons during the present reign. This pre-eminence seems to be accorded by all parties to Sheridan's memorable speech respecting Hastings's treatment of the Begums or Princesses of Oude. It occupied considerably more than five hours in the delivery, attracted the most intense attention, and was succeeded, at its close, by a general, involuntary pause or hum of admiration, which lasted several minutes. Unquestionably, it formed a most extraordinary effort of human genius, labour, and wit, stamped throughout with the character-

istic marks of Sheridan's genius ; for no man accustomed to his style of composition, oral or written, could for an instant mistake the author. In many parts and passages it was absolutely dramatic ; not less so than the "Duenna," or the "School for Scandal." Those pieces belong indeed to comedy, while the charge in question partook, it may be said, of the nature of tragedy. Yet so admirably could Sheridan adapt his theme to circumstances, that he contrived to lend point to incidents the most revolting, and excited smiles while detailing scenes of the deepest distress. Burke, it is true, frequently passed with rapid transitions, from indignation or invective, to raillery, or levity. But *he* was borne away by an ardent imagination that often outran his reason. Sheridan's invocations, allusions, and exclamations the most pathetic, though clothed with all the garb of nature or of passion, were not less the fruit of consummate art and mature reflection. He neither lost his temper, his memory, nor his judgment, throughout the whole performance ; blending the legal accuracy of the bar, when stating facts or depositions of witnesses, with the most impassioned appeals to justice, pity, and humanity. Availing himself with dexterity of the ample materials which the subject offered him ; presenting objects to the imagination under forms the most picturesque, appalling, and impressive ; he led captive his audience, of whom a large proportion was very incapable of discriminating truth from misrepresentation or exaggeration. The very scene of these transactions, which lay in Asia, on the banks of the Ganges, or the Jumna ; the personages who performed the principal parts, — viziers, princesses, eunuchs, and rajahs ; zenanas and harems entered by violence ; jaghires arbitrarily resumed, and treasures seized on by military force ; — all these accessories, when decorated with the charms of oratory, subdued his hearers, and left them in breathless admiration, accompanied or followed by conviction.

I have said that many passages were dramatic. It was thus that he compared the governor-general of Bengal successively to a number of animate, or inanimate things. "He is," said Sheri-

dan, "a mixture of the *trickster* and the *tyrant* ; at once a *Scapin*, and a *Dionysius*. A crooked, circuitous policy regulates all his actions. He can no more go straight forward to his object, than a *snake* can proceed without writhing in curves, or can imitate the undeviating swiftness of an arrow. He boasts of his resources — namely, Cheyt Sing and the Begums — precisely as a *highwayman* would boast of Bagshot and Hounslow." — "The unfortunate inhabitants of Oude remind me of collection of birds, who observing a felon *kite* in the air, dread his approach, as they behold him mount with redoubled vigour on the wing, accumulated vengeance depicted in his eye, prepared to pounce on his destined prey with assurance of success." Having described the acts of horror perpetrated in the palace of Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, "Great God of justice !" exclaimed he, "canst thou, from thy eternal throne, look down upon such premeditated outrages, and not affix on the perpetrators some signal mark of divine displeasure !" This is the very sentiment expressed by *Marcus*, in the opening scene of the first act of 'Cato.' "The only emblem," Sheridan asserted, "which could aptly designate Hastings in his public capacity, was that of a man holding in one hand a bloody sceptre, while with the other he was employed in picking pockets." Having attributed to him almost every crime which can stain or debase our nature ; cruelty, fraud, hypocrisy, venality, rapacity, and breach of faith ; — having protested that in the pages of Machiavel no acts of similar atrocity were to be found ; — having accused him of accepting "a present, or rather a bribe, of one hundred thousand pounds : " — having expatiated on his inhumanity in turning out to the merciless seasons, and a more merciless soldiery, the wife and mother of Sujah Dowlah, whom that prince, at the moment of his decease, had intrusted to the governor-general's protection ; — Sheridan then made his appeal to the moral feelings and character of the house. It was conceived with great beauty, and well calculated to produce the deepest impression. "This," said he, "is no party question. However divided we

may be on political matters, we shall, I trust, join hand and heart, in reprobating inhumanity, and delivering over to punishment those who use unlimited authority for purposes of tyranny and oppression."

It must not, however, be imagined that the whole weight of Sheridan's eloquence fell exclusively on Hastings. Two other individuals shared it with him. The first was Sir Elijah Impey, chief justice of Bengal, who having lent his legal co-operation and assistance to the seizure of the treasures possessed by the Princesses of Oude, had repaired in person to that province, nine hundred miles distant from the seat of government, in order to take the necessary depositions. In terms of bitter railillery, mixed with classic wit, Sheridan held up to derision and reprobation, "the *Grotius* of India, degrading the dignity of his high office; laying aside the character of a judge, and soiling his pure ermine, by condescending to execute the functions of a pettifogging attorney; running up and down the country, ferreting out affidavits, and carrying them upon his shoulders in a bundle, like a pedlar with his pack."—"Sir Elijah says," continued Sheridan, "he gave his advice, not as a judge, but as a friend; and in that character he took the affidavits. Friendship impelled him to send up and down India, made him oblivious of all he owed to himself, and to the majesty of justice."

The third person at whose expense Sheridan exercised his talents, was Middleton, minister, during these transactions, from the Bengal government to the Nabob of Oude. He had returned to England with a vast fortune. During the course of his examination, his recollection relative to many events which took place while he was the British resident at Lucknow, seemed to be so completely worn out, that no traces of their existence could be elicited from him by the closest interrogatory. We have, however, seen him outdone in this respect, by an Italian, at the bar of the house of lords. Such a total and unaccountable oblivion of recent facts, performed, or at least witnessed by himself, obtained for him the appellation of "Memory Middleton," as "Lucus, à non lucendo." "In the persecution of the

Begums," observed Sheridan, "an army were sent to execute an arrest, a siege was undertaken for a note of hand, and a rebellion was proved by affidavit. There was a trading general (Colonel Hannay), an auctioneer ambassador, and a chief-judge secretary." The antithesis of these expressions entertained even those who were the most disinclined to agree in his assertions or deductions. Never was the triumph of genius over a popular assembly more signally displayed than in the speech of Sheridan!

After the first tumult of applause had subsided, an attempt was made to adjourn by Sir William Dolben, who stated the general exhausture of the house, as a reason for postponing the discussion. But Fox opposed it, observing that the hour (twelve) by no means justified a suspension of the debate. "It is pretty obvious," added he, "that the speech just delivered has made no ordinary impression; and I see no reason why we may not come to the question. If any friend of Mr. Hastings should wish to offer arguments calculated to efface that impression, the present moment appears to me the fit time for doing it." Major Scott declared that he could convict Sheridan of many gross misrepresentations of fact; and professing his readiness to proceed instantly, if such should be the pleasure of the house, Pitt interposed. "I will not," said he, "at present state in what way I have made up my mind to vote. Yet I mean to deliver my sentiments at large upon the *motion*. With regard to the speech which we have heard, it has unquestionably produced all the effect which genius can command. A more able speech has perhaps never been pronounced: but I can by no means agree that because one dazzling display of oratory has been exhibited, other gentlemen ought to be precluded from giving their opinions. For these reasons I, for one, wish an immediate adjournment." Fox by no means concurred, however, with the chancellor of the exchequer, and he sustained his dissent by very plausible arguments. "My honourable friend," observed he, "has spoken ably. But why has he so done? It is because he has exerted himself in a right cause: because he has a heart capable of sympathizing with the woes of those whose

innocence and defenceless condition claim protection. His speech has been denominated eloquent. Eloquent, no doubt, it is: *so much so, indeed, that all I have ever read, or heard of oratory, either in this assembly or elsewhere, sink to nothing in the comparison.* But why adjourn, except because the arguments offered being unanswerable, it is wished to gain time, with a view of substituting negotiation, manœuvre, and delay, in the place of truth and reason!"

Before he sat down, Fox addressing himself personally to Pitt, implored him, from regard to his own character, as well as for the character of the house, not to vote against the question. While urging this point, having used language bordering on invective, he was severely reprehended by Wilberforce. With the liberality of mind which always characterized him, Fox instantly made reparation. "I protest," said he, "it was not my intention to give offence. We are both (meaning the chancellor of the exchequer and himself) too apt to say harsher things to each other, than are perhaps warrantable. On my part, these asperities of expression are, I am pretty certain, generally unprovoked: but, they take place much too frequently." So placable, and prompt to obliterate all recollections of a vindictive nature, was Fox! His antagonist by no means manifested equal suavity of disposition. Spencer Stanhope, one of the two representatives for Hull, avowed that "his mind was nearly made up by the almost *miraculous* speech which he had just heard." And Matthew Montagu declared that "his opinion respecting the treatment of the Begums, which, when he came down to the house, he thought was settled, had been shaken, if not overturned." Such were the effects of that fascinating composition! We must nevertheless bear in mind that these conversions were moral, not political. The affair stood unconnected with party, though the prosecution originated with opposition. On whichever side the minister might ultimately vote, his official situation would remain the same. If the "Westminster scrutiny," or the "Irish propositions," had formed the subject of Sheridan's attack, his pathetic appeals to justice and humanity would

not probably have made such numerous proselytes on the ministerial benches. Many persons even considered as ludicrous, invocations to the "God of justice," solemnly pronounced by a man whose whole life formed a perpetual act of private *injustice* towards his own creditors, and who owed his personal liberty to his seat in the house of commons. The adjournment was at length carried without any division.

8th February. — On the resumption of the debate, Major Scott endeavoured to counteract the recent effect of Sheridan's eloquence, by contrasting the calamities and disgraces which beset us in every other quarter of the globe, with the acquisitions of territory gained in the East, between 1776 and 1783, under Hastings's administration. Having shown that Dundas had moved for the recall of Hastings, in May, 1782, "because, in his opinion, the governor-general had forfeited the confidence of the native princes of India, and *could not conclude a peace*;" Scott observed, that most unfortunately for Dundas's assertion, Hastings *did actually conclude an honourable peace with the Mharattas* in the very month, and almost on the very day, when the *motion* to which he alluded was made in the house. "I have since," added Scott, "heard him avow within these walls his satisfaction at the resistance made by the court of East India Proprietors to that vote, because he was convinced they had thereby rendered a very essential service to the company, and to Great Britain." Turning to the members of opposition, he demanded why, if they considered Hastings's treatment of the Princesses of Oude as so criminal, they did not remove and recall him, when they were themselves in office, in 1783? Scott next proceeded to answer the specific accusation of seizing the treasures of the Begums; adducing a great variety of evidence to prove that those princesses had taken part in the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, and had actually raised troops with intent to support his cause. As the last and best proof of Hastings's public merit in committing the very act now criminally charged against him, Scott depicted the critical situation of our empire in the East, between October,

1780, and the commencement of the year 1783; assailed on every quarter, and menaced monthly with subversion. Hyder Ally at the gates of Madras, pursuing our defeated troops; while the fleet of France, under Suffrein, remained cruising, unopposed, in the Bay of Bengal. Sir Eyre Coote, who commanded the forces sent to oppose Hyder, looking solely to the government-general for the payment of his army, on which depended the fate of India. 'The Bengal treasury empty, and the pay of the soldiery, European as well as native, many months in arrear. "One fact," concluded Scott, "no man can doubt; namely, that the sum procured from the Princesses of Oude could not have been raised from any other source. And without that supply, we might now have been debating here how Mr. Hastings should be impeached, — not for saving, but for losing India."

These arguments and facts, though not decorated with the fascinating ornaments of Sheridan's eloquence, yet made at the time, and still continue, after the lapse of more than thirty years, to produce on my mind the deepest conviction of their solidity. Such was not, however, their effect on the chancellor of the exchequer, whose speech drew more than ordinary attention, and on his mode of seeing the charge, and of voting upon it, no man doubted, must depend Hastings's acquittal or condemnation.

Pitt did not leave it long uncertain on which side he should give his vote. After observing that as he had always considered the present charge to be marked apparently with the strongest features of criminality and cruelty, so he had endeavoured most conscientiously to guard against any sort of prejudice; he added, that he had compared the accusation minutely with the evidence. 'The interval which had elapsed since the unprecedented display of oratory exhibited on the preceding night, having allowed him to recover from its immediate impression, and to examine the proofs adduced in its support, he was now ready to concur with the *motion*. Yet he admitted the resumption of the jaghires to be highly justifiable, though he condemned the seizure of the Begum's treasures. If their confiscation

was an act of forfeiture, designed to operate as an example of severity; or even on the pretext of state necessity, provided the facts were well established; in either case, he said, he should acquit the governor-general of all culpability. But he professed himself unable to discover any such sources of justification. Sheridan acknowledged the liberality of Pitt's proceeding; and Fox, though with less animation, joined in recognitions of the minister's candour.

While the leaders on both sides thus united against an individual who, by the resources which he called into action, had saved India when attacked by a combination of European and Asiatic enemies; no person of eminence, or of distinguished talents, came forward in his defence. Silence pervaded the treasury bench; neither Mr. William Grenville, nor Lord Mulgrave, nor the master of the rolls, nor the attorney-general, uttering a word in his justification. The solicitor-general (Macdonald) alone declared, that as, whatever opinion he might form relative to the charge under examination, he never could agree to an impeachment, he therefore should not vote on the pending question. Dempster had however the honesty to rise and oppose the current, as did Le Mesurier, one of the members of Southwark; but the latter was compelled to desist by loud and repeated cries of *Question*. Only sixty-eight persons negatived Sheridan's proposition. One hundred and seventy-five found Hastings culpable.

Dundas, though he took no part in the discussion, voted with the minister. Lord North was not present during any part of the evening. His health and his sight, both which betrayed symptoms of decay, allowed him rarely to attend in his place, or to take any active share in debate. I voted with the minority on that night, and I believe, if the subject could be agitated anew, I should act again in the same manner. Not that I am convinced of the complicity of the Begums in the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, which was by no means satisfactorily demonstrated. Nor do I conceive that, on principles of private morality, the act of seizing on their treasures can be justified. But the peril to the state was extreme. 'The deed had been done, and

Bengal was saved by that most timely operation of despotic power. If ever any act rested on overwhelming state necessity for its justification, this was the measure. Yet Pitt affected not to perceive, or not to recognize it. I say, *affected*; — for no man endowed with reason could deny the awful and alarming state of our Eastern possessions at that eventful period, when the energy and resources of Hastings snatched them from destruction.

It was not even pretended that the princesses in question had committed their cause to the exertions of Burke, as the Sicilians entrusted the redress of Verres's exactions to the eloquence of Cicero; who having himself filled the office of quæstor in the island, had witnessed the enormities of which he complained; whereas Burke and his friends only collected their information from the governor-general's implacable enemies. With as little truth could it be asserted that Hastings had converted the money thus taken to his own use, as Rumbold did in his treatment of the Nabob of Arcot. He had, it is true, received a present from Asoph Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, amounting in value to nearly one hundred thousand pounds; but he carried it to the company's account. He accompanied that act with the expression of a wish that they would confer it on himself. Well, indeed, might he make such a request, when, after having passed his whole life in the company's service, he had not acquired even such a competence as almost every civil servant contrived to amass in the course of ten or twelve years! And who were the men to impeach Hastings? The same individuals, who, only four years earlier, having by a sacrifice of all public principle in uniting with Lord North, forced their way into the cabinet; and finding themselves odious to the sovereign, while they had lost the confidence of the country; attempted to seize, — not the treasure of an individual, but the property and possessions of a great chartered company. Nay, who undertook to unhinge the British constitution itself, in order to consolidate their own power: — an act of criminal ambition and libeticide, with which Pitt reproached them day by day! Yet with these very men

he now joined, to oppress one of the few British subjects, who during the eclipse of the American war, placed, as he was, in a situation equally eminent and perilous, had preserved the extensive provinces entrusted to his care. Posterity will probably affix its condemnation to such a line of policy, which, as it appears to me, was unworthy of a statesman, whose first duty should have impelled him to extend a shield over the preserver of India, even though he might not have privately approved every measure of Hastings's administration.

9th — 28th February. — After the termination of the charge relative to the Princesses of Oude, no further progress was made in the prosecution during the remainder of the month of February; almost every evening being exclusively occupied in discussions respecting the commercial treaty with France. It opened, indeed, a field of speculation, argument, and dispute, not less ample, and scarcely less important than the *Irish propositions* had presented in 1785. Fox and Pitt assumed, throughout every debate which arose on the treaty, opinions and principles by no means analogous to their respective characters. The former, whose enlarged mind and placable disposition should naturally have inclined or impelled him to embrace a policy favourable to the extinction of ancient enmities between the two countries, seemed to have adopted an opposite system. He constantly maintained that France should be prospectively considered, not only as a rival nation, but with an eye of jealousy and distrust, incompatible with any approach towards political or commercial connexion. This position Fox endeavoured to demonstrate and to impress, by appeals to experience in past periods of our history. Pitt, on the other hand, cast by nature in a more Antigallican mould, and formed of more unaccommodating materials, exhibited an ardent desire to enter into bands of amity, cemented by reciprocal advantages, with the court of Versailles. Nor did he fail to elucidate and to recommend the proposition, by a train of reasoning calculated for persuading even those persons who had imbibed the most inveterate hereditary prepossessions on the subject. This

seeming exchange of characters might nevertheless admit of explanation, by comparing the respective situations of the two individuals. The minister, anxious to repair the financial breaches made by a calamitous war, eagerly embraced measures which promised an increase of revenue, an extension of trade, and a new market for our manufactures. I believe, Fox, if he had held a place in the cabinet, would have seen nearly through the same optics, and would have been actuated by similar views of public benefit. But his exclusion from office naturally influenced, if not his judgment, yet the line of parliamentary conduct.

Lord North, on account of the state of his health, never once made his appearance in the house during the agitation of this important question. His place was, however, supplied by Sir Grey Cooper, who took part in almost every discussion, and who yielded to few in his accurate knowledge of the complicated interests which it included. Sheridan opposed the measure with great pertinacity, substituting, when necessary, wit and ingenuity in the place of solid argument. If the leaders of opposition could have excited the principal manufacturers throughout the kingdom to petition against the French treaty, as they did in the case of the *Irish propositions*, administration might have been embarrassed by such an impediment. But, with the exception of a very limited number, the manufacturing towns and counties expressed opinions highly favourable to the ministerial plans. Fox, who, when introducing his celebrated *East India Bill*, had allowed parliament no time to pause, complained heavily of the indecent haste with which, he said, the actual measure was propelled through its different stages. Finding himself unable by remonstrances to produce an adjournment, he quitted the house, followed by all his friends; after protesting against such ill-advised precipitancy, which, he declared, would entail disgrace on the councils of the crown. But Pitt, sustained by the general approbation, was not deterred by these denunciations. Unable to make any deep impression on the chancellor of the exchequer, Sheridan turned his artillery against the absent negotiator of the treaty, whom he overwhelmed with contumelious

ridicule. "I trust," said Sheridan, "that when he returns to his duty in this assembly, he will publicly declare his error in almost every opinion which he maintained relative to the *Irish propositions*. And I hope he will address *circular letters* to the manufacturers, assuring them that he has not renounced one of his commercial principles or doctrines, though he has adopted new ones for the present business; which he will be ready, however, again to abandon, as soon as he sets foot in England." Pitt did not undertake the personal defence of Eden; perhaps from a consciousness that these reproaches, however severe, were in some degree just. On every division, ministers carried the question by more than two to one. I was in all the majorities; being fully persuaded then, as I am now, that no measure adopted by Pitt, during his long administration, was more calculated to augment the national prosperity, while it tended insensibly to extinguish the animosity between France and Great Britain, than the *commercial treaty*.

The opposition, however diminished in numbers the party might be, received at this time, a most valuable accession of talents in the person of Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey. He had been elected member for the county of Northumberland, late in the last session, when, on the decease of the duke of that name, Lord Algernon Percy succeeded to the peerage as Lord Louvaine. Grey sprung from a very noble and ancient stock. His father, a general officer of merit, decorated with the order of the Bath, was the younger brother and presumptive heir of Sir Henry Grey, a baronet of George the Second's creation. Mr. Grey, when he first took his seat in the house of commons, had not long accomplished his two-and-twentieth year. His figure, tall and elegantly formed, prepossessed in his favour. The smiles of the Duchess of Devonshire, and her blandishments, which few persons at any period of life could resist, were believed to have operated very powerfully in attaching him to the party that she espoused:—for he seemed irresolute, at his outset in parliament, which side he should take; professed a reluctance to oppose government, as well as respect

for administration; and disclaimed all party feelings. But he insensibly threw aside these restraints. During the progress of the French commercial treaty, Grey rose, and resisted the measure with great force, yet without any mixture of indecorous acrimony or violence. His enunciation was clear, sonorous, and distinct. His language, correct, nervous, and flowing; free from affectation or study. His sentiments, natural; and delivered with dignity, as well as grace. With the single exception of Pitt, I have not witnessed any individual in my time, who on his first attempt has excited such expectations of future eminence as did Grey. These expectations, it must be admitted, he has fully realized. He stood, indeed, considered as a member of the house, upon much higher ground than Pitt, at his entrance into parliament; representing, as he did, a great county; while the other, brought in by Sir James Lowther, at the Duke of Rutland's request, sat during nearly three years for a borough. It was Pitt's *name*, and filial connexion with the illustrious minister who humbled France and Spain, that operated as a talisman in his favour. Grey, though endowed with eminent abilities, and of most decorous manners, yet wanted Fox's open amenity of character. He was equally destitute of Sheridan's wit, good humour, and invincible suavity of disposition. To the chancellor of the exchequer he bore much more analogy. Both were distant, grave, lofty, retired, and sometimes repulsive. I shall have frequent occasion to return to Grey, in the course of these memoirs.

Scarcely had the address to the crown on the commercial treaty with France been voted by a great majority, when the minister introduced a bill for the consolidation of duties, which conciliated the approbation of all parties. The speech with which he opened, and detailed its operation on the revenue, as well as on the commerce of Great Britain, might challenge the annals of parliament to produce a finer specimen of financial eloquence. Without redundancy it was copious, destitute of all extraneous matter, or of every unnecessary ornament; perspicuous even in those parts which, from the nature of the subject, it was difficult

to render intelligible. If Sheridan's powers of oratory, directed to inflame the passions, to dazzle the imagination, and to mislead the judgment, while exerted in the cause of persecution, could call out such universal applause; how much more solid admiration was due to Pitt's efforts for retrieving and ameliorating the finances of a country, which, only four years earlier, seemed to be plunged in almost remediless embarrassments! Already England began to re-appear on the theatre of Europe, not less powerful than before the American war. Notwithstanding the violent language which had recently occurred between Pitt and Burke, the latter, appeased by the coincidence and support of the chancellor of the exchequer on the late charge against Hastings, rose to express his high approbation of the measure for consolidating the duties. "I will not," said Burke, "content myself with a sullen acquiescence, but will bear testimony to the masterly and perspicuous manner in which a plan has been developed, that promises accommodation to the merchant, combined with augmentation and advantage to the revenue." Sir Grey Cooper, after reclaiming for his absent friend Lord North the merit of having originated this salutary scheme, during the time when he presided at the treasury board, joined in similar eulogiums, both on the proposition for simplifying the general receipt, and on the ability manifested in its disclosure. Even Fox recognized these merits, though more reluctantly, and with some hesitation. Sheridan alone remained wholly silent.

During the progress of the *commercial treaty* through the house, Fox, while he earnestly deprecated any departure from our ancient connexion with Portugal, inveighed against the danger of confiding in the faith of France. At the same time he drew an alarming and exaggerated picture of her resources, power, and ambition. Even in the personal qualities of the reigning sovereign, and the exertions made by him to aggrandize his country, Fox apprehended cause for distrust, and motives for alienation. If these opinions were not assumed for the purpose of impeding the measure then under discussion, Fox must have formed very erroneous conceptions of the state of the

French monarchy, as well as the prince who then filled the throne, at the beginning of 1787. Far from being in a condition to meditate conquests, or to undertake aggressions, the revolution which within six years brought Louis the Sixteenth to the scaffold may be said to have already commenced. The deficiency in the revenues rendered necessary a recourse to extraordinary remedies. Louis, instead of preparing betimes for a conflict with his subjects, as Henry the Fourth himself would have done in a similar situation), adopted measures calculated to lay him at the mercy of the Parisian populace. With the most generous and benign intentions, but without judgment, and contrary to every maxim of prudence or of policy, he broke successively the household troops. These bands, composed almost exclusively of individuals nobly descended, being thus reduced, left the throne dependant for support on the army at large; the greater part of which body had imbibed in America republican principles, or was corrupted by the manners of a dissolute, revolutionary capital. Such was the position, and such were the embarrassments of the King, when Calonne proposed to him to convoke a sort of epitome or substitute for the states-general; to be chosen from among the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy of his kingdom. They were denominated "*les notables*," and had not been summoned during one hundred and sixty years, when Louis the Thirteenth assembled them for a somewhat similar purpose; namely, to furnish supplies towards the necessities of the crown.

If, when Calonne advised the convocation of this aristocratic body, he could have remained master of their deliberations;—in other words, if he had secured a good majority, by means analogous to those which all ministers have practised in this country;—no doubt the "*notables*" might have extricated the state, while they laid the first foundations of a limited, constitutional monarchy in France. Among the whole series of princes who have reigned since Hugh Capet, not one was so formed, by the yielding and inert moderation of his character, for conceding to his people a constitution, and for surrendering the odious, obsolete, or oppressive preroga-

tives of the throne, as Louis the Sixteenth. Or, if the privileged orders had possessed discernment enough to perceive that they must be overturned, unless by great sacrifices of every kind they sustained the sovereign, and retained the lower orders in their allegiance; the monarchy, public credit, and general obedience, might all have been upheld. But the king was weak, irresolute, vacillating, and incapable of any act of energy or decision: the "*notables*" were destitute of a spark of wisdom, love of their country, or even enlarged principles of self-preservation; attached only with blind, unfeeling selfishness, to their own separate interests, as a distinct order of men. Lastly, the comptroller-general was rash, sanguine, presumptuous, and inexperienced in the management of popular assemblies.

I have been much in Calonne's society during the period of time which he passed here in England, between 1787 and his decease in 1802. In his person he exceeded the common height, thin, active, and always in motion. His physiognomy was very expressive; gay, full of intelligence, never clouded, perpetually animated by hope and cheerfulness. The calamities of the house of Bourbon and of France were not to be traced in his features, nor recognized in his conversation. Buoyant from natural disposition, fertile in expedients and resources, ever looking forward with confidence, he could not be subdued by adverse fortune. Nor was he deficient in the attainments, information, and knowledge of a financier. But he wanted the probity and stern severity of *Sully*; while he equally wanted the sound judgment, the application to business, the spirit of order, the enlightened economy, and the elevated principles of moral and political action, all which met in *Colbert*. In what manner the Duke of Dorset, our ambassador at the court of Versailles, thought of Calonne, as well as of the assembly, may be gathered from his language in a letter addressed to myself, dated "Paris, 4th January, 1787." "*L'assemblée des notables*," says he, "is to be held at Versailles, the 29th of this month. It is a curious piece of juggling of the comptroller-general. However, I wish him success,

as he is really a fine, open-hearted fellow, and wishes to cultivate friendship and amity with England."

Previous to the meeting of this assembly, which was further postponed to the 22d of February, an event took place that equally embarrassed and enfeebled the councils of the French crown. I mean, the death of the Count de Vergennes. He was the most able and enterprising statesman whom France had seen, since the dismissal of the Duke de Choiseul by Louis the Fifteenth. Though Vergennes specially directed the foreign department, yet he was likewise president of the council of finances; and the estimation in which he was held by his own sovereign, when combined with the high opinion entertained of his talents throughout Europe, conduced to give stability to the existing order of things. The extreme weakness of Louis's character remained in a great measure concealed even from his own subjects, while Vergennes still survived; and his decease unquestionably contributed to accelerate the progress of those revolutionary principles which speedily overturned the monarchy. The Duke of Dorset always regarded him as an ambitious minister, inimical to the general repose of Europe: but, in particular, hostile to England. Writing to me on the 9th of February, 1786, from Paris, on the state of public affairs, he adds, "Every thing bears the appearance of tranquillity; but I believe the cabinet at Versailles is working hard in every cabinet in Europe, and particularly to gain that of Petersburg."—"The spirit of intrigue which Vergennes is endowed with, is more dangerous, in my opinion, to the balance of power, than all the mighty armies of Louis the Fourteenth. And if we do not watch him close, we shall be in a most unpleasant situation." I am ready to admit, when citing the testimony of the duke, that his own talents were moderate; but his situation and connexions about the French court enabled him to know many important facts from high authority. It cannot be doubted that Vergennes had meditated a rupture with this country in 1786. The East Indies would have formed the first scene of hostilities; and troops were actually sent to the island of Mauritius,

in order to attack us, in conjunction with Tippoo, on the coast of Coromandel. Sir John Macpherson, who was then temporary governor-general of Bengal, and who attained full information on the subject, has often assured me that such were unquestionably the designs of the cabinet of Versailles. Notwithstanding the pecuniary difficulties under which Louis the Sixteenth laboured in 1787, I believe, if Vergennes had survived a few months longer, he would not have allowed the Prussian troops, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, to enter Amsterdam without opposition, and to extinguish the French faction throughout the seven United Provinces. The Count de Montmorin succeeded to Vergennes's office, but not to his high reputation.

About this time Louis the Sixteenth sent over a new ambassador to London. The intellectual and physical infirmities of Count d'Adhemar combined to incapacitate him for longer filling that employment. He was replaced by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, brother to the Count of the same name, then one of the secretaries of state, and head of the naval department. The chevalier was soon afterwards created a marquis. I lived in habits of great intimacy with him, from his first arrival in England, nearly to the termination of his embassy. Nature had not bestowed on him any external advantages. Neither his person, manners, nor address, seemed to be adapted for a drawing-room; and his sight was so defective, that it approached to blindness. Scarcely could he distinguish objects, unless brought close to his eye. But he compensated for these corporeal defects, by a sound, clear understanding, and habits of business. Though he seldom attempted to speak English, he understood the language; having resided a long time in America, as minister from France, during the war carried on against the Trans-Atlantic colonies. Such a mission did not seem to lay a good foundation for his favourable reception here, or to form a recommendation at St. James's. It is a fact, that on the day when he went to the palace to be presented to the king, he wore at his button-hole the insignia of the order of *Cincinnatus*, which had been conferred on him by *Washington*. Fortu-

unately, arriving before his majesty came out of his closet to commence the levee, some of his friends had time to represent to the new ambassador, the impropriety of appearing in the presence of George the Third decorated with an order instituted by one of his former subjects. La Luzerne instantly took it off, and put it in his pocket.

As he was unmarried, being a Knight of Malta; the Viscountess de la Luzerne, a daughter of the Count de Montmorin, who had married the ambassador's nephew, came over from France to do the honours of his house. After the king's first great intellectual malady, in June, 1789, La Luzerne gave a splendid entertainment, in commemoration of his recovery. The queen was present at it, with her court; and during supper, the viscountess, as representing the French embassadress, stood behind her majesty's chair. Within five years afterwards, I went to pay my respects to her at a small lodging, situate in George-street, Portman-square, just behind the noble mansion which the ambassador had occupied in that square. She received me in a room where stood two neat white beds, and appeared to support with great equanimity her change of fortune. But she did not long survive, and I have heard that she accelerated her own end, which, I believe, took place at Rouen. She was young, amiable, and of most engaging manners. Her father, Count de Montmorin, perished early in the revolution. Nor did the ambassador himself live to witness the execution of his unfortunate master. In 1792 he was attacked with a paralytic complaint, for which he repaired to Southampton, where he expired. The calamities of his country, together with his own individual misfortunes flowing from that source, embittered his latter days, and hastened his dissolution. His remains being sent over to Caen in Normandy, for the purpose of interment, the revolutionary populace of the city precipitated his body into the river Orne, which flows through the place.

The bishoprick of Lincoln becoming vacant at this time, Pitt procured it for Dr. Pretyma, who had formerly been his preceptor, and then filled the office of his private secretary. The opposi-

tion, to whom Pretyma had rendered himself obnoxious in this latter capacity, attacked him with all the weapons of wit, satire, and malevolence. In allusion to his having been brought up at Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge, the "Rolliad" denominates him,

"Pembroke's pale pride, in Pitt's præcordia plac'd;"

and levels many coarse or illiberal jests on his person, which was tall, thin, and destitute of elegance. An ode, depicting him as a man destitute of all regard to veracity, and which began with the words

"Hail to the liar!——"

was likewise assigned to Pretyma, by the authors of the "Probationary Odes." Not satisfied with this abuse, they overwhelmed him under a mass of classic epigrams, composed in English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian. His duplicity, as private secretary to Pitt, constituted the charge made against him throughout these lampoons, which only served to prove the ingenious hostility of their composers. In 1805, on the death of Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Pitt, who was then first minister for the second time, made the strongest exertions to raise Pretyma to the metropolitan see. But his majesty pertinaciously refused his consent. I know from a near relative of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, that when the minister urged the matter warmly, George the Third replied, "Mr. Pitt, don't's press me further on the subject; for I am determined to confer it on Sutton, whom you brought under my eye, when he was made Dean of Windsor at your recommendation. And it would be indecorous that we should be known to differ on this point." As the best proof of his unalterable resolution to raise Dr. Manners Sutton to the vacant archiepiscopal see, the king authorized the distinguished individual who related to me the above-mentioned particulars, — one of his oldest servants, — to write to Mrs. Manners Sutton, Dr. Sutton's wife, assuring her, in his majesty's name, of his fixed determination on the subject.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is a grandson of John, third Duke of Rutland, whose youngest son, Lord George Manners, assumed the name of Sutton, on succeeding to the estate of Lord Lexington. Being the fourth son of Lord George, he was brought up to the ecclesiastical profession; and at the age of three-and-twenty became attached to Miss Thoroton. She stood in no remote degree of consanguinity to him; as her mother, who was an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Rutland, had married Mr. Thoroton, secretary to the celebrated Marquis of Granby. The lovers were in fact second cousins. Being together at Belvoir Castle, in the year 1778, when she was only about eighteen years of age, he proposed to her an elopement to Gretna Green. She consented, and they set off on foot; but, before they could reach the hired post-chaise, stationed at four miles' distance, the young lady lost both her shoes in the dirty road. After their marriage at Gretna, not possessing pecuniary means sufficient to enable them to return, they wrote to their respective relations, requesting assistance for the purpose. Lord George Sutton displayed, under these circumstances, much less displeasure towards his son, than was exhibited by Mrs. Drake, the Duke of Rutland's mistress, and grandmother to the bride. It was not without difficulty that Mrs. Drake consented to allow her grand-daughter the sum of forty pounds a year. Lord George, encumbered with a very numerous family, and having contracted a second marriage not calculated to benefit his affairs, was unable to make his son a larger annual allowance. But he procured for Mr. Sutton a curacy at Canwick, of nearly the same value, to which place the newly-married couple repaired. There they remained during some years, subsisting on about one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, though they soon had several children. It is a fact that the archbishop still preserves the pair of brass candlesticks which, when curate of Canwick, he constantly had in use. His own son, Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton, so assured me.

John, Duke of Rutland, as well as his son, the Marquis of Granby, having both survived their wives, and having each several natural children; the ille-

gitimate issue of the father and of the son used to sit down promiscuously together at table, at Belvoir Castle, where they were brought up with the duke's legitimate descendants. Colonel John Sutton, elder brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who now possesses the Lexington estate of Kelham, near Newark-upon-Trent, married in like manner his cousin, a natural daughter of the Marquis of Granby. On many occasions, the duke even displayed a preference for his grandchildren by Mrs. Drake, above his legitimate offspring. The valuable living of Bottesworth, in the county of Leicester, not far from Belvoir (in the church of which village the Dukes of Rutland are interred), becoming vacant; Lord George Sutton made the warmest application to the duke in favour of his son Charles, who still remained at his curacy of Canwick. But he met with a refusal; the duke conferring it on his illegitimate grandson, Mr. Thoroton, Mrs. Manners Sutton's *brother*, rather than on her *husband*. Lord George was, however, enabled soon afterwards to present his son with the living of Averham, near Kelham, to which he removed, and where he remained till he received the deanery of Peterborough. Mr. Pitt, whose obligations to *Charles*, late Duke of Rutland, were great, and who testified throughout his whole political life a natural predilection for the *Manners* family, procured the dean's promotion to the bishoprick of Norwich, on the decease of Dr. Horne. Finally, the same ministerial patronage made him dean of Windsor, thus placing him under the king's eye; though Pitt did not the less, endeavour to elevate his own tutor to the metropolitan dignity, as the Emperor Charles the Fifth had formerly raised his preceptor to the papal throne.

The present archbishop is a prelate of very moderate intellectual endowments; as were likewise his two immediate predecessors, Moore and Cornwallis. But he possesses great command over himself, irreproachable moral conduct, activity in promoting works of charity or benevolence, and all the essential qualities for filling with decent propriety the archiepiscopal chair, to which Pitt's protection, finally aided by royal favour, have elevated him. Nor must his high birth

be forgotten, which formed a strong additional recommendation to the king's notice. He is not an economist, though he has seven daughters still unmarried; and whenever the see becomes vacant, no treasures will probably be discovered in his coffers. Fond of field-sports, and a *good shot*, he nevertheless abstains from touching a gun. During a visit that he made to Kelham, three or four years ago, he was much pressed to take a fowling-piece; but, conscious of its indecorum, he declined it, contenting himself to accompany the sportsmen, and to mark down the birds. Possibly it might likewise occur to the archbishop, that one of his predecessors in the see of Canterbury, Abbot, about two hundred years ago, being engaged in the chase, had the misfortune to kill his gamekeeper with a cross-bow. And an accident similar to that which took place under James the First, might again happen under George the Third. On the whole, he must be esteemed a most fortunate individual; since, in addition to the prodigious ecclesiastical elevation which he has attained, he has beheld his eldest son elected speaker of the house of commons; while his own younger brother has, by Pitt's selection, rather than by any eminent legal talents, been made chancellor of Ireland, and created a peer of Great Britain. It was not before the nineteenth century, that the name of *Manners*, previously distinguished in the field and on the ocean, has become known in the church, at the bar, and in the senate.

2d March.—Early in March, Hastings's prosecution, was renewed, Mr. Pelham opening the next charge, which consisted of three distinct accusations; namely, infraction of treaty, personal corruption, and abuse of power to purposes of tyranny. The scene of these imputed offences lay at Furruckabad, a city not far removed from Agra, in the north of Hindostan; the nabob of which territory was the individual on whom the governor-general had exercised the acts of violence in question. Mr. Pelham (a name connected with some of the best ministerial recollections of George the Second's reign) was the eldest son of Lord Pelham, subsequently created Earl of Chichester. He filled, indeed, himself, early in the present

century, very respectably, under Addington's administration, during a considerable time, the office of secretary of state for the home department. Endowed with moderate abilities, but sustained by great family connexions; his mind cultivated by travel, and his understanding matured by an early entrance into parliament; Mr. Pelham could not however rely, like Sheridan, on appeals to the imagination or the passions, in order to produce conviction. His speech, though long, and abounding in minute details, many of which were not of a nature deeply to interest his audience, yet excited attention. Major Scott rose to defend Hastings; and in reply to the imputation of his having corruptly accepted from the Nabob of Oude a present of ten lac of rupees, on which act Mr. Pelham had animadverted with great severity, Scott observed, "The governor-general immediately communicated the fact to the court of directors. He had not even received the money at the time when he transmitted to them the information. As soon as it was actually paid, he transferred it to the company's treasury; accompanying the payment with a request, that as his own fortune was small, they would give it him back on some future day. Probably he did not conceive, that as Lord Clive had received six hundred thousand pounds for *acquiring* an empire, he should be deemed presumptuous in asking for *one* hundred thousand, as a remuneration for *preserving* that empire."

Hastings did not however want other defenders, some of whom were even seated near the ministry on the treasury bench. Though Mr. William Grenville remained silent, Lord Mulgrave denied that the house of commons could be fit judges of a governor-general's administration, who, placed at an immense distance from England, surrounded with dangers and enemies, had acted on the whole in a manner so glorious, as well as salutary, for his country. But Lord Hood's appearance on the floor, as an advocate of similar principles, produced a still deeper impression. This veteran commander, who had maintained the lustre of the British flag throughout all the humiliating period of Lord North's administration, — unaccustomed to speak

in parliament, and strongly attached to Pitt, yet presented himself to the Speaker's notice. Inured from the commencement of his life to that stormy element on which he had earned his reputation and his honours, he might say,

————— "Rude am I in speech,
And little blest with the set phrase of peace;"

but every word that he uttered was de-
voured by the audience. Placing the
subject of the pending prosecution at
once on the ground of public expediency,
he besought the house to reflect on the
consequences that must result to the
state, if with too scrupulous accuracy
they called to a severe account those in-
dividuals who had filled important sta-
tions abroad in a period of hostility.
With great simplicity of diction he
stated the difficulties to which he had
been, himself, subjected; and the acts of
unauthorized violence or oppression to
which he had been necessitated to re-
cur, for the purpose of subsisting the
English fleet, when under his command
in the West Indies, during the American
war. "Acts, which, however indispen-
sable to the preservation of his ships and
men," he added, "yet if the government
had not stood between him and legal pro-
secutions, he should in all probability
have been doomed to linger out the re-
mainder of his days in prison." — "As
for myself, concluded he, "at my period
of life, I can entertain no expectation of
being again employed on active foreign
service: but I speak for those who come
after me. Love of my country impels
me to prevent a precedent, which will
impede all future exertions, if we punish
the acts of authority, however repugnant
they may be to our modes of conduct-
ing ourselves, which the saviour of India
has committed, in order to extricate and
preserve the countries entrusted to his
care."

If this forcible appeal to the common
sense and justice of the house had been
made on the 18th of June, 1786, when
the charge relative to Cheyt Sing was
brought forward, instead of the 2d of
March, 1787, it might have given a
new aspect to the whole prosecution.
Other individuals of weight, encouraged
by such an example, would probably

have come forward on the same trees.
Pitt and Dundas, whatever part they
might have secretly resolved to take re-
lative to Hastings, had not committed
themselves beyond the power of recall at
that period. Or, if the governor-general,
better advised, had maturely considered
the ability, numbers, and inveteracy of
his accusers; as well as the very doubtful
nature of the ministerial support which
he credulously anticipated as certain; —
and if, instead of injudiciously imposing
on himself the difficult task of justifying
every separate act of power to which he
had recourse during his stay in India, he
had put his defence on the general issue
of his critical position, which emancipated
him from ordinary rules of action; —
finally, if he had pleaded his distinguish-
ed and successful services to the state, as
forming a shield which ought to protect
him against party rage, or parliamentary
violence; — it seems difficult to suppose
that such intrenchments could have been
stormed. Pitt himself recognized their
strength, in his reply to Lord Hood.
After bearing the most ample testimony,
not only to his noble friend's private
virtues, but to his high professional abi-
lity; the minister laboured with no or-
dinary eloquence to demonstrate, that
there did not exist the slightest analogy
between Lord Hood's violations of right,
or seizure of property, and the crimes
laid to the charge of the late governor-
general. The former, he said, were dic-
tated by an imperious necessity: for the
latter, no such defence had been at-
tempted. Having reasoned this point,
more as a moralist, or casuist, than as a
statesman; rather in the spirit of Ad-
dison, or of Johnson, than as Lord Bur-
leigh, or as his own father, when at the
head of the councils of this country, was
accustomed to contemplate political ob-
jects; Pitt then reverted to Hastings's
general merits in the course of his high
public employment.

"There was, I admit," said he, "a
period when such a defence might have
been set up; but that time is passed.
If, at the commencement of the present
enquiry, it had been urged, that whatever
faults the late governor-general might
have committed, his brilliant and me-
ritorious services effaced or counterba-
lanced them; the house would have had

to weigh his crimes against his virtues. But, at present, we cannot allow any such consideration to operate on our minds. We are deciding, not on *general* merits or demerits. It is on the criminality or innocence of a *particular* transaction that we are called to determine. *Mr. Hastings has disclaimed all benefit arising from the consideration of his services.* He has declared that he desires no *set-off* on that score; being persuaded that the very facts on which are founded the charges, when they come to be investigated, will be found entitled to the approbation of this house. After such a voluntary act on his part, ought we to extend a shield between him and enquiry? Still less can we now do it, having proceeded so far in the examination." It is evident that Hastings's imprudence facilitated the means of attacking him with success. If he had followed Lord Clive's example, — who, besides being himself in parliament, brought in as his agent, not a military officer, but an able member of the long robe, — he might, like Lord Clive, have escaped impeachment. Pitt virtually and distinctly acknowledged it. But, ought not a wise statesman to have warned of his danger a meritorious public servant, who had saved India? Should he not have informed the governor-general on what grounds only he could extend ministerial protection and support? Pitt, on the contrary, allowed him to enter the snare. Posterity will decide on the wisdom, the policy, and the generosity of such a proceeding. Only fifty members, of whom I was one, negatived Mr. Pelham's *motion*. One hundred and twelve supported it. Dundas spoke and voted with Pitt on that evening: but neither Fox nor Sheridan took any part in the discussion.

28th February — 6th March. — 'The commercial treaty with France, which had occasioned such difference of opinion in the lower house, gave rise among the peers to debates, if possible, still more personal and acrimonious. Not the least singular circumstance attending them was, that the same individuals who lately opposed each other in one assembly, being transferred to the other, furnished the principal materials of controversy. Pitt, well aware that neither the Marquis

of Carmarthen, nor Lord Sydney, was competent to explain and defend the treaty, took care to entrust that task to more able hands. Jenkinson, become Lord Hawksbury, was selected for the purpose. He performed it with consummate ability, answering the arguments adduced by Lord Stormont, and by Watson, Bishop of Llandaff; both of whom deprecated a departure from the ancient treaties subsisting with Portugal, in order, as they asserted, to form dangerous connexions with France. At the same time, not being in the cabinet, nor holding any ostensible place in administration, Lord Hawksbury took care to state repeatedly that he was no minister. "I desire, once for all, my lords," said he, "that it may not be supposed I either possess or claim any authority, except the influence which my arguments give me." But the Duke of Norfolk, now become an efficient member of the house, after commenting on Lord Hawksbury's declaration, added, "I am aware that the noble lord who has undertaken to support the treaty, and to justify ministers, *has on his shoulders the principal burden of government. He is a peer of great weight and authority.* Nevertheless, as he has informed us that he is no minister, he cannot incur any responsibility. It is therefore the duty of ministers, either to speak in their own persons, or to place the noble lord in a ministerial situation, so that he may be rendered responsible for his assertions respecting measures of administration." Then, after alluding to the reform in the representation of the people, which Pitt had held out to the country previous as well as subsequent to his entrance on office, the duke added, "No such reform has however been effected in the other house. *And as to this assembly, some individuals have lately been sent here, whom, if all circumstances are considered, the people, I believe, little expected to see elevated to such rank.*"

The severity of these animadversions called up successively the two secretaries of state; which drew from Lord Carlisle the remark, that "he was happy to find the *death-like* silence of the ministers at length broken." But the concluding observations, so personally levelled at the peers who had recently been created,

would have remained without reply, if Lord Delaval, who was one of them, had not demanded some explanation on the subject. Having alluded to the reflections thrown upon the distinguished persons whom his majesty's favour had entitled to seats in that house, "Does the noble duke," continued he, "think that there was any circumstance in the characters of their ancestors which ought to disqualify their present descendants from being advanced to the dignity of the British peerage? Does he mean to insinuate that their ancestors had been stigmatized as men of suspicious allegiance? or does the noble duke mean to infer that '*there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine just persons?*'" The wit of this last sarcasm, which made so obvious an allusion to the duke's recantation of the errors of the Romish church, induced the Duke of Manchester to speak to order. But Lord Delaval, after apologising for any unintentional violation which he might have committed of the forms, or on the decorum of the house, added: "As the noble duke has thought proper to animadvert on the lately-created peers, being myself one of them, and utterly unconscious as I am of meriting any such observations, I imagine he will expect that something should be said in their behalf by one at least of the number." The Duke of Norfolk, who throughout his whole life manifested greater promptitude to give offence than to *resent* affronts; finding likewise that he had only attracted towards himself reflections more severe than those which he desired to throw on others; now apologized to Lord Delaval, and the business terminated.

I was particularly acquainted with that nobleman before, as well as after, his elevation to the British peerage. He was a younger brother to Sir Francis Drake Delaval, a man celebrated in the annals of wit and gallantry towards the end of George the Second's reign. At seventy years of age, Lord Delaval's person remained graceful and slender; his manners elegant, gay, and pleasing. Descended from a very ancient and distinguished family, seated in the county of Northumberland, where he possessed great landed property, he was created a

baronet soon after the present king's accession. During his whole life, pleasure constituted the first object of his pursuit. Representing, as he did, the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed in more than one parliament, and supporting the coalition administration at their outset; he was included by Fox among the *Irish* peers of the month of September, 1783, whom his majesty consented to raise to that dignity, though he refused to make any addition to the *British* peerage. Of course Lord Delaval voted for the *East India Bill*, when brought into the house of commons; but, afterwards finding that it was equally odious at St. James's, and reprobated throughout the country, he retracted his support, and joined the new minister. He even rose in his place, and justified his conduct in a manly manner. For such an act of *apostacy*, as it was denominated by his old allies, they assigned him a conspicuous niche in the "*Rolliad*." It is probable that the Duke of Norfolk alluded in his speech to the lines commemorating Lord Delaval's double creation. They were severe.

"The noble *convert*, Berwick's honour'd choice,
That faithful echo of the *people's* voice,
One day to gain an *Irish* title glad,
For Fox he voted; — so the *people* bade.
'Mongst *English* lords ambitious grown to sit,
Next day the *people* bade him vote for Pitt,
To join the stream, our patriot, nothing loath,
By turns discreetly gave his voice to both."

Not satisfied with this revenge, the same wits composed a poem called "*The Delavaliad*," parodied from Orlando's verses to Rowland, in "*As you like It*." But Lord Delaval stood in no awe of such lampoons. He attained to a very advanced age, and dying without a son, his titles (both of which had been acquired within the space of three years, from two rival ministers), expired with him. I shall have occasion to mention his youngest daughter, the Countess of Tyrconnel, in the sequel of these memoirs.

1st — 10th March. — On the following day, the discussion of the "*commercial treaty*" was renewed in the house of peers; Lord Sydney and the Marquis of Carmarthen observing total silence, while the Marquis of Bucking-

ham and Lord Hawkebury undertook the defence of the measure. So little parliamentary assistance did Pitt derive from his colleagues in office! The Bishop of Llandaff, a prelate of aspiring talents, and his own historian; who looked forward to Durham, or to Winchester, as the recompense of his exertions; attacked with no ordinary ability the proposed treaty. He was supported by Lord Stormont, who inveighed against it, as a sacrifice of solid power, for uncertain profit. But the circumstance which gave peculiar interest to the debate of that evening, was the part taken by the Marquis of Lansdown. In the course of a speech such as only a statesman could have conceived or pronounced, he passed the whole treaty in review; examined its features, pointed out its merits and its defects; approved its principle, but did not the less condemn many of its practical details. Treating with contempt the narrow prejudice by which France is considered as *the natural enemy* of this country, he equally reprobated the folly of denominating her *perfidious* and *deceitful* as a nation. With the hand of a master, he drew a species of contrast between Louis the Fourteenth, a prince animated only by insatiable ambition, and his estimable successor who then filled the throne, in whose bosom the love of his people and of justice always predominated. "The *natural enemy* of Great Britain, my lords," continued he, "and equally of every other state, is the sovereign of Prussia, who maintains an immense military force, altogether disproportionate to his revenues, and to his dominions."

Having thus recognized the abstract wisdom and policy of the measure, he next, with equal force of language and strength of reason, delineated the errors committed in its execution. Among these he did not omit to enumerate the silence and acquiescence of ministers, while France was occupied in constructing the stupendous works at Cherburgh. Nor did he less strongly arraign other features of the treaty, which regarded Ireland and the East Indies; leaving his audience, at the close, unable to decide whether he had most censured or applauded the administration, and sub-

jecting himself to the imputation of having "spoken on both sides of the question. From this charge he nevertheless justified himself with ingenuity, during one of the subsequent debates. "I am accused," said Lord Lansdown, "of speaking on both sides, because I have not, from motives of friendship towards ministers, forbore to state my objections to many parts of the measure under discussion; and because I have not, in complaisance to the opposition, withheld my tribute of applause to the principle. The fact is, that throughout life I have stood aloof from parties. It constitutes my pride and my principle, to belong to no faction; but to approve every measure on its own ground, free from all connexion. Such is my political creed." His repartee to the Earl of Carlisle, who thought proper to reproach him with having apparently drawn many of the amicable sentiments that he professed towards France "from the novels of a circulating library, or from sentimental comedies," turned the laugh on his side. That nobleman had, himself, composed some poetic and dramatic works, which, it was thought, would not secure him immortality. "With regard," observed the marquis, "to the expressions applied to the French nation and government, which I am supposed to have selected from sentimental novels, or sentimental comedies, I can assure the noble Earl, *I never write either; but I entertain a profound respect for those who do.*"

16th March.—Burke, while conducting the prosecution against Hastings, enjoyed the singular advantage of being surrounded by a constellation of extraordinary men, whose talents were devoted to his purposes, passions, and prejudices. He had only to select his instrument, while he superintended the execution. For bringing forward the present charge, he chose Sir James Erskine, a young Scotch baronet, who, in addition to considerable talents, stood in a close degree of consanguinity to Lord Loughborough, his mother being the only sister of that nobleman. Among the individuals whose great legal and parliamentary ability raised them to the British peerage under the reign of George the Third, none possessed more versatile faculties than Wed-

derburn, or more adapted to the atmosphere of a court. Though placed by the *coalition* administration, in 1783, at the head of the commissioners to whom the great seal was confided; and though he remained during ten years steadily attached to Lord North and Fox; yet he never rendered himself personally obnoxious either to the King or to Pitt. Early in 1793, when Lord Thurlow came to a decided rupture with that minister, Lord Loughborough succeeded to the dignity of chancellor. Being childless, having passed his sixtieth year, and entertaining no hope of issue;—for he had been twice married;—he adopted the sons of his sister; and before he had held the great seal three years, he succeeded in procuring a new patent, entailing the barony of Loughborough on his two nephews in succession. Of these, Sir James Erskine was the eldest. Nor did his ambition rest satisfied with such an acquisition. Early in the present century, his patient assiduities, constant attendance on the king and queen, whom he commonly followed every autumn to Weymouth, and the devotion which he manifested towards them;—these courtly qualities were rewarded with an earldom, reverting, as in the former instance, to Sir James Erskine and his younger brother. Such marks of royal and ministerial favour, very rarely bestowed on any subject, prove how much superior was Wedderburn to Thurlow in the arts of ingratiating, whatever parity there might exist between them in their professional or parliamentary talents. Thurlow, who four times held the great seal under as many different administrations, only obtained a barony for his paternal nephew; while Wedderburn made his sister's son an earl, by the title of Rosslyn.

Sir James Erskine developed with considerable ability the charge confided to him, which principally regarded improvident or corrupt contracts made by Hastings. Those for providing bullocks, elephants, opium, and many other articles furnished by individuals whom the governor-general favoured or patronized, constituted the subjects of erimination. Among these censurable acts of expenditure, stood conspicuous the augmentation of Sir Eyre Coote's

salary, as commander-in-chief, from sixteen thousand pounds a year to more than double that sum, which proposition was carried by Hastings in council. It formed nevertheless a singular fact, that not even his accusers attributed to him the smallest participation in the profits of any transaction enumerated; though it appeared that a relation of Mr. Francis, named Tilghman, who returned from Bengal in the same ship with him to Europe, shared in the advantages of the opium contract, one of those which produced the largest sum of money to the contractor. Francis, who did not attempt to contest the truth of the allegation, contented himself with challenging Major Scott to bring forward a specific charge on the subject. Pitt displayed on that night an extent of intellect, memory, and powers of mind, so wonderful, while discussing the subject, that it might have been supposed he had passed his whole life in active employment on the banks of the Ganges.

With the exception of Burke, of Francis, and of Major Scott, I doubt if any individual present, including even Dundas, possessed so accurate a knowledge of the countries and concerns under examination. It might well excite astonishment, how a man placed in his public situation could find time to acquire, or to retain, such a mass of information; on every point of which he reasoned with transcendent capacity, omitting not the minutest circumstance. The present Marquis of Cholmondeley, who never felt any predilection for Pitt, and who, I believe, never once voted with him in the course of both their lives, yet did justice to his amazing talents. Conversing with him on the subject of that minister, about five years ago, Lord Cholmondeley said, "Pitt once sent to me, requesting my attendance on urgent business. Sir John Anstruther brought me the message. I was then at the head of the Prince of Wales's family, and I accordingly waited on him in Downing-street. The affair regarded a matter of accounts. I find it impossible to do justice to the perspicuity and rapidity of his calculations. In the course of a few minutes he went through and settled every item, leaving me lost in admiration at his

ability." This was the testimony of an opponent and an enemy.

Having followed Sir James Erskine, article by article, through all the branches of the charge, some of which he treated as undeserving of investigation or destitute of foundation, Pitt finally proposed an amendment; offering to concur with the *motion* inculcating Hastings, but only on three distinct points of accusation; namely, the two contracts, one for bullocks, the other for opium; and the increased salary given to Sir Eyre Coote. At the same time, he suggested to Burke the propriety of his speedily coming to a determination respecting the charges which he intended still to bring forward, with a view to attaining the ends of substantial justice. Burke, while he treated the minister's last proposition as founded in amity, refused to concur in his amendment. Only two persons rose to speak in Hastings's exculpation, one of whom was Major Scott. He admitted that some of the contracts were matters of favour, particularly the contract for providing opium. But he observed, that if the profits of them all were as exorbitant in fact, as it had been attempted to prove, they would not collectively amount to more than one moiety of the gain arising to the contractors from the loan of a single year, negotiated in London, during the late unfortunate war. Yet Burke, who had menaced Lord North with impeachment for his corrupt loans, was now closely united with him: while Hastings, who saved India, lay under prosecution. The other individual who refused to concur in criminating the governor-general, was Dempster. He remarked, that "no man, however inimical he might be, had insinuated that one rupee of the various sums enumerated, ever found its way into Mr. Hastings's pocket." These considerations produced no effect on the division. Burke having moved to include in the charge two other contracts, besides the three heads of accusation in which Pitt offered to concur, carried the question by nine votes against the minister. Only twenty-six members, of which small number I was one, negatived Sir James Erskine's *motion*, declaring that "the charge contained matter for impeaching Warren Hastings of

high crimes and misdemeanors." The majority did not exceed sixty.

22d March. — Notwithstanding Pitt's entire or partial concurrence in so many of the charges, he displayed precisely at this time a generous indignation, when Francis attempted to render the committee appointed to draw up the articles a vehicle for his purposes of calumnious malevolence. An individual named Mercer, having been called before that committee, with a view to prove from his deposition Hastings's culpability in the contract for opium; Francis, to whom Mercer had addressed a letter full of the grossest reflections on the late governor-general, so managed the examination, as to have it entered at full length on their minutes. By this unworthy artifice, he contrived to render the house of commons his accomplices in recording a libel. Pitt, holding the letter in his hand, as it appeared in the printed minutes, commented on the whole proceeding with great severity. Francis attempted to justify himself by maintaining, that if he had only produced an extract from Mercer's letter, he might have been charged with suppression of evidence. Burke defended his conduct, and Sheridan accused the minister with giving way to unbecoming wrath. But Pitt contended that the document had evidently been written at Francis's suggestion; adding, that "no degree of indignation could be too strong, where the house itself had been made instrumental to an act of such palpable malice and injustice."

Under an imputation so severe, Francis, though possessing a high spirit, took no step to prove his innocence. Yet, with men actuated by such motives as Pitt imputed to them, did he nevertheless join in impeaching a great functionary, to whom the preservation of our dominions in India was as much due, as Gibraltar was saved by Elliott, or Jamaica by Rodney. Of all Hastings's enemies, Francis might be justly esteemed the most inveterate and implacable. He was likewise the most formidable, not only from his accurate local knowledge obtained while on the spot, but by the composition of his mind. Unlike Burke, Francis's hatred, cool, sagacious, and controlled by his judgment, enabled him

to direct his weapon with malignant skill. Burke's rancour exhausted itself in a torrent of invective, always decorated with classic allusions, frequently illuminated by wit and humour. Francis, like *Junius*, tore his victim with deliberate, scientific ability; was rarely carried away by passion, preserved his enmity ever fresh, laboured with unceasing perseverance, and made his hostility felt by deeds still more than by words. Such was the different formation of the two men!

'To Sir James Erskine, after the interval of a few days (like Homer's heroes, supplying each other's place), succeeded Mr. Windham, who opened the sixth charge against Hastings, for "violations or infractions of the treaty concluded by him with Fyzoola Khan, Nabob of Rohileund." He performed the task with that logical perspicuity, characteristic of his frame of mind, as well as of his style of eloquence, which always borrowed aid from metaphysical sources. Major Scott not only denied the existence of the pretended grievances, which he endeavoured to disprove by a calm recital of the circumstances attending the whole transaction; but he maintained that Fyzoola Khan was one of the most independent and happy native princes of Hindostan, having never received an injury of any kind from the British government. "In fact," added he, "have the Princesses of Oude complained? Has Fyzoola Khan sent home a complaint? The late governor-general left Bengal above two years ago. More than ten weeks before the last packet despatched from Calcutta to England quitted the Ganges, intelligence had been there received of the charges brought forward against him in this assembly. There existed no impediment to the transmission of complaints. I have recently seen or received many letters from India, and not a single word is to be found accusing or inculcating Mr. Hastings. So much the reverse is the fact, that temples have even been erected to him at Benares."

Burke, who felt it necessary to answer Scott, did not fail to attack him with the arms of ridicule, pointed by taste and learning. "I know not," exclaimed he, "whether the assertion relative to the temples constructed in honour of Mr.

Hastings merits belief. But I know that there are temples dedicated throughout India to two very dissimilar divinities; to Brama and to Viśnou, the protecting deities, from whom benefits are supposed to descend; and to the evil principle or power, whose enmity and malignity are deprecated. Perhaps the temple in question may be one of gratitude to the presiding divinities of Hindostan, for having removed a monster under whose tyranny the unfortunate natives suffered so many evils. Oh! *Templa quam dilecta!*" Such were the weapons with which his enemies overwhelmed the man who had preserved India against a combination of European and Asiatic foes. Dundas, though he differed on some essential points from Burke and Windham, yet concurred in opinion with them, that the charge contained criminal matter; while Pitt scarcely took part in the debate. Not a word was uttered except by Scott in Hastings's defence; and on the division, only thirty-seven voices acquitted him. Ninety-six supported the *motion*. The chancellor of the exchequer then rising, proposed that a day should be named for bringing up the report on those charges to which the house had agreed, and for discussing the question of impeachment. After a short conversation, the 2d day of April was finally fixed on for the purpose.

27th March. — Mr. Hamilton, who had already taken so active a part in Hastings's favour, being of opinion that the time named for the agitation of this great subject was not sufficiently distant, endeavoured to interpose some delay. Equally regardless of the effect which his speech might produce upon Pitt, or upon Burke, though connected by the closest ties of friendship with the former; in that imperious and dictatorial tone natural to him, he expressed his astonishment at the indecent precipitation which characterized their deliberations. Then alluding to a proposition thrown out some weeks earlier, for taking measures to secure Hastings's person and property as soon as the impeachment should be voted; "I speak at present," added he, "in terms of restrained indignation respecting it. If I had given way to my emotions on its first mention in this assembly, I could not have answered for

my expressions. I will now only say, that I believe there are very few persons existing who do not wish Mr. Hastings fully to participate in the benefits and blessings of nature with all the rest of mankind." Professing at the same time a readiness to modify his *motion* in any manner which might appear to meet the general sentiment of the house, he contented himself with a protest against following up *the report*, by bringing forward the question of *impeachment* on one and the same evening. He was seconded by Mr. Yorke, then member for the county of Cambridge, now Earl of Hardwicke; a nobleman with whom I was much acquainted in early and middle life, on the Continent, as well as in England. His father, Charles Yorke, who, overcome by the importunities of the present king, accepted the great seal, was second son of the celebrated Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. It is of Charles Yorke that *Junius* speaks, when writing to the Duke of Grafton, on the 14th of February, 1770, he says, "To what an abject condition have you laboured to reduce the best of princes, when the unhappy man who yields at last to such personal instance and solicitation as never can be fairly employed against a subject, feels himself degraded by his compliance, and is unable to survive the disgraceful honours which his gracious sovereign had compelled him to accept! He was a man of spirit; for he had a quick sense of shame, and death has redeemed his character."

The transaction to which *Junius* here refers is one of the most tragical which has taken place in our time. Mr. Yorke closed his existence in a manner strongly resembling the last scene of the lamented Sir Samuel Romilly. On his table lay the patent of his peerage (Baron Morden), and near it the great seal, which, when affixed, would have added the only formality necessary to its legal completion. But, as not a trace of any such impression could be discovered on the wax, and it appearing therefore certain that the chancellor had not chosen to accept the recompense of his political desertion, the title never received effect. This catastrophe took place on the 20th of January, 1770, three days subsequent to his audience with the king. While

contemplating the fate of Mr. Yorke, overwhelmed under the legal dignity and the peerage, which constituted the supreme object of his ambition, we are reminded of Juvenal's

— "Qui nimios optabat honores,
Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
Excelæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus, et impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ!"

The present Earl of Hardwicke, though he does not inherit the abilities of his father or grandfather; nor perhaps equal in talents either of his uncles, the second Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Dover; yet possesses a solid and cultivated understanding, adorned by manners simple, assuming, and conciliating, united to an irreproachable moral character. Sprung from a family ennobled by the law, like the Marquis Camden, they both governed Ireland in difficult times, and have both attained to the distinction of *the garter*; an honour which has been rarely conferred, except on the nobility of ancient descent during the course of George the Third's reign. After losing his father in the manner related, he has had the misfortune likewise to survive his son, Lord Royston; who, at the age of twenty-four, was swallowed up in the waves of the Baltic, off the port of Memel, in 1808. — I return to the debate respecting Hastings's impeachment.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose as soon as Mr. Yorke concluded; and though he manifested the utmost personal deference towards his friend Hamilton, yet he did not less strenuously condemn the proposition of delay. Burke, thus supported by the minister, directed all the severity of his remarks against Hastings. "Let the house," exclaimed he, "recollect what species of criminal we have under our consideration! Let those who accuse us of precipitation, remember how many years we have been occupied with enquiries into Mr. Hastings's conduct! And has he not himself, in that extraordinary performance read by him at our bar, and which he denominated his *defence*, demanded despatch, while he deprecated every instant of delay? The criminal charges in which this house has already concurred, are not simply high crimes

and misdemeanors in the ordinary sense of the words: they are acts, at the bare mention of which our nature recoils with horror." Burke concluded by protesting that longer forbearance in rendering the person and property of the accused individual amenable to public justice, would be on their parts an act of criminal neglect. Hamilton, now finding himself abandoned by his friends, and opposed by Hastings's prosecutors, requested permission to withdraw his *motion*; only adding that he was persuaded, when the report came before them, they would themselves become sensible of the impropriety of determining the question of *impeachment* upon the same evening.

28th March.—This conversation (as it might be more properly termed, than debate) was followed on the subsequent day by a discussion of a very different nature. Beaufoy undertook to move the repeal of the *Corporation and Test Acts*; two of the strongest protecting barriers erected by our ancestors against innovation, either in the church or in the government. His speech comprehended every argument which ingenuity or reason could suggest, clothed in language of no ordinary elegance and energy; tempered throughout by judgment as well as by moderation, and delivered with his characteristic oratorical cadence. From English history, from morals, from philosophy, no less than from sound policy and from religion, he drew, or attempted to draw, his inferences in favour of the proposition. I have indeed witnessed few more luminous displays of intellect in parliament; and I speak with perfect impartiality, neither having voted with him on the occasion, nor being personally known to him except by a very slight acquaintance. As a striking illustration of the hardships imposed by the *Test Act*, Beaufoy cited the case of the celebrated and benevolent Mr. Howard, whom, he said, the proudest nation might be happy to call her own. "Yet even this excellent person," continued he, "renowned throughout Europe for his active philanthropy, having some few years ago taken on himself a troublesome and expensive civil employment, without the previous sacramental qualification enjoined by law, which his religious persuasion

would not permit him to do, the penalties of the act are still impending over him. I fear that even now, on returning to his native country, amidst the plaudits of an admiring world, it may be in the power of any desperate informer, who is ready to take that road to wealth and damnation which the legislature points out, to prosecute Mr. Howard to conviction; thereby exposing him to all the punishments inflicted on an outlaw, to the indelible dishonour of the British name." It must be admitted that such a case would exhibit the severest commentary on the laws. Sir Henry Hoghton seconded Beaufoy's *motion* for a committee of the whole house, to consider of the best mode for redressing the grievance which formed the subject of complaint. He was by creation one of the oldest baronets, as he was by election one of the most ancient members of parliament in England; a rigid presbyterian, of ample fortune, adorned with the mildest manners, and whose character, without stain of any kind, served highly to recommend the proposition.

But Lord North resisted it in a speech, which, though much more concise than Beaufoy's, made not a less deep impression on his hearers: an impression augmented by his personal appearance, deprived of sight, and led in by his son, Colonel North. Those who recollected him only about six years earlier, in the plenitude of ministerial power, seated on the treasury bench, and who contrasted it with his present change of place, and his blindness, surrounded by the companions of his political fall; might contemplate a striking monument of the slippery foundations on which ambition constructs its best-raised edifices. Far from coinciding in Beaufoy's principles or assumptions, he besought the house not to repeal the *Test Act*, as being the great bulwark of our constitution, to which we were eminently indebted for our freedom and tranquillity. "With respect," added he, "to the indignity of which the dissenters complain, in not admitting them to offices unless they qualify by the act in question; has not the country legislatively enacted, that no king or queen shall sit on the throne of these realms who refuses to take the *Test Act*?" "What was the opinion

of parliament in 1689, at the time of the revolution? That parliament was alive to the miseries which we had recently experienced, and to the dangers which we had escaped. They deliberately reviewed all the laws, and they repealed every one except the *Test Act*, which they regarded as merely a civil and political regulation, necessary for the security of the church and the preservation of the British constitution." Lord North illustrated these facts and reasonings by tracing the conduct of James the Second, when aiming equally at arbitrary power, and at the introduction of popery; to the attainment of both which objects the *Test Act* formed his principal or sole impediment. "It brought," continued he, "that ill-advised prince to the crisis of his fate. For, if he could once have procured its repeal, tyranny would have stolen silently on, till it had struck so deep a root as to have rendered all endeavours ineffectual for our emancipation." Shortly after pronouncing this appeal to the good sense and constitutional loyalty of the house, indisposition compelled him to return home, without staying to vote on the question.

The chancellor of the exchequer, who fully coincided with him in opinion, did not omit to pay Lord North the highest compliments on the ability which he had displayed in discussing and elucidating a question of such national importance. They were, I believe, the first spontaneous recognitions to that nobleman's talents and principles which had fallen from the minister's lips, since he came into office. Fox took the contrary side; remarking, that however he might of late have been charged with the odium of coalition, it would not be imputable to him on that evening. With great acuteness, he endeavoured to demonstrate that religion did not form a proper test for political institutions; sustaining his assertion by the authority of Locke, and of other eminent writers. Then addressing himself to the dissenters, he lavished high eulogiums on the motives which had regulated their public conduct in preceding periods of our history; exhorting them to persist in their applications to the legislature, which could not ultimately fail of success. "I have considered myself," added he, "as ho-

noured in acting with them on many occasions; and if I thought there was any time in which they departed from constitutional principles, *I should refer that conduct to a very recent date*. But I am determined to let them know, that however they may occasionally lose sight of their principles of liberty, I never will lose sight of my principles of toleration." This pointed allusion to the part taken by the dissenters as a body, relative to the memorable *East India Bill*, did not escape Pitt's animadversion. After declaring that no person respecting them as individuals more than he did, and admitting that in their corporate capacity the nation owed them obligations, for the disposition which they had evinced to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power; he subjoined, "If I were to name the time in which I conceive that they have exhibited the best proof of their attachment to national freedom I should fix upon the precise period in which it is asserted that they lost sight of their original principles." Neither Burke nor Sheridan took any part in this debate, and on the division, Beaufroy's motion was negatived by seventy-eight votes; ninety-eight sustaining it, while the majority amounted to one hundred and seventy-six.

2d April. — With the month of April recommenced the great business of the session. Sheridan lending himself again to the animosity of Burke, undertook to open the charge against Hastings, relative to *presents*. The subject did not indeed afford him equal facilities of exciting either indignation or compassion, which he had derived from the sufferings of the Princesses of Oude: but it enabled him nevertheless to exhibit, under another form, his eloquent and seductive powers of oratory. Nor did he fail to enliven and to embellish the narrative of the governor-general's asserted acts of corruption, or of venality, by some of those descriptions, sketched with a master hand, and highly coloured, which Sheridan well knew how to compose in his closet. "In reviewing Mr. Hastings's line of action," observed he, "I have uniformly found it to originate from a wild, eccentric, ill-regulated mind. Now, haughty and lofty; now, mean

and insidious. Generous, just, artful, open, by fits and starts. At times deceitful; at others, decided. Changeable in every thing, except in corruption. There, and only there, systematic, methodical, immutable. His revenge, furious as a tempest, or a tornado. His corruption, a monsoon, a trade-wind, blowing regularly and constantly from one quarter."—In this portrait, where the very similes are drawn from appropriate Asiatic phenomena, and where truth was rendered subservient to stage effect;—for the house of commons might justly be regarded by him as a theatre not less than Drury-lane;—he principally studied to captivate and to enchain his hearers. No particle of the distempered, implacable animosity by which Burke was animated and impelled, really pervaded Sheridan's bosom. Wit, antithesis, metaphor, irony, played successively through his speeches. When describing the morality of the court of directors, portrayed in their correspondence with the governor-general, he said it might be condensed in these words. "*Forasmuch* as you have accepted presents, we highly *disapprove* your conduct; but *inasmuch* as you have applied them to the credit of our account, we exceedingly *approve* your conduct." Even assuming that the observation contained as much truth as it did humour, yet Mr. Hastings neither being in the service of the crown, nor able to foresee that his enemies would bring him as a public culprit before parliament on his return to Europe,—was it just to impeach him for accommodating his conduct to the standard of morals recognized by his immediate employers? The court of directors, not Hastings, seem to have formed the proper objects of prosecution, if Sheridan's assertion had been founded in reality.

Major Scott opposed to Sheridan's elegant declamation a dry, clear detail of facts, calculated to extenuate, if not wholly to disprove, all his allegations. Unfortunately, as Scott's zeal and information were not in every instance accompanied with corresponding judgment, he exposed Hastings to a severe attack from a quarter where hitherto he had almost always found a defender. For, Scott having mentioned among the cir-

cumstances which proved the estimation in which the late governor-general's public conduct was held by ministers, that since his return home, at a dinner given him by the East India Directors, various members of the board of control were present, Lord Mulgrave rose under great apparent agitation. "I am anxious," exclaimed he, "to rescue Mr. Hastings from the *shabby* defence now set up for him. No man approves and applauds more than myself numerous parts of his administration while in Bengal. But is it sufficient to say, in reply to serious charges, that when he was entertained by his employers, as a mark of *their* grateful satisfaction, some members of the efficient Indian government dined in the same room?" No doubt, Scott acted imprudently in alluding to the circumstance; but there were persons who thought that Lord Mulgrave's anger was directed as much to conciliate the minister, as it arose from feelings of indignation against Hastings's advocate. It was become evident that Pitt had determined to vote for the impeachment. Lord Mulgrave had very warmly opposed it in various stages. On the charge respecting Cheyt Sing, he had declared that, as an honest man, he could not coincide with the chancellor of the exchequer in the condemnation of Hastings. These differences of opinion might be productive of injurious personal consequences. The British peerage, which formed the great object of his ambition, the reward of his parliamentary service, lay in near prospect before him. In fact, he was sent to the upper house little more than three years afterwards, when the dissolution took place; and he had probably secured a promise of it at this time. How far the considerations here enumerated might sharpen his sense of the imprudence committed by Scott, must remain matter of conjecture. Mr. William Grenville concurred in sentiment with Lord Mulgrave. Both became peers in 1790.

A singularity attending this debate was, that neither Fox or Burke on one side, nor Pitt or Dundas on the other, took any part in it. One hundred and sixty-five persons found Hastings guilty, while only fifty-four acquitted him. A new discussion then commenced, re-

specting the order of proceeding proper to be adopted by the house. The chancellor of the exchequer gave it as his opinion, that the most advisable course to pursue, would be to refer the charges to a committee, who might select out of them the criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment. Then, upon those articles, when reported, he proposed to move the question of impeachment itself. Fox maintained a contrary doctrine. He said that the next step to be taken, after agreeing to the report on the table, would be to send a message to the house of lords, signifying that "the house of commons had resolved to impeach Mr. Hastings." Adding that "they were preparing articles, and would send them up with all convenient despatch." Each sustained his opinion by arguments drawn from reason, substantial justice, and above all, from precedents; beginning with the case of the Earl of Danby, under Charles the Second; and concluding with the trial of the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, under George the First. Burke having patiently listened to the two disputants with more suavity than he ordinarily displayed, gave his advice in favour of the minister's mode of prosecution. Not, as he asserted, in compliance with his own judgment,—for he declared Fox's proposition to be the most constitutional—but with the intent, if possible, of securing unanimity.

I freely confess, it appeared to me at the time, and I still remain unaltered in my opinion, that Hastings's defence was altogether ill-advised and injudicious; exposing him to the very evils which he might have avoided by a different line of action. If, instead of pretending to an immaculate purity, which no man in his perilous and elevated position could invariably maintain during twelve or thirteen years, he had adopted another mode of justification, he never would have been impeached. When accused of mal-administration, if he had contrasted the instances adduced with his eminent recognized services to the state;—if he had early authorized and enjoined his agent so to act, he would infallibly have disarmed Burke; or at the worst, he would probably have secured Pitt. But ignorance, credulity, and presumption

were his guides. Unacquainted with the nature of the ground, and relying on royal favour, while his own mind acquitted him of any dereliction of his public duties; he threw himself boldly, but, as the event proved, most imprudently, on the current of parliament. At first, it seemed to support him; but as he advanced, the stream became more shallow and rocky, till he was finally wrecked. His warmest admirers and adherents were even obliged, in voicing for him, to cover themselves with the very robe which he had thrown aside as unworthy of his use. They acquitted him, not because they considered the specific accusation brought forward to be without foundation in every particular instance; but because, balancing his faults, or his acts of severity, against his resplendent public merits, they thought that he deserved honours and rewards, instead of punishment. At least, such was the principle on which I acted throughout the whole prosecution. So, as I know, did many others. Burke profited of Hastings's error, to attack him. Pitt availed himself of it to abandon him. Dundas, who took a less prominent part, calmly beheld the only individual who could emulate the place which he himself filled at the East India Board, plunge into an ocean of embarrassments. It is true that he was ultimately acquitted. But, how feeble a reparation did his acquittal constitute for years of accusation, attendance, and vexation, exposed to the eloquent invectives of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan! I repeat, Hastings became the victim, not of his crimes, or of his oppressions committed in the East. It was his own imprudence, and want of able counsellors, that brought him into Westminster Hall.

3d April.—When the house met for the purpose of appointing a committee to draw up articles of impeachment, Burke inveighed against any attempt to allege Mr. Hastings's merits, as a *set-off* against direct, criminal, personal charges. Where general criminality was imputed, he admitted that it might be fair to plead general services; but, in a case where specific articles of accusation had been exhibited, it became the duty of parliament to put the party accused upon his trial, without regard to any

merits that he might plead, or even possess. Mr. Hastings, he observed, had declared his disdain of any benefit that might result from bringing forward his public services, either as an extenuation, or as a justification, of his conduct. Major Scott rising immediately, avowed that he never had for an instant, at any period of the prosecution, entertained an idea of pleading Mr. Hastings's merits, *as a set-off against delinquencies*. "I have uniformly opposed all the charges," continued he, "because I conscientiously believe that the late governor-general merited thanks and recompenses for those very acts which here have been made grounds of impeachment." In order to corroborate this declaration, which, he said, was equally the sentiment of Hastings, Scott read, by permission of the assembly, a paper, in which he thus expressed himself on the point: "If it shall be resolved that there is *ground* for impeaching me, I presume the *resolution* of impeachment ought to follow of course; as the only mode of satisfying the national justice, on the supposition of my guilt; or to clear my character, in the alternative of my innocence." Hastings concluded by requesting those members who had not thought him culpable, yet, if the house should resolve on the *report*, to charge him with crimes and misdemeanors; in that event to unite with his prosecutors, for the purpose of bringing him to legal trial.

The *resolutions* being severally read, and the question put upon each, not a word was uttered in opposition to them. Burke then moved the appointment of a committee to prepare articles of impeachment. Their names, at the head of which list appeared his own, were selected by himself, to the number of twenty. I have had occasion to mention the far greater part of them in the course of these memoirs. One only was rejected on a division; I mean, Francis, whose implacable hostility to Hastings rendered him, in the judgment of a large majority, unfit to fill the office of a manager on the approaching trial. He seemed, indeed, to display a most indecorous and malignant spirit of enmity, in wishing to assume so prominent a part on the prosecution of a man with whom, as a member of the supreme council, he had

differed in opinion upon almost every public measure, and by whom he had been wounded in a duel. Yet Francis complained of his exclusion, as the result of malicious insinuations industriously circulated by his enemies. Only eight individuals of the twenty survive at the time when I am now writing, in April, 1819; among whom are the four Earls, of Rosslyn, Chichester, Lauderdale, and Grey, together with Lord St. John of Bletsoe. George Augustus North, Lord North's eldest son, filled a place in the committee, not from respect to his talents or eloquence, but as a testimony of his father's approval of, and co-operation in, the impeachment. Welbore Ellis and General Burgoyne rather lent their names, than afforded any efficient aid, to the cause. So did Frederic Montagu, whose correct information on all matters of parliamentary form or order, when added to his high character for integrity, served to grace the catalogue. Invitations were given by Burke, to the chancellor of the exchequer, and to Dundas, soliciting each of them to become members of the committee; but, after joining Hastings's enemies to collect the combustible materials, they judiciously left to others the task of commencing the conflagration.

4th—16th April.—During the period of the parliamentary recess at Easter, great changes took place in the councils of France; Vergennes's death being followed, after a short interval of time, by Calonne's dismissal. Whatever might be the defects of the controller-general's private or public character (and I readily admit that they were numerous); he unquestionably fell a victim to his enlightened but imprudent propositions for the amelioration of the finances. Without first securing a majority in the assembly of the "notables," he brought forward a measure, pregnant indeed with national benefit, but, most repugnant to the pride and egotism, no less than it would have been severe in its operation on the property, of the privileged orders. His proposition for imposing a territorial impost, analogous to our land-tax, to be levied without distinction from every class of subjects, must have poured into the royal treasury a sum of more than four millions sterling annual revenue.

The plan was worthy of Colbert, and if it had been realized, would have extricated the sovereign, sustained the throne, and prevented, or at least mitigated, revolution. Unfortunately, the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy or parliaments, blind to their own real interests, and ripe for the destruction which impended over them, refused to sacrifice a part of their possessions, in order to preserve the remainder. The projected tax, which would have forced the peers, and even the princes of the blood, to contribute in the same proportion with the mechanic or the peasant, met with general opposition. Calonne, unable to surmount so formidable a combination, found it necessary to resign, overwhelmed by his own unpopularity, while meditating to extricate France from financial embarrassment.

A circumstance, trifling in itself, which took place about this time, serves nevertheless forcibly to demonstrate the aversion felt towards him by the inhabitants of the capital, as well as their characteristic levity. The *tester* of Calonne's bed having fallen upon him during the night, together with a portion of the ceiling of the room, he narrowly escaped suffocation. All Paris, when the fact became known, exclaimed, "*Juste Ciel!*" The *tester* of a bed is denominated in French, *le ciel du lit*. After undergoing some marks of royal displeasure, he was permitted to withdraw into England. With him may be said to have commenced the emigration which soon became so general; and from his fall we may date the beginning of the revolution, though the Bastille was not attacked and taken till more than two years after Calonne's dismissal. Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, a prelate whose abilities were at that time highly estimated, succeeded to the vacant place at the head of the finances. The Duke of Dorset, writing to me from Paris on the 24th of May, 1787, says, "The Archbishop of Toulouse is said to be a very clever man; but I believe him to be very much over-rated." Time soon confirmed the ambassador's opinion. Even the appointment of an ecclesiastic to so eminent a post, at such a moment, was by no means calculated to calm the

national agitation, or to sustain the tottering foundations of the monarchy.

20th April. — But the attention of parliament, and of all England, was suddenly diverted at this time into a new channel, by the debts of the Prince of Wales; which, within the space of less than four years, were become intolerably oppressive to himself. All application to the sovereign for assistance being found ineffectual, it was determined by his secret advisers, at whose head presided Lord Loughborough, Fox, and Sheridan, to throw him at once on the generosity of the house of commons. Alderman Newnham, who, in the course of the preceding session, when the subject of his royal highness's pecuniary embarrassments was agitated, had expressed his conviction that the income of the heir-apparent could not be found adequate to the support of his dignity, was again selected on the present occasion. He possessed neither eloquence, nor public consideration, that seemed to qualify him for so delicate an office; but, as one of the representatives for the city of London, he might be supposed to speak the sentiments of his constituents. Newnham, addressing himself across the table to the chancellor of the exchequer, requested to be informed whether it was the intention of ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing the Prince of Wales from his very distressed situation. He added, that the question thus asked did not originate in personal curiosity; as, according to the nature of the answer returned, he might find it expedient to ground a parliamentary proceeding. Pitt, thus interrogated, replied very laconically, that it not being his duty to open such a subject, except by command of his majesty, it was only necessary for him to say that he had received no such directions. The alderman then gave notice, that on the 4th of the ensuing month, he would propose to the consideration of the house a *motion* relative to the Prince of Wales. Here terminated the conversation.

24th April.—Public curiosity being universally excited by the expected agitation of a question, in which the king and his eldest son must form the two opposite parties; and which might in

its progress give rise to the most painful disclosures; Pitt endeavoured, about four days later, either wholly to avert it; or, if that should be found impracticable, at least to ascertain the nature of the intended *motion*. Rising for the purpose, after alluding to the delicacy of the subject itself, he expressed a wish to know whether the honourable magistrate still persisted in forcing it forward on the attention of the house. "If he retained his determination," the minister added, "at least its scope and tendency ought to be stated." Newnham replied that he did not *force forward* a discussion, which was propelled by its own weight: that he had not yet decided on the precise form in which he should vest his proposition; but that its object would be to rescue the Prince of Wales from his actual pecuniary difficulties. The minister sarcastically observing, that it was singular to have given notice of a *motion*, without previously determining what it should be; especially as it regarded a matter of such gravity and novelty; Fox came forward to Newnham's assistance. Having concurred in the *latter* part of Pitt's observation, Fox subjoined his hopes, that on account of the necessity which would arise for investigating the causes of his royal highness's distress, the business itself might be anticipated, and some act performed which must supersede the proposed *motion*. "I admit," answered the chancellor of the exchequer, "the necessity of investigation, and precisely for that reason, combined with my profound respect for the illustrious family concerned in it, I would, if possible, prevent discussion. The information which I possess on the point, renders me peculiarly desirous of avoiding it; but, if a determination should be manifested to bring it before this assembly, I shall, however distressing it may be to myself as an individual, discharge my public duty by entering fully into the subject."

27th April. — These reciprocal measures soon led to more determined indications of hostility. Newnham having announced that his intentions was "to move an address to the throne, entreating his majesty to enquire into the prince's embarrassed situation, and to rescue him from it;" Rolle, who, though he sur-

nished in his own person matter for political and poetic ridicule, yet represented a great county; and who, however coarse in his language he might be, wanted not intelligence or firmness in the discharge of his parliamentary duties; instantly expressed his disapprobation of the proposed *motion*. "It is," continued he, "a proposition which tends immediately to affect our constitution, *both in church and state*. If therefore it should ever be brought forward, I will, as soon as the honourable magistrate sits down, move *the previous question*; — for I am decidedly of opinion that it ought not to be discussed within these walls." Fox being absent on that evening (not, as he afterwards declared premeditatedly, with a view of avoiding the mention of such a topic; but because he was unacquainted with the intention to agitate it); — Sheridan took on himself to justify the appeal to parliament. "A county member," exclaimed he, "stands forward, and calls on the country gentlemen to aid him in opposing a discussion which may affect our constitution *in church and state*. The subject is doubtless in itself momentous; but dark insinuations have been thrown out, in order to magnify its importance. They have even been used as arguments to deter his royal highness's friends from introducing any measure likely to produce an enquiry into his conduct, under the penalty of disclosing alarming facts. — I am however confident, and I speak from authority, when I assert that he wishes every part of his conduct to be laid open, without ambiguity or concealment. Such is the unequivocal reply which the illustrious personage would himself give, as a peer of parliament, if this subject should ever be agitated in another assembly."

Not in the least degree intimidated by Sheridan's speech, Rolle replied that no man present felt more loyalty towards his sovereign, or towards the heir-apparent, than himself. "Nevertheless," added he, "if a *motion* is proposed, which I hold to be improper, I shall act as becomes an independent country gentleman. *I expect nothing from his majesty, nor from his successor*. I will therefore fulfil my duty, by opposing a proposition which may produce serious *differences* between the father and the

son." The sincerity of this concise and lofty declaration of disinterestedness, worthy of *Andrew Marvel*, or of *Shippen*, must yet be liable to some sort of doubt; since, only nine years afterwards, the member for Devon kissed hands at St. James's, on being raised by Pitt to the British peerage. And it is difficult to suppose, that even at the time when he professed so much indifference to the honours which emanate from the throne, he had not in view to obtain a seat in the upper house. Various persons now interposed to deprecate the further discussion of so momentous a question. Among them Powis rose, who, however elevated might be his motives, nourished in his bosom a systematic ambition, not incompatible with an ardent desire of promoting the public welfare. In urgent terms he implored of Newnham not to prosecute his threatened intention; adding, that he ought to entreat permission to withdraw his notice. But Sheridan instantly appealed to the chancellor of the exchequer, whether, by adopting such a course, the prince would not seem to concede to terror, what he had refused to argument. Under these circumstances, the minister, after again expostulating both with Newnham, and with Sheridan, on the impropriety of persisting to bring forward a proposition big with public mischief; finding all his efforts for preventing it fruitless, contented himself with declaring, that the particulars to which he had alluded during a former debate, as necessary to be stated by him to the house, related solely to a correspondence that had taken place respecting the pecuniary embarrassments of the prince, and had no reference to any *extraneous facts*.

30th April. — Fox, who, as I have already observed, had not been present at this debate, attended in his place when the subject was resumed, and performed the principal part; speaking in the name, and by the immediate authority of the heir-apparent. Mrs. Fitzherbert formed, in fact, the prominent object of enquiry, though she was not brought to the bar, and personally interrogated, as we have beheld another female treated in 1809. Fox having expatiated on the hardship of the Prince of Wales's situation, and declared his royal highness's readiness

to state every particular of the debts which he had incurred, next adverted to Rolle's allusion. Without naming any individual, he stigmatized the report itself as "a low malicious calumny, destitute of all foundation, impossible ever to have happened, and propagated with the sole view of depreciating the prince's character in the estimation of the country." Rolle readily admitted its *legal* impossibility, but he maintained that there were modes in which it might have taken place. He added that the matter had been discussed in newspapers, all over the kingdom, impressing with deep concern every individual who venerated the British constitution. Fox replying, that he denied it in point of *fact*, as well as of *law*, the thing never having been done in any way; Rolle demanded, "Whether he spoke from direct authority?" To this question Fox answered decidedly in the affirmative; and here the dialogue terminated. Neither the chancellor of the exchequer, nor any other member present, took part in it; silence pervading the house, which, as well as the gallery, was crowded to the utmost degree. Mrs. Fitzherbert being now disclaimed as the wife of the Prince of Wales, in the most formal terms, by a person who came expressly commissioned for the purpose, on behalf of the personage principally interested, and Rolle making no reply, a sort of pause ensued; the debate, as far as it regarded the supposed matrimonial union or contract in question, seemed to be at an end.

Such would probably have been the fact;—for Fox, satisfied with exposing the falsity of the imputation, never once opened his lips during the remainder of the discussion. But Sheridan, who always manifested an aversion towards Rolle, observed, that, after the explicit answer given on the present occasion, it would be most unhandsome in the member for Devon not to express his satisfaction. Finding nevertheless that no disposition was manifested to comply with his demand; Rolle simply remarking, that he had certainly received an answer, and that the house must form their own opinion of its propriety; Sheridan returned with more personality to the charge. "Such a line of conduct," he said, "was neither candid,

not manly; and the house ought therefore to resolve it seditious, as well as disloyal, to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince of Wales." Rolle however refused to concede, or to declare any conviction on the subject. "I did not invent these reports," answered he, "but I heard them, and they made an impression on my mind. In order to ascertain how far they had any foundation, I put the question; and in so doing, I am convinced that I have not acted in an unparliamentary manner." The chancellor of the exchequer, who during the course of Rolle's interrogatory to Fox had not interposed, now rose; and with great animation arraigned Sheridan's proceeding, as the most unqualified attack which he had ever witnessed on the freedom of debate. "Those," added Pitt, "who exhibit such warmth on the present occasion, ought rather to acknowledge their obligation to the individual who has suggested a question which produced so explicit a declaration on this interesting subject:—a declaration which *must* give complete satisfaction, not only to him, but to the whole house."

Rolle's tenacity in withholding his assent to the satisfactory nature of Fox's answer, was equally displayed by Sheridan, on Pitt's attempt to force from him the avowal. With uncommon ingenuity he endeavoured to demonstrate, that Rolle having received an explicit denial of his insinuation, was bound either to admit his error, or to adopt measures for discovering the truth. "It would," continued he, "be aggravating the malicious falsehood circulated, to assert that the Prince of Wales had authorized a false denial of the fact. Even the minister himself is obliged to *assume* that the honourable member *must be satisfied*, as he has not had sufficient candour to make the acknowledgment." Thus pressed, Rolle once more rose, and after observing that his affection for the heir-apparent dictated the question put by him, he added, "The honourable gentleman has not heard me say I am *unsatisfied*." Grey vainly endeavoured by a repetition of Sheridan's arguments, couched in still more intemperate language, to elicit from Rolle a less equivocal recognition. But Pitt, indignant at

the expressions used by Grey, repelled his attempt with great warmth. While the chancellor of the exchequer disclaimed every idea of menace, he persisted to declare that all those to whom the harmony and the happiness of the royal family were dear, ought to join with him in deprecating the threatened discussion; or, if it could not be prevented, at least to give it the most decided opposition. "No possible necessity," concluded he, "can be pleaded for recurring to this assembly on a subject which in propriety, as well as in decency, ought to originate with the crown; since I know that *there exists no want of becoming readiness in another quarter, to do every thing which ought to be done in the business.*" With this declaration, which seemed, if it was improved, to open a door for mutual concession, the debate closed; each party professing a determined intention of trying the issue, and both sides anticipating a favourable result.

May.—But a variety of considerations happily conducted to prevent a collision apparently so imminent, and which would have been subject of just regret if it had taken place. The question at issue regarding the royal family exclusively, could not be contemplated in the light of a common ministerial measure; and many individuals who usually supported government, would probably have voted on the contrary side. Fox's formal and direct disavowal of Mrs. Fitzherbert's marriage operated to conciliate others; who, when no longer indisposed towards the prince, on account of this supposed infraction of the laws, might incline to increase his income, and even to liquidate his debts. There were not wanting persons who thought his annual allowance too scanty for the heir to the British throne. Conscientious men considered the king's conduct scarcely justifiable, in appropriating to his own use the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, during the minority of his son, and refusing to render any account of their expenditure after he became of age. His majesty asserted, indeed, that they had been expended on the prince's education; but it was answered, that provision had been made for that national object, which was included in the civil list. A

statesman, especially if he was a minister, might probably have decided in favour of the sovereign. I believe that a rigid moralist would nevertheless have determined on the other side. Pitt's own parliamentary experience had shown him that he could not always calculate on a majority. He had been compelled to abandon the *Westminster scrutiny*, and to desist from prosecuting the Duke of Richmond's *plan of fortifications*. The grace and affability of the prince, when combined with the festivities of the Carlton-house; contrasted too as they were with the seclusion of George the Third's mode of life; contributed to attract followers. These facts, which could not escape either Pitt's or Dundas's attention, were enforced, and placed before them in the strongest point of view, by the Duchess of Gordon. Few women have performed a more conspicuous part, or occupied a higher place than herself, on the public theatre of fashion, politics, and dissipation, between the period of which I am writing, and the close of Pitt's first administration; a term of about fourteen years. I shall speak of her with great impartiality, from long personal acquaintance. She was one of the three daughters of Sir William Maxwell of Monteith, a Scotch baronet; and the song of "Jenny of Monteith," which I have heard the present Duke of Gordon sing, was composed to celebrate her charms.

In my estimate of female attractions, she always wanted one essential component part of beauty. Neither in her person, manners, or mind, was there any feminine expression. She might have aptly represented the Juno of Homer; but not Horace's "O, quæ beatam Diva tenes Cyprum!" Her features, however noble, pleasing, and regular, always animated, constantly in play, never deficient in vivacity or intelligence, yet displayed no timidity. They were sometimes overclouded by occasional frowns of anger or vexation, much more frequently lighted up with smiles. Her conversation bore a very strong analogy to her intellectual formation. Exempted by her sex, rank, and beauty, from those restraints imposed on women by the generally recognized usages of society, the Duchess of Gordon frequently dispensed with their

observance. Unlike the Duchess of Devonshire, who with the tumult of elections, fairs, and party triumphs, could mix love, poetry, and a passion for the fine arts; the Scottish Duchess reserved all the energies of her character for ministerial purposes. Desirous of participating in the blessings which the treasury alone can dispense, and of enrolling the name of Gordon, with those of Pitt and of Dundas; if not in the rolls of fame, at least in the substantial list of court favour and benefaction; the administration did not possess a more active or determined partizan. Her discernment enabled her to perceive that Fox, whatever dignities or employments might be reserved for him by fortune under the reign of George the Fourth, would probably remain excluded from power so long as the sceptre remained in the possession of George the Third. This principle or conviction seemed never to be absent from her mind.

Her conjugal duties pressed on her heart with less force, than did her maternal solitudes. In her daughters centered principally her ambitious cares. For their elevation, no sacrifices appeared to her to be too great, no exertions too laborious, no renunciations too severe. It would indeed be vain to seek for any other instance in our history, of a woman who had allied three of her five daughters in marriage to English dukes, and the fourth to a marquis. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, so powerful under the last queen of the Stuart race, and who had likewise five daughters, obtained for them only two dukes and three earls in marriage. Yet *they* were the children of the illustrious John Churchill, and on *them* was respectively settled, by act of parliament, the dukedom and Blenheim. The ladies in question inherited nothing, not even their mother's personal beauty; or at least, only in a diminished degree. To that mother, and to her solely, they owed their great matrimonial alliances. The Dukes of Richmond, and of Manchester; banished under the name of governors, the first, to the snowy banks of the St. Laurence, and the other, to the oppressive climate of Jamaica; are both paying, at this hour, the penalty of those imprudent, if not unfortunate matches. Georgiana, youngest of the

five, whom the duchess carried over to Paris in 1802, and whose hand she had destined for Eugene Beauharnois, in the subsequent year became Duchess of Bedford. Bonaparte, then first consul, and already anticipating an imperial crown, meditated a higher alliance for Eugene than the family of Gordon could offer, however ancient or illustrious may be its rank in the Scottish peerage; and he expressed his decided disapprobation of any such meditated union. Three years later, having by the plenitude of his usurped power saluted the Duke of Bavaria as a king, he exacted the sacrifice of the new sovereign's eldest daughter, for Josephine's son, nominated viceroy of Italy.

As early as the year 1787, Dundas had attained a commanding influence, which no other individual ever acquired over Pitt's mind. With the members of the cabinet Pitt maintained only a political union: Dundas was his companion, with whom he passed, not merely his convivial hours, but to whom he confided his cares and embarrassments. Dundas possessed a villa near London, at Wimbledon, where he was accustomed to repair after debates, for the purpose of sleeping out of town. Pitt, on quitting the treasury bench, used to throw himself into Dundas's post-chaise, and to accompany him. At whatever hour they arrived, they sat down to supper; never failed to drink each his bottle; and the minister found his sleep more sound, as well as more refreshing, at Wimbledon, than in Downing-street. However violent might have been the previous agitation of his mind, yet in a very few minutes after he laid his head on the pillow, he never failed to sink into profound repose. So difficult, indeed, was it to awaken him, that his valet usually shook him before he could be aroused from sleep. One of his private secretaries used to affirm that no intelligence, however distressing, had power sufficient to break his rest. On that account, he never locked or bolted the door of his bed-chamber. I recollect a circumstance which took place, several years subsequent to this time;—it happened in 1796;—strongly corroborative of the above facts. Pitt having been much disturbed by a variety of painful political

occurrences, drove out to pass the night with Dundas at Wimbledon. After supper, the minister withdrew to his chamber, having given his servant directions to call him at seven, on the ensuing morning. No sooner had he retired, than Dundas, conscious how much his mind stood in need of repose, repaired to his apartment, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket; at the same time enjoining the valet on no consideration to disturb his master, but to allow him to sleep as long as nature required. It is a truth that Pitt neither awoke, nor called any person, till half past four in the afternoon of the following day; when Dundas entering his room together with his servant, found him still in so deep a sleep, that it became necessary to shake, in order to awaken him. He had slept uninterruptedly during more than sixteen hours.

I have already remarked elsewhere, that Dundas, beneath the appearance of unguarded, open manners, knew how to mature, and when necessary, how to conceal, the most solid projects of ambition. Managing Scotland, while he controlled India, and looking forward to the British peerage as his certain reward, he kept his eye fixed invariably on Pitt. With consummate ability he adapted his conduct, as well as his conversation, to the peculiar structure of that minister's mind, on which adulation would only have produced effects injurious to his own plans. Dundas guided Pitt on many points, and influenced him upon almost every measure; but he effected it by never dictating upon any matter. When discussing public business, he commonly affected to embrace ideas contrary to the opinion which he knew or believed Pitt to have formed upon the subject. After contesting the chancellor of the exchequer's arguments, Dundas usually concluded by adopting his sentiments, as if from real conviction. This ingenious species of flattery proved irresistible, under the control of judgment. The Duchess of Gordon, who lived in habits of great intimacy with them both, entertained about the same time the project of marrying her eldest daughter to the first minister. Lady Charlotte Lennox was then about eighteen years of age; and though not a Hebe, yet her youth, her

high birth, and her accomplishments, might not improbably, as her mother thought, effect his conquest. In fact, Pitt, however little constitutionally inclined to the passion of love, yet manifested some partiality towards her, and showed her many attentions.

The duchess, desirous of improving so favourable a commencement, used to drive to Wimbledon, accompanied by Lady Charlotte, at times when she knew that Pitt was there. But Dundas, than whom few men were more clear-sighted; and who by no means wished his friend to form a matrimonial connexion, which must have given the duchess a sort of maternal ascendant over him; determined to counteract her design. For that purpose, he could devise no expedient more efficacious, than affecting a disposition to lay his own person and fortune at Lady Charlotte's feet. He was then a widower, having been divorced from his first wife. Pitt, who never had displayed more than a slight inclination towards the lady, ceased his assiduities; and Dundas's object being answered, his pretensions, which never were clearly pronounced, expired without producing any ostensible effect. Singular, or doubtful as these facts may appear, I have good reason for believing them to be founded in truth. They came from high authority. Two years later, the Duchess of Gordon succeeded in procuring for her the hand of Colonel Lenox, since become Duke of Richmond.

1st — 4th May. — The concluding words of the minister's speech on the 30th of April, sufficiently indicated that at St. James's there existed a disposition to accommodate matters, without making disclosures in the house of commons, equally painful to the king, and to the prince. It only required a friendly interposition to animate this inclination. The Duchess of Gordon undertook the office. She passed a part of almost every evening in society with the heir apparent, whom she was accustomed in conversation to treat with the utmost freedom even upon points of great delicacy. Her exhortations and remonstrances to ministers produced the desired effect. His majesty having approved of the experiment, Dundas was selected for carrying it into execution. The facility

of his careless, open manner, so different from Pitt's serious, stiff, constrained address, rendered him peculiarly proper for the mission. A respectful intimation being conveyed to his royal highness, requesting permission on the part of Dundas to attend him at Carlton-house, an interview took place between them on Wednesday, the 2d of May. I could recount some of its most curious particulars, as they were related by the prince himself to one of my intimate friends, who communicated them to me. But, though many years may possibly elapse before these memoirs will be laid before the public, yet I shall content myself with stating that Dundas experienced the most gracious reception. After ascertaining from the prince's own lips the extent of his pecuniary incumbrances, which amounted to full two hundred thousand pounds, Dundas gave him an assurance that prompt, as well as liberal assistance, should be extended to him. This amicable conference was subsequently moistened with no ordinary quantity of wine; and the engagement which had been contracted fasting, received a most energetic ratification on the part of the treasurer of the navy, after they had drunk very freely together. There did not indeed exist among the members of administration an individual composed of more maleable materials than Dundas. The ground being now prepared, and the preliminaries adjusted, on the following day, Thursday, Pitt was admitted to an audience at Carlton-house. Every article of the accommodation was finally concluded, before the separation of the prince and the chancellor of the exchequer.

4th May. — Intelligence of this favourable result not having been generally circulated before the house of commons met, curiosity attracted an unusual concourse of members; when Newnham, in few words, informed them, that the *motion* which he had announced was now no longer necessary, and therefore he should decline bringing it forward. Pitt, offended at the sarcastic insinuation conveyed in the monosyllable *now*, after expressing his satisfaction that the measure was admitted to be no longer necessary, subjoined, "I cannot help declaring, that as I always considered it to

be unnecessary, so I do not *now* perceive it to be more so, than at the time when the notice was given. I am, however, happy to find that we are at last of the same opinion on the subject." So pointed an animadversion called up Fox, who, while he deprecated any expression which might disturb the desirable unanimity, nevertheless added, "I remain *now* as much convinced that the motion *was* necessary, as I am persuaded at this moment of its being *no longer* necessary." The chancellor of the exchequer having justified the king's conduct throughout every part of the transaction, as "uniform and consistent, departing in no one instance from the principles which always directed him," Fox made a similar declaration or protest on the part of the prince.

9th May. — The proceedings in the prosecution of Hastings, which seemed to have been suspended during near three weeks, while the application of the Prince of Wales to parliament occupied the public mind; were resumed and terminated, as far as they related to the house of commons, at this time. A debate of great interest took place on the second reading of the articles of impeachment. Lord Hood, with the feelings of a man to whom the commands of fleets had been delegated under circumstances of the greatest personal responsibility, made a short and plain appeal in favour of an individual, who, whatever errors he might have committed, had unquestionably rescued that valuable portion of the empire entrusted to his care from almost inevitable subversion. Wilkes, though during the two or three last sessions he had rarely taken any active part, and though he already began to feel the infirmities of approaching age, came forward on this occasion. The same unconquered spirit, wit, and classic fire, which he displayed on the 30th of April, 1763, when brought before the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, by virtue of a *general warrant*, pervaded every sentence that he uttered. But his articulation, which never had been perfectly distinct even in youth, grew annually more embarrassed from the inroads of time on his organs of speech. After stating that, however he might have been dazzled with the splendour of eloquence,

or charmed by appeals to the passions, on the part of Hastings's accusers, he remained wholly unconvinced by their arguments; "I have heard him," continued Wilkes, "more than once compared to *Verres*. But the house ought to recollect that when the governor of Sicily was accused before the Roman senate, scarcely an inhabitant of that island could be found who did not exhibit complaints against him. In the instance before us, though the prosecution, or rather, the persecution of Mr. Hastings has been already nearly three years in progress, yet not a single charge or imputation on his conduct has been transmitted from India." — "When we consider," resumed he, "that while the empire was mouldering away elsewhere, Mr. Hastings, by his exertions, preserved unimpaired our possessions in the East; I am covered with astonishment, that *a faction in this assembly* should have been able to carry on the proceedings to the present point. I trust, for the honour of the nation, it will be terminated and finally extinguished by a very considerable majority, before we adjourn, this night." Wilkes concluded by moving "that the report should be read a second time on that day three months."

Ilay Campbell, then lord advocate of Scotland, with great legal ability reviewed the whole series of Hastings's administration, pronouncing his exculpation or acquittal upon every point. But the individual who excited the strongest sensation, was Courtenay. Eccentric, fearless, sarcastic, highly informed, always present to himself, dealing his blows on every side, regardless on whom they fell; but, a devoted adherent of Fox; Courtenay began by an ironical compliment to Lord Hood, "whom," he said, "no man could contemplate without reverence, when he reflected how much his country owed him for having been a *spectator* of Lord Rodney's glorious victory of the 12th of April, 1782." Loud cries of Order! from the ministerial benches here interrupting him; Courtenay, without betraying the slightest agitation or discomposure, calmly maintained, that his remark being complimentary to the noble lord, on the circumstance of his having

chanced to be present when Admiral Rodney defeated De Grasse, no member had any right to accuse him as disorderly on the present occasion. Then turning towards Wilkes, who sat next to him, "The worthy alderman," continued he, "possesses more sense than to feel anger, when I mean him a compliment; as I do, when I assert that his country owes him great obligations, for having, at one period of his life, diffused a spirit of liberty throughout the general mass of the people, unexampled,—except, indeed, in the time of Jack Cade, and Wat Tyler." "The cry of Order! that had been so violent only a minute before, was lost in the universal burst of laughter which followed this observation. "The honourable magistrate," said Courtenay, "has defended Mr. Hastings's treatment of the *Begums*, by asserting that those princesses were engaged in rebellion. Surely he must have looked upon the transaction *obliquely*, or he never could have formed so erroneous an idea. 'Two old women in rebellion against the governor-general! impossible. Nor would the worthy alderman have made an "Essay on Woman," in the manner that Mr. Hastings did. 'The house well knows, he would not."

No person rising to interrupt him, though the humour of this last observation was lost in its superior indecency, Courtenay next attacked the lord advocate. Having compared Hastings to the execrated Colonel Kirk, so well known under the reign of James the Second; "I have heard," continued he, "parallels drawn in the course of preceding debates between the late governor-general, and various persons illustrious for their exploits. Verres, Alexander, Scipio, Epaminondas, have been successively named. I shall look to modern ages for my comparison. Ferdinand Cortez is my model. He being sent out to South America, for the purpose of instructing, *murdering*, and baptizing the uninformed Indians, marked his footsteps with blood and cruelty. His conduct exciting abhorrence, an enquiry was at length instituted, with a view of bringing him to justice. But Cortez, aware of his danger, took care to transmit some jewels to his sovereign. Not,

I believe, a *bulse*; for that is an oriental term; but a present of precious stones, which produced an equal effect on the Spanish monarch's mind, all mouths rehearsing the praises of Ferdinand Cortez." Such were the leading points of Courtenay's speech; — a speech which, as far as my parliamentary experience warrants me in asserting, stands alone in the annals of the house of commons; exhibiting a violation of every form or principle which have always been held sacred within those walls. The insult offered to Lord Hood at its commencement, became eclipsed in the studied indecorum of the allusions that followed, reflecting on the personal infirmities, or on the licentious productions, of the member for Middlesex. His invectives against Hastings, however violent, might seem to derive some justification, from the examples held out by Burke, Sheridan, and Francis. But the insinuation levelled at the king, with which Courtenay concluded, and the mention of the *bulse*, unquestionably demanded the interference of the chair.

The chastisement which he did not receive either from the Speaker, or from the general indignation of the assembly, was nevertheless inflicted on him by one of its members, Alderman Townsend. He had succeeded to Dunning's vacant seat, the Marquis of Lansdown bringing him into parliament, for the borough of Calne; and though he seldom mingled in debate, he manifested, whenever he spoke, a manly mind, great facility of expression, strong sense, combined with upright principles of action. "I do not rise," exclaimed he, "to retail jokes; and still less do I intrude myself for the purpose of using terms so indecent, that they ought not to be tolerated in any place where regard is paid to decorum. But I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment that you, Mr. Speaker, should have allowed a member of this house to continue unchecked, and not have informed him that such language is most unbecoming." Then adverting to the proceedings against Hastings, "In the early stages of the present impeachment," continued he, "I pointed out the absurdity of our carrying articles to the bar of the other house, which would be thrown back in

our faces; as being unsupported by any sort of proof, resting merely on declamation, and incapable of being established by evidence. I have patiently attended the series of charges, but have not heard one of them satisfactorily proved. If, therefore, we proceed any further, we must inevitably fail, and the disgrace which we mean for Mr. Hastings will revert upon ourselves. Appeals have been made to our honour, as well as to our justice. But, what *honour* is gained by hunting down an individual who has deserved the thanks of his country for the most signal services? And if a sense of *justice* impels us, why is not restitution ordered of the money taken by Mr. Hastings, and applied by him to the pressing wants of the East India Company? Having applauded the governor-general for his meritorious exertions in saving India, though by the sacrifice of rigid legal forms in various instances: "I recollect," added he, "the time when the present chancellor of the exchequer's father, with a vigour of mind that did him the highest honour, foreseeing that the French were engaged in preparations for war, sent directions to seize on a number of their merchant ships; which he publicly sold, together with their cargoes, previous to any declaration of hostilities. The act was in itself illegal: — for peace still existed between England and France. Yet the kingdom resounded with applause of his conduct. But, nevertheless, as the nation respected justice, the value of the vessels confiscated, as well as of their freights, was restored to the owners, though the sum exceeded six hundred thousand pounds."

I have accurately recorded the outline of Townsend's speech, not only because it appeared to condense a greater portion of sound intelligence than any other pronounced on that evening, but as it might be esteemed his dying opinion. He survived its delivery only a very few weeks. Jekyll replaced him, as one of the representatives for Calne. At this point of the debate Pitt rose; and in the course of a very long speech, exhibiting prodigious powers of mind, memory, and elocution, answered the various arguments adduced; beginning with Lord Hood, and proceeding through the series

of individuals who had delivered their sentiments on the occasion. I did not less admire the lucid order which pervaded his discourse, or the force of his reasoning, because I totally differed from his conclusion. He still persisted in rendering the late governor-general amenable to parliamentary enquiry; nor would Pitt listen to the proposition of weighing his great public services against his acts of power. As little could he be induced to consider the East India Directors, whose orders Hastings was bound to obey, and who had expressed the utmost satisfaction at his proceedings, as alone culpable, or just objects of prosecution. After having enumerated his offences, at the head of which Pitt placed his treatment of the Princesses of Oude, as the most criminal; he finished by declaring that "the house could not, without abandoning their own honour, the duty which they owed their country, and the ends of public justice, fail in sending up the impeachments to the bar of the peers."

Throughout this most able effort of eloquence and talent, the minister nevertheless carefully avoided touching on two points, both of which had been forcibly stated by Alderman Townsend. The first, — namely, a restitution of the sums of money exacted from Cheyt Sing, from the Begums, and other princes of Asia, — Pitt well knew could not be, or at least never would be, made by parliament. Yet if their seizure was an act of despotic violence and injustice, with what consistency could the house impeach the plunderer, but retain the plunder? Martin, member for Tewksbury, who always voted conscientiously, deeply impressed with the conviction, after avowing himself a friend to the impeachment, added, "If any member will move that a retribution shall be made to those persons in India, from whom sums of money have been forced, I will second the *motion*." But, not a man was found in the assembly to accept the proposition. Burke and Pitt were both satisfied to punish the offender, without restoring a rupee of the many millions that he had poured into the company's treasury, by which aid India was preserved. It forms nevertheless matter of regret that such a *motion* did never actually take place, as it

must have unmasked the supporters of the prosecution, and have demonstrated that other motives, besides the mere love of justice, and abhorrence of crime, animated their exertions.

The other subject to which Pitt never alluded on that night, was the act of his father in seizing the French merchant ships, previous to the commencement of war in 1756:—the beneficial consequences of which measure, in a national point of view, were universally recognized; though it would have required a more able casuist than ever yet existed, to reconcile it with the laws of nations, or with a strict observance of our public faith. There seemed to be a strong analogy between it, and various features of Hastings's administration, where the preservation of the countries entrusted to his care obliterated every minor consideration. Major Scott, when alluding to the arbitrary treatment of the Princesses of Oude, and of other individuals, exclaimed, "No man can entertain a doubt of the pressing necessities of the Bengal government, at the time when Mr. Hastings authorized the seizure of the Begums's treasures. We had five armies in the field; each, many months in arrears. The state of the Carnatic was desperate. Not a rupee in the treasury. A French fleet and army hourly expected, while the company's existence could only be preserved by the most vigorous measures. I hope, Mr. Speaker, I am neither a ruffian, nor a robber. But, I protest, such were the circumstances, that in my opinion, a governor-general would have been justified in plundering a mosque, or in rifling a zenana!—"That the Begums had afforded assistance to Cheyt Sing," continued Scott, "was matter of public notoriety. I have conversed with nearly thirty gentlemen, all of whom will depose to the fact, at the bar of the other house. It will there appear in proof, that we owe the preservation of India in 1782 to the seizure of those treasures." "An honourable member has said, that he would second a *motion*, let it be made by whom it would, for affording retribution to those individuals who have been injured by Mr. Hastings. Sir, if I thought as he does, I would not wait for any man to make such a *motion*. I

would move it myself:—for the British house of commons will become infamous to all posterity, the scoff and scorn of Europe, if, after impeaching Mr. Hastings for his pretended misdeeds, they basely profit by his crimes. He is accused of accumulating for the East India Company, by acts of oppression and injustice, nine millions and a half sterling. For every shilling of this ill-acquired sum, credit has been taken by the minister who opened the *Indian budget* (Dundas), only two days ago. But if the present charges are well founded, why do we not replace Cheyt Sing, who is now a fugitive, and repay him the 123 lacs of pagodas which we have taken from him? Why do we not restore to the Nabob of Oude, 130 lacs; due indeed by him to us, but of which we never could either have obtained or enforced payment, except by seizing on the treasures of the Begums? I think these acts wise, politic, and justifiable; but if I thought otherwise, I should conceive myself as infamous as the corregidor in *Gil Blas*, who punished the robber for stealing a bag of doubloons, and, instead of restoring the money to its owner, appropriated it to his own use." This defence, however forcible, did not produce any answer either from the treasury bench, or from the opposite side of the assembly. The leaders of the prosecution never once spoke during the whole debate, Pitt having rendered it unnecessary, by taking on himself to justify and defend the proceeding. Only eighty-nine persons, of whom I was one, supported Wilkes's *motion*; while one hundred and seventy-five voted for immediately reading the *report* a second time.

10th May.—On the subsequent evening, this great prosecution, which will unquestionably excite the wonder, if not awaken the indignation of posterity, was brought to its consummation in the house of commons. No discussion, and scarcely any conversation respecting it, took place. The articles having been adopted, Burke then moved "that Warren Hastings, Esquire, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." An address, transmitted from Bengal to the late governor-general, was read by a member in his place. It had been drawn up several months subsequent to Hastings's de-

parture; couched in language of the highest respect for his character, public, as well as private: and exhibited the signatures of nearly six hundred officers of the British army. *Not a word was uttered in reply.* Frederic Montagu then moved "that Mr. Burke, in the name of the commons, do go to the bar of the house of lords, and impeach Warren Hastings." The question being put without a dissentient voice, Burke instantly repaired thither, attended by a great majority of the members present; where, in a solemn and impressive manner, he fulfilled his commission.

I know not where I can with more propriety than in this place, introduce an anecdote which Sir John Macpherson has frequently related to me. Having succeeded Mr. Hastings by devolution, as governor-general, he arrived in England about three months after the impeachment of his predecessor was carried up to the house of peers. During the autumn of the year 1788, when the trial had already proceeded during a whole session in Westminster Hall, Sir John Macpherson drove out before dinner to Cane Wood near Hampstead, in order to pay his respects to the great Earl of Mansfield. That nobleman, who only a few months earlier, had resigned the office of chief-justice of the King's Bench, was then more than eighty-three years of age, infirm in body, and sinking in health; but still retained all the freshness, as well as the vigour, of his intellect. "I found him," said Sir John, "sitting before the door, in front of his house, and by no means free from bodily pain. He received me with the utmost politeness; conducted me into his library, where we walked up and down; conversed with me on the leading events of the day; and at last asked me, what was my opinion of Mr. Pitt? I replied, that I considered him as a great minister. 'A great minister!' answered Lord Mansfield; 'a great young minister you mean, Sir John. What did he intend by impeaching Mr. Hastings, or suffering him to be impeached?'—'He meant,' said I, 'as I apprehend, to let Justice take her course.'—'Justice! sir,' rejoined Lord Mansfield. 'Pray, where did he find her? Where is she?'—'If you, my lord,'

returned I, 'do not know where to find Justice, who has been dispensing her favours these fifty years, how can any man attempt it?'—'Yes, sir,' answered he, 'that is justice between man and man. All which is thus done, is well done. It is terminated. *Criminal Justice I can understand. But political Justice; where is she? What is she? What is her colour? Sometimes she is black, sometimes she is red too. No! Sir John, Mr. Pitt is not a great minister. He is a great young minister. He will live to repent allowing Mr. Hastings to be impeached. He has made a precedent which will, some future day, be used against himself. Mr. Pitt is only a great young minister.*'"—When we reflect that within eighteen years from the period at which this conversation took place, Lord Melville beheld himself placed in the same predicament with Hastings;—if we further consider how deeply Pitt was involved in, and how acutely he felt his friend's disaster,—a disaster which unquestionably combined with other causes to accelerate his own end, scarcely nine months afterwards;—we shall see just reason to admire the depth of Lord Mansfield's discernment. Sir John Macpherson, relating the circumstance, some years afterwards, in a company where Lord Thurlow and he met at dinner; "You need not tell us, Sir John," observed Thurlow, with his characteristic austerity of voice and manners, "who uttered those words. Neither you, nor any one else, could have invented them. Lord Mansfield only could have pronounced them. He was a surprising man. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, he was right in his opinions or decisions. And when once in a hundred times he was wrong, ninety-nine men out of a hundred could not discover it. He was a wonderful man!"

14th May.—The insinuation thrown out by Courtenay, during the debate relative to Hastings's impeachment, when he denominated Lord Hood a *spectator* of the naval victory gained by Rodney over De Grasse, was not of a nature to be treated with contemptuous silence. Nor could it be considered as a mere error arising from haste, a lapse of the tongue. Courtenay's character, and his

style of elocution, satirical, cynical, ironical, full of wit, and unrestrained by delicacy, or even by decency, forbade the supposition. In point of fact, Admiral Hood was prevented by the failure of wind, from taking the same active personal share in the glorious contest of that day which fell to the commander-in-chief. He had been even obliged during a considerable time, however reluctantly, to look on, while the "Formidable" encountered and captured the "Ville de Paris." But his intrepidity, skill, and distinguished services, placed him in the first rank of those whom his country would have selected for her champions on the ocean. Seeing Courtenay seated opposite him, near Fox, Lord Hood rose therefore, and in few words animadverted, without warmth, on the expression used; of which he desired an explanation, as it seemed to imply that he had not done his duty on the 12th of April, 1782. Windham and Burke successively coming forward to Courtenay's aid, endeavoured to demonstrate that he had unintentionally used the term *spectator* instead of *participator*; and they not only united in recognitions of the admiral's valour, as well as high professional character, but they likewise joined in protesting the deep concern privately expressed to them by Courtenay himself, at the act of inadvertence which he had committed. Pitt was not, however, to be so satisfied. — After stating the astonishment and indignation which, he said, in common with the whole house, he felt at the bare suspicion of any imputation being thrown on his noble friend; and urging Courtenay to make that apology in public, which, it appeared, he had already done in private; the chancellor of the exchequer added, "I will give him an opportunity for once of saying whether he is serious or not. The *motion* which I shall submit is, first, that the vote of thanks given to Lord Hood on the memorable victory in question be read; and afterwards, that it be reprinted in the Votes of the present day.

An alteration now took place between Pitt and Fox, the latter not venturing to oppose the minister's *motion*, which, he even said, he was ready to support; remarking at the same time that he had,

when secretary of state in 1782, moved these thanks of the house to Lord Hood. But while he conceded this point, he endeavoured to shelter Courtenay; partly, as having already declared that he meant nothing derogatory to the honour of the admiral; partly, on account of the *unconciliatory* manner in which the chancellor of the exchequer pressed for a public reparation. Courtenay, during the progress of a discussion which regarded himself far more than Lord Hood, observed a pertinacious silence; though Pitt endeavoured to rouse him by the severity of his animadversions. "I did not intend," observed the minister, "to be *conciliatory* in any of my remarks, because I conceived that feelings of delicacy and propriety would produce from himself the apology which his friends have already made for him

Finding, nevertheless, that his sarcasms, however pointed, could not produce the effect of extorting a recantation from Courtenay, Pitt contented himself with putting the *motion* which he had announced to the vote. It passed unanimously, and was immediately followed by an adjournment. But the concession refused by Courtenay to ministerial importunity, he made spontaneously on the following day. Rising unexpectedly, he did ample justice to Lord Hood's public character and services; protesting that he never had designed to throw any reflection on a man who stood so deservedly high in the estimation of his country. At the moment, however, that he performed this act of reparation, he accompanied it with reflections of the bitterest description on the chancellor of the exchequer; who, he said, had precluded him from doing it by the acrimonious solicitations of the preceding evening. "Solicitations," added Courtenay, "conveyed with his usual felicity of expression, and insidiousness of intention; urged with affected candour, and studied plausibility!" Pitt heard these ebullitions of vexation without making any reply, and the affair terminated; Courtenay having displayed as much firmness, or rather pertinacity, throughout the progress of the business, as he had shown indiscretion at its commencement.

It might have been imagined that

Burke, having carried to the bar of the upper house so many articles of impeachment against Hastings, would limit his future exertions to adducing the proof of these asserted crimes. But, precisely at this time, he brought forward a new, multifarious, complex accusation, branching out into many heads, denominated "Misdemeanors committed in Oude." He said little in explanation of them; and the question being put upon the charge, it was carried without either debate or division, though not wholly without observation. "I do not mean to divide the house," said Major Scott, "because, as a friend of the late governor-general, I wish that the charge now made may go up to the lords; conscious as I am, that where criminality is asserted, merit will eventually appear."—"We agree, indeed, as to the distress existing in the province of Oude; but we wholly differ relative to the cause, which Mr. Hastings's enemies think proper to attribute to him. I, who have resided in Oude, know that he foretold the destructive consequences of the system established by his colleagues, who then formed the majority in the supreme council. Mr. Hastings has the exclusive merit of alleviating the evils which *they*, not *he*, occasioned. I rejoice, therefore, that a charge so destitute of foundation, or of common sense, should pass; but, as a member of parliament, I maintain it to be wholly contrary to fact." Dempster supported Scott's assertion; declaring it altogether unworthy of the house, to adopt such loose, unproved allegations, as matter of impeachment. Pitt and Dundas remained nevertheless silent, and the *report* being immediately made, the article was referred to the secret committee of managers, to be by them prepared for insertion in the list of criminal charges presented at the bar of the peers.

15th—28th May.—The session, which now approached its close, though it had not yet lasted four months, seemed likely to terminate with tranquillity, when Mr. Grey unexpectedly brought forward an enquiry relative to asserted abuses committed in the department of the post-office. The Earl of Tankerville and Lord Carteret jointly filled the employment of postmasters-general in 1787.

Disputes arising between them, the former nobleman received his dismissal. Being of an impetuous temper, and conceiving himself ill-treated by Pitt, he induced Grey, with whom he was connected by consanguinity, to espouse his cause; or rather, to adopt his resentments. They were ostensibly levelled against his late colleague, whom he accused of certain official acts, commonly denominated *jobs*; which might with justice be deemed irregular and improper, but which could hardly merit to be stigmatized as in any degree corrupt. Lord Carteret was not, however, in fact the real object of attack. Grey, who looked higher than the post-office, directed all his censures against the minister. Throughout the whole discussion, which continued at intervals almost down to the prorogation, Grey displayed great ability, but still greater acrimony. Towards Pitt he displayed a personal animosity, which he seemed scarcely able to restrain; and which impelled him to violate the forms of the house, on more than one occasion. Not content with answering the chancellor of the exchequer's arguments, Grey proceeded to analyze his motives; adding in a tone of defiance, that "no man should *dare* to question the purity of those principles by which he was actuated." If, in throwing out such a menace, he hoped or expected to intimidate his antagonist, he speedily found out his error. Pitt, though his consummate judgment enabled him with singular felicity to avoid expression necessarily productive of personal collision, yet scarcely ever receded, apologized, or betrayed any apprehension of consequences. He might rather perhaps be censured as too unbending and unaccommodating, than accused of consulting his individual safety, by the slightest inclination to concede, unless from the dictates of reason and conviction. His spirit always sustained and animated his eloquence. I never knew any public man who appeared more prompt to defend with the pistol, whatever opinion he had uttered, or assertion he had made, sometimes even contrary to the rules of debate, as Tierney experimentally proved, many years subsequent to these transactions.

"The honourable gentleman," ob-

served Pitt, addressing his reply to Grey, "arrogates somewhat too much to himself, if he imagines that I shall not take the liberty of calling his motives in question, as often as I am warranted in so doing by his conduct. If he wishes not to have his motives questioned, he must take care so to regulate his conduct, as to render it unnecessary." Grey replying, that "if any person imputed to him dishonourable principles, he knew the means to which it would become him to resort; Sheridan interposed, with a view of moderating the asperity of the two parties; declaring that his friend had mistaken the chancellor of the exchequer's meaning. But Pitt, calmly rising a second time, repeated deliberately all that he had previously said; adding, "As to the means which the honourable member may think proper to use, it will rest with himself to determine that point." He could not treat Grey's threat with more dignified disregard. A variety of extraneous matter, which found its way into the debates that arose out of the attack upon the post-office, served to exhibit the animosity of the contending parties. Fox ventured, not indeed positively, but indirectly, to accuse the chancellor of the exchequer with having courted Lord North's friendship in 1782, after that nobleman's resignation. Such a charge, if it had been founded in truth, must have rendered Pitt liable to the imputation of gross insincerity, or rather of deliberate falsehood. He denied it, not with anger or indignation, but in language of energy, simplicity, and brevity, which left no doubt on the mind of any impartial man how totally destitute of reality, was the accusation. "I appeal," exclaimed Pitt, "to all those persons who have witnessed my conduct ever since my first appearance in this house, whether I have not invariably declared that I thought the noble lord a bad minister, and that I never would act with him as a member of the cabinet. At the same time, I no more believe him to have been actuated by motives of personal corruption, than does the right honourable gentleman." Never was any insinuation, or rather calumny, more triumphantly repelled! Fox himself felt it to be so untenable, that he did not attempt to maintain its validity.

Foiled in their effort to wound the minister through Lord North, his assailants endeavoured to attain their object by dragging Lord Hawkesbury's name into the debate. It had indeed been in contemplation, to appoint that nobleman joint postmaster-general with Lord Carteret, after the Earl of Tankerville's dismissal; but, on the revival of the board of trade, which Burke's bill of reform extinguished in 1782, and which institution Pitt renewed at this time, Lord Hawkesbury was placed at its head, as president. No individual in the kingdom, even his enemies admitted, could have been selected with more propriety, to perform the duties of the situation. Fox, nevertheless, availing himself of a name so unpopular, in order, as he hoped, to throw an odium on the chancellor of the exchequer; "Can any man wonder," observed he, "that the noble earl should have been suddenly dismissed, when it was intended to replace him by an individual against whose interest a whole administration does not weigh a feather? I mean, the first lord of the new board of trade." Grey, when speaking on the same subject, made use of still more personal language. "My noble relative," said he, "has been sacrificed, in order to make official arrangements for a member of the other house, who placed the minister in his present elevation, and whose nod can dismiss him from employment." These insulting reflections, not less pointed against the king than injurious to Pitt, made no impression on the chancellor of the exchequer. He neither stood in awe of Jenkinson, nor sustained himself by such assistance. Parliament, and the country, aided by his name, character, and talents, made him minister to George the Third. His opponents, by their imprudence, kept him in his office, even more than his own services or abilities. In his treatment of Hastings, he did not hesitate to act in contradiction both to the wishes of the sovereign, and of Lord Hawkesbury. So little was he "a puppet played on by invisible wires," as Fox and Burke had uniformly described Lord North. Unmoved by Grey's accusations, after disproving the assertion that Lord Tankerville had been turned out in order to make room for

Lord Hawkesbury, Pitt calmly added, "Gentlemen may allude as frequently as they think proper, to the last-mentioned peer, so long as I am persuaded that every favour conferred on him by the crown has been fully earned by the most meritorious public services."

Burke, whose time and exertions were concentrated on the prosecution of Hastings, took no active part in Grey's enquiry; but Sheridan amply compensated for it, by his indefatigable attendance, and brilliant sallies. Wit constituted his never-failing weapon. Pitt, while he candidly admitted that abuses existed in the department of the post-office, which demanded reform, maintained that no remissness on the part of government retarded or prevented the application of a proper remedy. He had in fact, for the express purpose, induced parliament, to appoint commissioners empowered to make every necessary investigation, and armed with full powers for attaining the object. Sir John Dick, and Mr. Francis Baring, two men of acknowledged ability, occupied the principal seats at the board. The latter, who then sat in the house as member for Grampound, and whom Pitt raised to the baronetage about six years later, was not only present in his place, but took part in the debate. He possessed a head admirably organized for calculations of arithmetic, or of finance, though he laboured under a defect of hearing; while Sir John Dick, retaining his faculties undiminished, was yet far advanced in life. They had already examined various of the public offices, had reported on their state, had detected many abuses, and in the course of their labours, it was known that they would speedily arrive at the post-office. All these circumstances were fully exposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, as constituting his best exculpation against Grey's attack. But Sheridan, with great ingenuity, endeavoured to prove, that the commissioners were utterly incompetent to the execution of their trust. "It appears, indeed," added he, "that the minister voluntarily surrendered his understanding, when he brought in the bill by which they were appointed; and determined thenceforward to see only with the eyes of Sir John Dick, and to hear only with the ears of Mr. Baring."

The effect of this allusion received no slight augmentation from the presence of Baring himself, who, though seated near Sheridan, did not hear it, till the peals of laughter which it occasioned conveyed to him the information.

Sheridan's triumph did not, however, extend beyond the risible faculties of his audience. Pitt suffered no depreciation in the opinion of the house, or of the public. Fox himself, while he strongly supported Grey, secretly disapproved of the whole proceeding. He felt that such petty heads of accusation were unworthy the serious notice of parliament, and could not form grave matter of criminal enquiry against ministers. He neither attempted to conceal that he so thought, nor did he hesitate to declare, that though he should vote for the question, he had not recommended bringing it forward; because he did not consider it to be of a size proportioned to Mr. Grey's character, and his importance in that assembly. On Lord Hawkesbury he exhausted the utmost severity of animadversion. "This day," exclaimed he, "is the first on which the minister has publicly panegyrized the noble lord's merits. In the hour of contest, his name was studiously concealed. But I deny his title to applause. If we except those parts of his conduct which he himself has uniformly disclaimed and disavowed, but which we know to be true, his public life exhibits as few acts of meritorious service as any individual throughout the king's dominions." This censure has always appeared to me severe; for, though we may readily admit that Jenkinson's talents alone, if they had been unaided by Lord Bute's patronage, and subsequently by royal favour, would not probably have elevated him to the British peerage; and though he was, during many years, one of the most unpopular or obnoxious subjects in either house of parliament; yet his extensive information, application to business, deep knowledge of commercial affairs, and laborious researches on every topic connected with national wealth or revenue, placed him very high in the list of practical statesmen. Eden, who possessed similar endowments, and who was only a baronet's younger son, yet made his way up to the house of peers, as well

as Jenkinson. Grey's *motion*, which rather implied than expressed a censure on administration for not having reformed the abuses in the post-office, was extinguished without coming to a division. The whole enquiry manifested more spleen, if not enmity, than it exhibited any real ground of accusation; and Grey's eloquence excited greater admiration, than either his display of judgment, or command of temper.

21st — 24th May. — The Prince of Wales's pecuniary embarrassments, which, when first agitated, had occasioned so much acrimonious discussion, terminated with an expression of general consent, amidst testimonies of universal satisfaction. Not an allusion was made either by Rolle, or from any other quarter, to the lady who formed the object of his attachment. A royal message having been sent, expressive of his majesty's very great concern at the debt incurred by his son, of which the particulars were laid on the table; a most loyal address followed, without a dissentient voice. Pitt alone spoke, neither Fox nor Sheridan uttering a word. His royal highness consented to adopt a system of payment which, it was asserted, would effectually prevent the accumulation of new incumbrances. The minister, on his part, expressed a confident hope that no severe scrutiny would be made into the nature of the account presented, "as the circumstance itself could never occur a second time." Finally, the king consented and directed that ten thousand pounds a year should be paid to the heir apparent, in addition to his preceding allowance of fifty thousand pounds. But as this augmentation of income, though it might enable him to subsist without incurring new debts, could not possibly discharge those already contracted, two sums were voted for the express purpose. The first, amounting to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, was destined to pay the prince's numerous creditors. Twenty thousand pounds were ordered to be issued on account of the works carrying on at Carlton-house; the architectural embellishments of which edifice, it was understood, would swallow up more than double that sum before they could be completed.

Ample as the aggregate donation might be considered, it was not in any degree commensurate with the prince's wants, nor did it satisfy the expectations of his adherents. They wished to procure for him a much larger income from parliament. Four years earlier, in 1788, when Fox filled the office of secretary of state, he did not hesitate to declare, speaking from the treasury bench officially, that he would have made the annual allowance to the heir-apparent one hundred thousand pounds, if his majesty would have consented. The relief extended to the prince on the present occasion produced in fact no permanent benefit. His royal highness resumed indeed, for a time, his household, and officers of state: but, as no system or principles of economy pervaded his general mode of life, while his embarrassments rapidly accumulated, in the course of a few years the interposition and aid of parliament became again necessary (notwithstanding the minister's assurances to the contrary) for his extrication.

Among the persons of high rank whom the Prince of Wales distinguished by his particular intimacy at this period, and in whose society he passed many of his hours, may be enumerated my friends the Earl and Countess of Clermont. They were both in the decline of life. I have scarcely ever known a man more fitted for a companion of kings and queens, than was Lord Clermont. Nature had formed his person in an elegant mould, uniting delicacy of configuration with the utmost bodily activity, the soundest constitution, and uninterrupted health. When he was near sixty-five, while on a shooting party, — I think, in Norfolk, — the Prince of Wales, who was one of the company, had the misfortune to wound him with small shot, in several places. Lord Clermont suffered, however, only a short temporary confinement in consequence of the accident. His royal highness, not long afterwards, made him a gentleman of the bed-chamber. His manners, easy, quiet, calm, yet lively and ingratiating, never varied. Endowed with great suavity and equality of temper, possessing a very ample fortune, almost a stranger to bodily indisposition, and having no issue male or female, he enjoyed every hour of hu-

man life. Descended from a branch of the ancient and noble family of Fortescue, he had been successively raised to the Irish dignities of a baron, viscount, and earl. Such was his passion for *the turf*, that when menaced by his father to be disinherited if he did not quit *Newmarket*, he refused; preferring rather to incur the severest effects of paternal indignation, than to renounce his favourite amusement. His understanding was of the common order; but, though his whole life had been passed in the sports of the field, or among jockeys, yet he wanted no refinement; and he used to shelter himself under Horace's

"Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum,"

when justifying his ardour for races. Having mixed in the highest circles during near fifty years, both in this country and on the Continent, he had collected much original, as well as curious information.

Inhabiting, as Lord Clermont did, a splendid house in Berkeley-square; maintaining a table at once delicate and luxurious; choice in the selection of his wines, and in every accompaniment of taste or opulence; the Prince of Wales used frequently to make one of the number of his guests. He enjoyed, indeed, the privilege of sending at his pleasure to Lord Clermont, of commanding a dinner, and naming the persons to be invited of both sexes; — a permission, of which his royal highness often availed himself. Notwithstanding so close a connexion as he maintained with the heir-apparent, yet few noblemen were better received at St. James's; and scarcely any were detained a longer time in conversation by his majesty, whenever he appeared at the drawing-room. Nor was he less acceptable at the court of Versailles, where he and Lady Clermont repaired almost every year; and where they were admitted to all the parties made by the Duchess de Polignac, for the amusement of the queen. The very title of *Clermont*, which he assumed when raised to the peerage, — and which might be esteemed factitious, as no such *place*, I believe, existed in Ireland, — assimilated him to the blood royal of France; a younger branch of the illus-

trious line of Condé having been denominated *Comtes de Clermont*. Probably he was not oblivious of this fact, in his selection of the title.

When about eighty-four, he breathed his last, in September, 1806, at Bright-helmstone, scarcely a fortnight after Charles Fox expired at Chiswick. They always lived much together, especially during the autumnal season; as Fox usually visited Norfolk, in order to enjoy the amusement of shooting, among his friends. Lord Clermont possessed a seat in that part of the kingdom, for the same purpose. I well remember an extraordinary bet which he made with Fox and Lord Foley, for a hundred guineas; namely, that he would find a heifer which should eat twenty stone of turnips in twenty-four hours. He won the wager. I said that he *breathed his last* at eighty-four; an expression peculiarly fitted to express the mode of his death: — for he was carried off by no specific disease, nor suffered any pain, unless it were intellectual. An augmenting weakness and extenuation, which left undiminished all his faculties, senses, and powers of conversation, gently conveyed, or rather, waisted him out of life. I was accustomed very frequently to dine with him, in a small society of select friends, till within five or six weeks of his decease; and, though then evidently wasting away, yet at table he soon became animated. Even his memory remained fresh, and he bore no resemblance to Swift's *Struldbrugs*.

The Countess of Clermont was formed, like her lord, for the atmosphere of a court. Endowed with no superior talents, though possessing a cultivated mind; her manners subdued, yet exempt from servility; with an agreeable person, but destitute of beauty; uniting consummate knowledge of the world to constitutional serenity of temper; she displayed almost every qualification calculated to retain, as well as to acquire, royal favour. The Prince of Wales professed and exhibited towards her a species of filial regard. All his notes addressed to her displayed equal affection and confidence. As Lady Clermont enjoyed so distinguished a place in Marie Antoinette's esteem, it was natural that she should endeavour to trans-

fuse into the prince's mind feelings of attachment and respect for the French queen, similar to those with which she was herself imbued. Making allowance for the difference of sexes, there seemed to be indeed no inconsiderable degree of resemblance between their dispositions. Both were indiscreet, unguarded, and ardent devotees of pleasure. But the Duke of Orleans, irritated at her successful opposition to the marriage of his daughter with the Count d'Artois's eldest son, had already prepossessed the Prince of Wales in her disfavour. He was accustomed to speak of her, on the duke's report, as a woman of licentious life, who changed her lovers according to her caprice. She, indignant at such imputations, which soon reached her, expressed herself in terms the most contemptuous, respecting the heir-apparent; whom she characterized as a voluptuary enslaved by his appetites, incapable of any energetic or elevated sentiments. About this time, Count Fersen, then the Swedish envoy at the court of France, who was well known to be highly acceptable to Marie Antoinette, visited London; bringing letters of introduction from the Duchess de Polignac, to many persons of distinction here, and in particular, for Lady Clermont. Desirous to show him the utmost attention, and to present him in the best company, soon after his arrival she conducted him in her own carriage to Lady William Gordon's assembly, in Piccadilly, one of the most distinguished in the metropolis. She had scarcely entered the room, and made Count Fersen known to the principal individuals of both sexes, when the Prince of Wales was announced. I shall recount the sequel in Lady Clermont's own words to me, only a short time subsequent to the fact.

"His royal highness took no notice of me on his first arrival; but, in a few minutes afterwards, coming up to me, 'Pray, Lady Clermont,' said he, 'is that man whom I see here Count Fersen, the queen's favourite?'—'The gentleman,' answered I, 'to whom your royal highness alludes, is Count Fersen; but, so far from being a favourite of the queen, he has not yet been presented at court.' God d—n me!" exclaimed he, "you don't imagine I mean *my mother*?"

—'Sir,' I replied, 'whenever you are pleased to use the word *queen* without any addition, I shall always understand it to mean *my* queen. If you speak of any other queen, I must entreat that you will be good enough to say the queen of France, or of Spain.' The prince made no reply; but, after having walked once or twice round Count Fersen, returning to me, 'He's certainly a very handsome fellow,' observed he. 'Shall I have the honour, sir,' said I, 'to present him to you?' He instantly turned on his heel, without giving me any answer; and I soon afterwards quitted Lady William Gordon's house, carrying Count Fersen with me. We drove to Mrs. St. John's, only a few doors distant, who had likewise a large party on that evening. When I had introduced him to various persons there, I said to him, 'Count Fersen, I am an old woman and infirm, who always go home to bed at eleven. You will, I hope, amuse yourself. Good night.' Having thus done the honours as well as I could, to a stranger who had been so highly recommended to me, I withdrew into the anti-chamber, and sat down alone in a corner, waiting for my carriage. While there, the prince came in; and I naturally expected, after his recent behaviour, that he would rather avoid than accost me. On the contrary, advancing up to me, 'what are you doing here, Lady Clermont?' asked he. — 'I am waiting for my coach, sir,' said I, 'in order to go home.'—'Then,' replied he, 'I will put you into it, and give you my arm down the stairs.'—'For heaven's sake, sir,' I exclaimed, 'don't attempt it! I am old, very lame, and my sight is imperfect. The consequence of your offering me your arm will be, that in my anxiety not to detain your royal highness, I shall hurry down, and probably tumble from the top of the staircase to the foot.'—'Very likely,' answered he; 'but, if you tumble, I shall tumble with you. Be assured, however, that I will have the pleasure of assisting you, and placing you safely in your carriage.' I saw that he was determined to repair the rudeness with which he had treated me as Lady William Gordon's, and I therefore acquiesced. He remained with me till the coach was announced, conversed most

agreeably on various topics, and as he took care of me down the stairs, en-joined me at every step not to hurry myself. Nor did he quit me when seated in the carriage, remaining uncovered on the steps of the house till it drove off from the door." I have recounted this anecdote at more length than it may seem to merit, because, trifling as are the circumstances which compose it, they prove how gracefully the Prince of Wales could redeem an error. Louis the Fourteenth himself was not his superior in all the external attributes of a king that depend on manner; though in personal majesty, and the fine bodily proportions which constitute manly dignity of form, the prince could sustain no competition with the son of Anne of Austria.

28th May.—I have already stated that Burke brought up, towards the middle of May, a new article of impeachment against Hastings, denominated "Misde-meanors in Oude." Before the session closed, he re-produced this charge, multiplied by the committee into twelve separate heads of accusation. The house was altogether ignorant of their nature or import. They were nevertheless immediately adopted, without discussion of any kind. Major Scott did not, however, allow them to pass without a severe, though ineffectual animadversion. "I will venture to assert," said he, "that not ten members of this assembly have read the articles, as they were not printed before the hour of one on the present day. We are, therefore, now about to proceed to the most solemn judicial act which we can execute, without knowing one word about the matter. If gentlemen would only peruse these charges, they never could declare seriously at the bar of the other house, that they in behalf of themselves, and of the commons of England, present such trash as articles of impeachment. I am told that I ought to have made my opposition three days ago, when these charges were virtually, though not formally voted: but if so, what, in heaven's name, did we mean by ordering them to be printed! I have performed my duty, Mr. Speaker, in exposing so disgraceful a proceeding.— Since, however, it is thought consistent with our dignity thus to proceed, I will

not divide the house upon it." This appeal produced no effect. Neither Pitt nor Burke made any reply, and the charges were unanimously adopted.— Two days afterwards, on the 30th of May, the prorogation of parliament took place; his majesty noticing with sentiments of deep concern, in his speech on the occasion, the dissensions which unhappily prevailed among the states of the Dutch United Provinces. They were indeed of the most alarming description, threatening, among other calamitous consequences, the immediate subversion of the treaty of commerce recently concluded between France and England.

October.—In the autumn died, at Dublin, the Duke of Rutland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, not having attained the age of thirty-four. Though he neither displayed any eminent talents or virtues, yet various circumstances conduced to give him political importance at this period of the reign of George the Third, or more properly, of Pitt's administration. His father, the celebrated Marquis of Granby, notwithstanding the attack made on him by *Junius*, and the greater misfortune which he underwent of being defended by Sir William Draper, left behind him a name dear to Englishmen. His courage, the affability of his manners, the hospitalities of his table, and the generosity of his disposition, justly acquired him universal popularity. To the Duke of Rutland, Pitt had owed his first entrance into the house of commons; and from attachment to the new minister, whom he had conduced to elevate, more than from inclination, it was supposed that he accepted the government of Ireland, in the spring of the year 1784. Never was viceroy more formed to conciliate affection throughout that convivial kingdom! Splendid in his establishment, his table presented every delicacy which luxury could accumulate or display. Vessels laden with fruit, and other expensive productions of England, came over by his direction weekly to Dublin, during the whole period of his viceroyalty. He participated largely in the festivities which he encouraged; and, like the younger Cyrus in antiquity, who, when writing to the Spartans, boasted his ability to swallow more wine

without being intoxicated, than his elder brother could do, the duke might have challenged a similar superiority over most of his guests.

Play, which divided with wine his evenings, had impaired his ample fortune, previous to his visiting Ireland. Nor, though united by marriage to the most beautiful woman in England, was he insensible to the seductions of beauty in others. A syren of that period, the magic of whose voice was at least equalled by her personal attractions, — I mean Mrs. Billington, — held him for some time in her chains. Excesses of various kinds precipitated his end. A short time before his decease, he quitted Dublin, in order to make a progress through various parts of the island, being entertained on his way at the seats of the nobility and gentry. During the course of this tour, he invariably began the day by eating at breakfast six or seven turkey's eggs, as an accompaniment to tea or coffee. He then rode forty and sometimes fifty miles; dined at six or at seven o'clock, after which he drank very freely; and concluded by sitting up to a late hour, always supping before he retired to rest. On his return to Dublin he was seized, as might have been anticipated, with a fever of so violent a nature as to baffle all medical skill. The Duchess of Rutland, whose health was likewise considerably impaired by the dissipation of a winter passed in the Irish capital, had visited England for the purpose of consulting Warren, then the most eminent physician in London. While living in great seclusion at her mother the Duchess Dowager of Beaufort's house, in Berkeley-square, intelligence arrived of the duke her husband's dangerous, if not desperate situation. She immediately prepared to join him, and Warren actually set out for the purpose. But, before he could reach Bangor, on his way to Holyhead, he received information that the duke was no more; his blood having become so highly inflamed, as to render ineffectual all the remedies administered for his relief.

The Marquis of Buckingham, who had already filled the office of lord-lieutenant under the Earl of Shelburne's administration, was again selected for the same employment. He possessed far

superior ability, as well as greater application to business, than his predecessor; but these qualities formed no compensation for the festivities to which the Irish had been accustomed under their late ruler. Temperance invariably presided at the repasts of the marquis. Mr. Fitzherbert, whose diplomatic talents had been employed at Paris during the negotiations which preceded the peace of 1783, replaced Mr. Orde, as secretary for Ireland. Like Orde, Fitzherbert has attained the British peerage; an elevation which he has reached less by eminent ability or distinguished services while resident as minister at Petersburg, or at Madrid, than in consequence of his consummate prudence, accompanied with cautious, guarded, quiet, polished manners. These qualities have associated him to the private hours and recreations of Buckingham House. Scarcely any individual about the court during the last twenty years has been admitted to such habits of intimate communication with the king and queen, as Lord St. Helen's. Even down to the month of May, 1818, when her late majesty's augmenting maladies incapacitated her for any longer receiving a numerous company, he never failed to form one of her select evening party. I have always inclined to consider Lord St. Helen's as superior in intellect to any of the chosen few constantly received at the queen's house, or at Windsor. The late Earl of Cardigan, the present Earl of Arran, Lord Henley, and Mr. Arthur Stanhope, who participated the distinction, could enter into no competition with him. Lord Walsingham might indeed be regarded as his equal in mental endowments, and of manners alike subdued. The persons whom I have enumerated, were among the principal courtiers admitted to the card-table of Charlotte of Mecklenburg. Similar qualifications recommended the ladies who enjoyed that distinction. At their head might be placed Mrs. Howe, who, when near fourscore, obeyed the summons with the alacrity of youth, on the very shortest notice. She enjoyed the privilege of expressing her opinion without reserve, and was always treated by the king with extraordinary familiarity; more, indeed, as a relative, than as a common visitant

Mrs. Howe, who was a grand-daughter of George the First, continued to wear the female costume of his reign, at the close of the eighteenth century; and her figure, cast in a Westphalian mould, baffled all description.

I return to the Duke, or rather, to the Duchess of Rutland. It is not sufficient merely to say that she was the most beautiful woman in the kingdom, of high rank. Her person, in symmetry, elegance, and dignity, outstripped all rivalry. Grace itself formed her limbs, and accompanied her movements. She was tall, of a just height; slender, yet by no means thin; combining in her figure the variety of points that Apelles is supposed to have sought throughout Greece. I have conversed with a lady who had seen her, not indeed in the state that Paris beheld the goddesses on Mount Ida; but so much undressed, that the description reminded me of Thomson's *Musidora*. She assured me that no words could convey an adequate idea of Lady Mary Somerset's formation:—for it happened previous to her marriage. Her features were noble, yet delicate; and the Plantagenets could not have been represented by a more faultless sample of female loveliness. In this description there is neither partiality, nor exaggeration. In truth, I never contemplated her except as an enchanting statue, formed to excite admiration, rather than to awaken love; this superb production of nature not being lighted up by corresponding mental attractions. She wanted the smiles, the amenity, the animation, the intelligence, the sweetness of the Duchess of Devonshire. She equally wanted the irresistible seduction and fascination of the Countess of Jersey. A woman of such pre-eminent charms, married to a man whose affections and time she divided with three rivals,—wine, play, and women,—could not, however, want admirers. They sprang up, as Pope says of Lady Mary Wortley, wherever she turned her eyes. The duke took umbrage at it occasionally, notwithstanding his constitutional apathy; and her coquetry or levity had produced so much inquietude in his mind, that it is said they parted on terms not the most affectionate, when she embarked for England. Anxious to

withdraw him from the company with whom he was engaged at table, on a certain evening, at the *Castle*, the duchess had ventured to approach the window of the apartment, and tapping at it with her fingers. But he resented the interference in the same manner that Northerton does the affront of Tom Jones. His decease operated, however, like Captain Blifil's, in the same novel, as "an infallible recipe for recovering the lost affections of a wife." The duchess, after a period of grief and retirement, re-appeared with augmented attractions. I never saw her more beautiful than in the winter of 1788. Notwithstanding the power of her charms, and the number of her followers, the duchess had never contracted a second marriage; and she still retains nearly as much beauty as Diana de Poitiers did, if we may believe Brantome, at the same period of life.

Whatever sterility pervades our internal history, during the long interval which elapsed between the prorogation of parliament, and its meeting again for the despatch of business, is amply compensated by the magnitude and importance of the transactions that took place in the surrounding Continental states. I passed part of the autumn in Paris, where the utmost effervescence, not unmingled with gloomy apprehensions of futurity, began already to diffuse their influence over society. Never, perhaps, at any period of the French history, did the throne require to have been filled by a prince of vigour and determination, more than in 1787. Unhappily, Louis the Sixteenth wanted those qualities; but, while Vergennes survived, the defects of his character were concealed from view. The death of that minister, followed as it was by the dismissal and disgrace of Colonne, plunged the crown into embarrassments of the most complicated nature. The Archbishop of Toulouse proved himself wholly incapable of restoring confidence, or of retrieving the disorder in the finances; and the parliament of Paris, openly sustained by the Duke of Orleans, increased the public confusion, by pertinaciously refusing to register the new taxes. Such a state of affairs, which demanded equal wisdom and firmness in the sovereign, was rendered more critical from the po-

cular circumstances of the time. The seven United Provinces, where France had established a predominant influence on the ruins of the stadtholder's authority, loudly invoked the protection of the court of Versailles. William the Fifth, Prince of Orange, whose incapacity and weaknesses had nearly annihilated the power so long exercised by his family over the republic of Holland, looked for support to England, and to Prussia. While the great Frederic filled the throne of the latter kingdom, though he interfered by his good offices, and even by his remonstrances, in favour of the stadtholder, yet he steadily withheld any military interference. His advanced age and infirmities, the faint interest which he felt in the fortunes of his niece, the Princess of Orange, his predilection for France, and his estrangement from Great Britain, whose alliance he never sought, except from overruling necessity, during his whole reign; — these motives prevented him from interposing by force to check the progress of the republican party.

But his nephew, Frederic William the Second, beheld with very different emotions the insult offered to his sister, who was arrested in her own carriage, by a party of Dutch cavalry, while quietly proceeding from Nimeguen to the Hague; detained, and treated with great personal indignity. Having concerted with the English ministers his plan of operations, he did not hesitate to march an army into Holland, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, so renowned in the "seven years' war," who advanced rapidly towards Amsterdam. The measure was bold, perhaps rash. Neither Philip the second, nor Louis the Fourteenth, the two most powerful sovereigns who have appeared in modern Europe, if we except Napoleon, could achieve the conquest of that province, though undertaken by each with an overwhelming force. Yet Frederic William succeeded in the attempt. If Vergennes had survived, it might nevertheless have had a different issue; and Europe might have presented another history. Louis the Sixteenth wanted not the inclination to support his party, with all the power of the French monarchy. He even made demonstrations

of opposing the Prussians; assembled a considerable body of troops on the frontier, not far from Liege; menaced the courts of Berlin and of London with immediate interference, if they did not desist; issued orders to equip a fleet at Brest, as Pitt had already done at Portsmouth; and performed every act announcing hostility, except actually commencing war. But the internal weakness and financial distress of France prevented the sword from being unsheathed. The combined powers proceeded, and the Duke of Brunswick, notwithstanding all the impediments presented by the nature of the country, as well as by the resistance of the inhabitants, finally entered Amsterdam. Holland was subdued, the stadtholder replaced, and the party attached to the house of Bourbon overturned; while Louis, unable to extend assistance, looked on with reluctant acquiescence. So low had that sovereign sunk, who, not five years earlier, had almost dictated terms of peace to England, after dismembering thirteen colonies from the British empire, and compelling the restitution to Spain of Minorca and the Floridas! Pitt rose proportionately in the scale of European estimation. His friends already boasted, rather prematurely, that he was not merely a great minister of finance; but, like his father, a statesman formed to wield, and to direct with decisive skill, the national energies in time of war. Even his enemies were silent, or joined the general applause. Such were the fortunate, though temporary results of the Prussian invasion of Holland!

Nor did the Austrian Low Countries exhibit, during the summer and autumn of 1787, events less important than the two neighbouring states. The inhabitants of those rich maritime provinces, though they no longer possessed the flourishing manufactures, not the extensive commerce, which they carried on under the Burgundian princes, more than three centuries earlier; yet still retained an enthusiastic love of freedom. Having been ceded by the treaties of Utrecht and of Rastadt to the German branch of the house of Austria, they had remained nearly seventy years under the mild control of the emperor Charles the

Sixth, and his daughter Maria Theresa. Both those sovereigns wisely respected the privileges of the people whose geographical position in Europe, and whose distance from the seat of government, enabled them not only to resist any act of despotism, but to invoke the aid of England, or of France, against oppression. Unrestrained by considerations which would have deterred a more prudent prince, Joseph the Second undertook to coerce the Flemings, and to extinguish the civil liberties. An attempt, in itself so unjust, he began at a period when he had already connected himself by the closest ties of policy with Catherine the Second; when he had accompanied her on a progress to the Crimea, and had secretly agreed, in concert with the Russian empress, to commence war upon the Turks. Joseph, who anticipated the conquest of the Ottoman provinces lying on the Lower Danube, meditated to reduce into a similar state of vassalage his subjects of Brabant and of Flanders. Previous to her decease, his mother Maria Theresa had entrusted the administration of the Netherlands, after the death of Prince Charles of Lorraine, to her favourite daughter, the Archduchess Christina; a princess who to great personal beauty added much activity of character. With her was joined her husband, Duke Albert of Saxony, youngest of the sons of Augustus the Third, king of Poland. Under their temperate rule, notwithstanding the innovations of various kinds made by the emperor their new sovereign, in ecclesiastical, as well as in civil affairs, yet down to the close of 1786 no symptoms of insurrection manifested themselves throughout the Low Countries.

Joseph (whose whole reign of more than nine years formed a perpetual series of rash experiments; dictated indeed, we must admit, in many instances, by benevolent or enlarged principles of action, but tinctured in all with the spirit of arbitrary power), well knew that his sister and Duke Albert would not, without extreme reluctance, carry into execution his violent decrees. He therefore made choice of another instrument for the purpose; and the individual whom he selected, was not a native of Germany, but an Italian, Count Belgiojoso, whom I

personally knew, possessed many qualities which might justify the emperor's preference. His manners were noble, his talents considerable; and though he loved pleasure, he could devote himself to business. A Milanese by birth, he would probably have governed that beautiful province, if it had been committed to him, equally for the benefit of his sovereign, and of the people committed to his authority. But Belgiojoso was misplaced at Brussels. His residence of several years in England, while Austrian envoy at the court of London, had not impressed him with ideas favourable to liberty. On the contrary, he appeared to have imbibed from Lord George Gordon's riots in 1780, which scenes of outrage he witnessed, a strong prejudice against popular rights. As early as 1784, Joseph appointed him to the office of first minister of the Low Countries; but without recalling the Archduchess and Duke Albert; whom, more in compliance with his mother Maria Theresa's last injunctions, than either from affection or inclination, he still allowed to retain their situations. The supreme power did not the less reside exclusively in Belgiojoso; — a fact of which the Flemings were well apprized. Under his administration, every measure of which emanated from Vienna, their affections were alienated, all their national prejudices shocked, their most ancient customs abolished by edict; and the political constitution, to maintain which inviolate Joseph had sworn at his accession, was treated with disregard. Nor were instances of military violence wanting, which, though they might have inspired submission in Transylvania, or in Croatia, were calculated to excite indignation and resistance among the Flemings. Such was the position of affairs, when Joseph, returning from Cherson, prepared to commence military operations against the Ottoman Porte.

Scarcely had he reached the Austrian capital, early in July, when intelligence arrived, announcing that the states of Brabant, Flanders, and Haynault, incensed at the infraction of their charters, had suspended by their own authority all his arbitrary edicts; had refused to grant any subsidies, until the grievances of which they complained were redressed;

and had virtually set the imperial power at defiance. It cannot be doubted that Joseph would instantly have marched an army into the Low Countries, if he had not been withheld by the engagements contracted with his ally the Empress of Russia, to attack the Turks. Thus fettered, he thought proper to restrain, and to postpone his resentment. Having recalled the Archduchess and Duke Albert, he likewise ordered Belgiojoso to repair to Vienna. Finally, yielding to the urgency of the occasion, he submitted to accept the assurances of duty and loyalty made by the deputies of the Flemish states; professed a disposition to restore all the rights of their violated constitution; and as the best proof of his sincerity, removed Belgiojoso from his employment.

Count Trautmansdorff, a German, and a man acceptable from the moderation of his character, replaced him as minister of the Netherlands. But acts of grace evidently extorted, and which under more favourable circumstances might be revoked, did not induce the insurgents to disarm, or to confide in the imperial professions. Without withdrawing their allegiance, they held themselves in readiness to resist oppression; while Joseph plunging into a war with the Turks, which covered his arms with dishonour, reserved his vengeance for a more propitious moment. That moment never arrived. His turbulent, ambitious career, productive of incalculable injury to the house of Austria, already verged towards its termination. Happily, the conciliating, judicious conduct of his brother and successor, Leopold, pacified the discontents of the Flemings, and restored order throughout the Low Countries. Those who know that history offers a perpetual recurrence of the same events under new names, will be struck with the similarity of conduct between Philip the Second of Spain, and Joseph the Second of Austria. The same despotic, tyrannical intentions actuated both princes towards their Flemish subjects; but Joseph's principles were checked by the spirit of the eighteenth century; nor was he, like Philip, a merciless bigot. Margaret of Parma, governess of the Netherlands under the Spanish sovereign, seems to re-appear in the Archduchess Christina; as Cardinal

Granville, Philip's minister, revives in Count Belgiojoso. So accurate is the resemblance between the two periods. If Joseph's power and revenues had equalled those of Philip, or if his life and reign had been as long protracted, we should probably have witnessed as severe and sanguinary a conflict in our own time, between the Austrian emperor and his revolted people in Flanders, as took place two hundred years earlier, under the Duke of Alva, and the Prince of Parma.

27th November. — Never had George the Third, during the course of seven-and-twenty years, met in parliament under circumstances so auspicious, as towards the end of November, 1787! The popularity which attended his accession had speedily become obscured in consequence of his unfortunate partiality to Lord Bute, followed by the dismissal of Mr. Pitt from his councils. It underwent a still more severe eclipse at the peace of 1763, when, from causes that remain yet unexplained, — for it is impossible to solve the problem by attributing it merely to ministerial incapacity, — the most valuable acquisitions of a victorious war were restored to a vanquished enemy. Wilkes and Junius successively attacked his measures, and laid bare the infirmities of his character, or the errors of his government. By the convention made with Spain in 1770, though we maintained possession of the object in dispute, the Falkland Islands; yet the national honour suffered from the arrogance and insolent pretensions of the court of Madrid. During the continuance of the American contest, his majesty never opened a session without the painful necessity of disclosing some defeat, capitulation, or disgrace. Even from the peace of 1783, however meritorious, as I now think, Lord Shelburne may be esteemed for having negotiated that treaty, under all the circumstances of our situation; yet the sovereign could not derive any source of pride, or of exultation. But he could say to his parliament on the present occasion, "I have effaced the faults and calamities of my past reign. If I have lost thirteen colonies, I have humbled the power by whose aid they were emancipated; and I have effected it without drawing

the sword. England, which at the close of 1782 was reduced to solicit peace at Paris, has now resumed her rank among the European nations. I have, with the aid of Prussia, restored my ally the stadtholder to his ancient place at the head of the Dutch republic. France, which so lately acted as the arbitress of events, torn by intestine dissensions, distressed in her finances, destitute of able ministers to direct her councils, has been reduced to witness my triumph, and her own humiliation. Contemplating these vicissitudes, and overlooking to the Divinity for support, I may exclaim,

— "Valet ima summis
Mutare, et insignia adtenuat Deus,
Obscura promena."

Such in fact, if reduced to parliamentary language, was the speech delivered at the commencement of the session. His majesty, with dignity, but void of any offensive expressions, recapitulated the leading facts which had just taken place in Holland; the insult offered to the Princess of Orange; his own co-operation with Frederic William; the menaces used by France; the rapid success that attended the Prussian troops; finally, the mutual explanations between the courts of St. James's and of Versailles, followed by disarming their respective fleets. Pitt selected to move the address an individual who has since filled various high situations in the state, and who at this hour occupies the eminent post of lord president of the council. I mean, Mr. Ryder, now Earl of Harrowby. He was then scarcely twenty-five; but his early display of talents justified the minister's preference. A delicate constitution, precarious health and an irritable frame of mind, have nevertheless operated throughout life to prevent his being long employed in those laborious offices of government which demand severe or unremitting exertion. It required no extraordinary eloquence or ingenuity to justify measures which had been crowned with so triumphant a result. Mr. Ryder, with becoming brevity, stated them to the house. Fox, who rose soon afterwards, admitted all their force; concurred in approving the principle which dictated

our late interference in Continental affairs; claimed for himself the merit of having early adopted it, as the uniform guide of his own political conduct, finally declaring that the substance of the address met with his sincere concurrence. While, however, he thus candidly recognized the minister's general merit in the late transactions, he did not the less repeat his own uniform denunciation of the perfidy displayed by France, in all her negotiations with foreign states. The address was carried without a dissentient voice.

Pitt had attained at this time to an almost unexampled height of ministerial favour and popularity: but he did not remain many years in that elevation. Heavy clouds soon began to collect round him; and though they frequently seemed to disperse, yet they perpetually gathered anew, ultimately enveloping him in a dark shade, and accompanying him with aggravated gloom, to the termination of his existence. I know from persons who had most frequent access to his private hours, that after 1793, down to his decease in January, 1806, he scarcely enjoyed any settled tranquillity of mind, either in or out of office. Devoured by ambition, accustomed to dictate his will to parliament, and habituated to power ever since he had attained to manhood; incapable of finding consolation for the loss of public employment, either in marriage, or in literary researches, or in cultivating his Kentish farm, or in drilling refractory Cinque Port Volunteers; embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and contemplating his country engaged in a war which threatened to involve the finances, the credit, and even the independence of Great Britain, in final subversion; — the concluding thirteen years of Pitt's wonderful career present a subject of painful contemplation. Fox, if he had enjoyed a moderate independence, either hereditary or acquired, would unquestionably have formed an object of comparative envy. Inured to the privations inflicted by his acts of early imprudence, which had made him acquainted with adversity and poverty; having scarcely tasted, throughout his whole life, or political power; and emulous of attaining historical fame, if he could not reach

ministerial eminence; — Fox could call into action resources denied by nature to his successful rival. He might tranquilly contemplate, from his retreat at St. Anne's Hill, the storms that shook Downing-street and Walmer Castle. He had invariably reprobated and opposed the war commenced with revolutionary France in 1793; all the disasters and calamities of which protracted struggle served to justify to himself the line of policy which he had originally embraced, and urged from the opposition bench. If I were compelled to estimate the comparative measure of felicity enjoyed by these two illustrious statesmen, during the thirteen concluding years of their residence on earth, I should not hesitate an instant to decide it in favour of Fox. But I might be tempted to exclude the short period of about eight months which he survived his great competitor, and when he may be said to have presided in the councils of George the Third.

December. — Sir Elijah Impey's impeachment forms the only important event which occurred in either house of parliament previous to the Christmas recess. The chief justice of Bengal occupies indeed nearly as conspicuous a place throughout the session of 1788, as the governor-general fills during the two preceding years. But Impey by no means excites the same interest with Hastings, who possessed an elevated mind, however ambitious or even despotic may have been his administration in various instances, while invested with authority. Impey, rapacious, if not corrupt; and rendering his high office subservient to purposes of oppression, both legal and financial; seems to have had only one object constantly in view, — accumulation. The trial, condemnation, and execution of Nundcomar, are inseparably connected with his name. Sir Gilbert Elliot undertook the laborious, as well as invidious task, of bringing forward the charges against him; — charges which he opened in a speech of no ordinary ability, well arranged, temperate, yet full of energy. It displayed, indeed, no ray of Sheridan's wit, of Fox's impassioned and persuasive oratory, or of the classic imagery which illuminated the desultory eloquence of Burke. Sir Gilbert, possessing a solid, not a brilliant

understanding; and nourishing under a cold exterior, a persevering, systematic ambition; has reached through successive gradations of employment, to a great elevation. We have beheld him appointed viceroy of a Mediterranean island, which has become unfortunately too conspicuous in the modern history of Europe, by having given birth to a man, all whose vast energies were unhappily directed to purposes of conquest, spoliation, and subversion. Expelled from Corsica, Pitt sent Sir Gilbert in a diplomatic character to Vienna. He was subsequently placed at the head of the East India Board of Control, which he quitted to assume the government-general of Bengal. On his return he was raised to the dignity of a British earl. His father, Sir Gilbert, was a man of very eminent parts. During the first sixteen years of the reign of George the Third, he successively filled various important posts about the court, or in the state, down to the period of his decease in 1777. Few individuals enjoyed a higher degree of royal favour, or shared more largely in the unpopularity attached to the measures of Lord North's administration. His name appears in the publications of that time, joined with those of Jenkinson, Dyson, Bradshaw, and others, none of whom were embalmed in the affection of their contemporaries. To his son he bequeathed an ample patrimonial estate, while he laid the foundations of that son's political fortune.

Elliot having traced in a summary manner the principal features of Impey's legal career while in India, from the date of his first arrival at Calcutta in 1774, down to his recall by a vote of the house of commons; and having severely inveighed against the acts of tyranny or of malversation which he had authorized and committed; finished by enumerating the charges brought against him. They were six in number, at their head stood Nundcomar's murder, as Elliot denominated it; — a murder which, he said, had been performed in the most solemn and deliberate manner. The remaining articles accused him of scandalous corruption, notorious injustice, intentional infraction of the parliamentary powers under which he held and exercised his functions; lastly, subornation of evidence;

thereby lending to falsehood the sanctity of an oath. Acts more enormous could scarcely have been attributed even to the famous chancellor of James the Second. Not a word was said in Impey's defence, from any part of the assembly, when Sir Gilbert moved to lay his *complaint* on the table. But a few days afterwards, on the 18th of December, he having proposed to refer the charges to a committee of the whole house, on the 4th of the ensuing month of February; Pitt, while he assented to the *motion*, nevertheless observed, that from the hasty perusal which he had given to the articles, he entertained strong doubts whether the inferences drawn from the alleged facts were grounded on the principles of English law. Here terminated the discussion, an adjournment immediately taking place, up to the last day of January, 1768; and with this event I shall close the Memoirs of my own Time for the year 1767.

January, 1768.—During the lapse of more than seventy-three years, ever since the accession of the house of Hanover, no minister of this country, as I have already observed, had attained to the same degree of power and popularity as Pitt had enjoyed at the beginning of 1768. Sir Robert Walpole, who, under two successive princes, for the space of at least twenty years had filled the first place in the councils of the crown, neither deserved, nor acquired, the favour of the nation. To the preservation of his employments he sacrificed the character of parliament, where the most notorious corruption pervaded and directed every deliberation. To the preservation of peace, he sacrificed the glory and the interests of his country.—France, between 1733 and 1735, was allowed, by his tame, selfish, pusillanimous policy, to conquer Naples for a prince of the house of Bourbon, and to incorporate Lorraine with her own dominions. However personally acceptable he might be to his two foreign royal masters, his fall was unaccompanied with any testimonies of national affection, respect, or regret. Mr. Pelham, it is true, possessed during the period of his administration, embracing about nine years, a great share of public regard; but it was conferred rather on his private

virtues, than on his talents, or ministerial services. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded while he held the first place at the treasury board, may be justly accounted one of the least glorious which we have signed since the peace of Ryswick. Of Mr. Pelham, we may indeed say, as *Junius* does of Lord Granby, "*bonum virum facile dixeris: magnum, libenter.*" The first Mr. Pitt unquestionably was idolized, and justly, by his countrymen; while his powerful mind, at one and the same time, coerced the cabinet, subjected parliament, withered opposition, and directed with no less ability than success, the energies of the nation against her foreign enemies. But he neither possessed the real confidence of George the Second, nor of George the Third; the former of whom employed him, as the latter retained him for a short time in office, not from choice, but in reluctant deference to the universal wishes of their subjects. Nor can it be forgotten that this illustrious statesman seemed to be designed by nature exclusively for a time of war. His talents, like those of the Corsican Emperor of the French, were adapted, not for the calm, but for the tempest.

If Mr. Pitt had been supplanted by Lord Bute, we doubtless should have retained, at the treaty of Fontainebleau, some of those valuable possessions in the West Indies which were restored by us to France and Spain. But it may be reasonably doubted whether the secretary's popularity would have long sustained itself after the conclusion of peace. He was wholly unqualified to preside over the finances; of which department, during his short and triumphant career, he left the superintendence to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Legge, while he dictated his pleasure to the treasury, as well as to the admiralty. His faculties, which were not calculated for the meridian of Downing-street, became felt at the extremities of Asia and of America; at Besisle, at Manilla, at Martinique, in Cuba, and in Canada. Conscious of his powers, no less than of his deficiencies, he never emulated any higher ostensible office than secretary of state. From that position, his powerful mind dominated the cabinet during about four years, under two kings. Charles Fox,

like the first Mr. Pitt, limited his ambition to the same employment, but not from a similar cause ; for Fox, in my opinion, might have directed the finances of Great Britain with as much ability as her foreign policy and councils. *His* defect lay principally in the irregularities of his private life. Lord North, for the space of full twelve years, enjoyed the perfect confidence of his sovereign. Not a cloud of any magnitude arose in the closet ; though during the calamitous interval between 1777 and 1782, when Lord North would more than once have willingly withdrawn from a ruinous contest, Jenkinson might receive marks of predilection or of confidence, withheld from the minister. But Lord North, as was once avowed by Dundas in the course of debate, wanted the energy and severity requisite to control his colleagues. He constituted the charm of private society. His wit, brilliant and playful, never became acrimonious. He was an accomplished orator, an able financier, irreproachable in his individual character, and fully adequate to conduct the national affairs in ordinary times. His crime was the American war. In that abyss he became ultimately ingulphed.

Pitt's situation at this time bore no analogy to any of the four preceding ministers. It is difficult to imagine what a magic there was in his name ; I might say his *names* (baptismal as well as family denomination), which seemed to present his father anew before the eyes of parliament. Neither did Fox, nor does the present Earl of Liverpool, enjoy this advantage ; as, though their respective fathers were men of great intellectual endowments, I scarcely remember two more unpopular individuals than Lord Holland and Charles Jenkinson. The chancellor of the exchequer still wanted several months of having accomplished his twenty-ninth year. Yet he displayed none of the usual characteristic concomitants of youth. Neither women, nor play, nor the allurements of the turf, nor the exhibitions of the theatre, nor the sports of the field, nor pleasure under any form interfered with his official duties. Wine, which his constitution demanded as a stimulus, rarely led him into any excess ; and the companions of

his convivial hours were not numerous. His elevated, ambitious mind, which grasped at solid power, was superior to the trappings of vanity. Unlike Sir Robert Walpole and Lord North, both of whom aspired to, and obtained the distinction of *the garter*, Pitt desired to remain a commoner without decoration. At a subsequent period, when the king offered to confer on him that splendid ornament, he declined it, and only besought of his majesty to bestow it on the Earl of Chatham ; thus preferring the chief of his family to himself.

His magnanimous contempt of money, exemplified in giving the clerkship of the pells to Colonel Barré (though it was a place in the exchequer, a department over which he personally presided, and the patronage of which belonged to him) ; this extraordinary act of renunciation, scarcely exceeded by the brightest models in antiquity, extorted universal applause. Negligent however as he was of his own interests, he manifested the utmost vigilance in protecting those of the public. Under his administration, the government securities had risen to a height unknown since the commencement of the American war ; and the institution of a sinking fund of one million, had given a stability to credit, which rendered him most popular on the Royal Exchange. In the management of parliament, he had hardly found it necessary, as yet, to have recourse to the arts of corruption. His late successful interference in the Dutch affairs, though, as he modestly owned in the house of commons, when discussing the subject, "it had turned out so fortunate for Great Britain, rather from an extraordinary combination of circumstances than from any other cause," yet had raised him to an unprecedented point of general confidence. In making this recognition of Pitt's merits, I am not impelled by any partiality. For Lord North, and for Lord Sackville, I nourished great predilection ; but towards Pitt I felt none, except the obligation imposed on me to write truth. In fact, I rendered *him* far more service than he ever rendered *me*.

In one point of view, and in one only, this great minister might be said to stand on lower ground than some of his predecessors : I mean, royal favour. No

man can suppose that he was considered by George the Third with the affectionate preference that he exhibited for the Earl of Bute. I have indeed always placed that nobleman in the list of favourites, rather than of public functionaries. He ranks rather with Carr and Villiers, than with the Danbys, the Godolphins, or the Harleys. Wilkes, when attacking Lord Bute, ascended to the time of Edward the Third, in order to find his parallel in the person of Roger Mortimer. But never did the king regard Mr. Pitt with the same warm feelings of kindness as he displayed towards Lord North, who was naturally and constitutionally gay; facetious, yet respectful; and blessed with an unalterable suavity of temper. Pitt's manners were stiff, retired, without unction or grace. On some occasions he dictated, while on others he refused to yield, even in matters painfully affecting the sovereign. It is well known that very sharp dialogues took place in the closet between them, *previous* to 1793. *After* that period, when the Duke of York commanded in the Netherlands, while Lord Chatham presided at the admiralty; altercations, accompanied by mutual recrimination, more than once arose, of the most personal description. I could state particulars.

In permitting Mr. Hastings to be impeached, and in supporting the prosecution, Pitt rudely shocked the king's opinions, who always esteemed the governor-general as one of the most able, meritorious, and ill-used subjects. Perhaps Pitt is to be admired for the line of conduct that he adopted; but it could not be acceptable at St. James's. In truth, Pitt was not made to be loved. Admiration and respect followed him wherever he appeared, but not general attachment. He possessed, however, an invaluable ally in Fox, from whose power he had rescued the sovereign, by exertions which *he* only could have successfully made, and of which service the king retained the strongest sense. He was indeed well aware that a rupture with his minister would not only be attended by the loss of that popularity which since the close of the American war he had acquired, but must probably necessitate him to return to his former bondage under the *coalition*. In the year 1801,

when Pitt and his colleagues resigned, it was not Hastings, or Lord Chatham, or the Duke of York, or temporal concerns of any description, that formed the matter in dispute between them. A higher subject, one which affected his coronation oath, superseded in the king's estimation all sublunary political considerations. He had besides with great ability provided a successor for Pitt, in the person of Addington, to whom he gently and dexterously *transferred* the administration, leaving Fox seated where he was antecedently, on the opposition bench.

4th February.—As the last discussions which took place previous to the adjournment regarded Sir Elijah Impey; so one of the earliest subjects of debate in the house of commons, when that assembly met again, was his prosecution. Sir Elijah himself being permitted to appear at the bar, delivered a very able and impressive answer to the charges presented against him. The trial and execution of Nundcomar constituting the heaviest allegation, he directed his principal efforts to clear himself from the guilt commonly attached to that act. It had been generally reported and credited, that Lord Mansfield, who was then justly considered as the greatest authority on all matters of criminal law, declared "the execution of Nundcomar to have been a *legal murder*." In order to erase the impression made by an opinion from which there could have been no appeal, Sir Elijah informed the house, that having written a letter on the subject to the nobleman in question, he had received an answer from his lordship, positively declaring that he had never used any such expression. But the chief justice of the King's Bench limited himself to the bare denial, without subjoining the slightest approbation of the judicial proceedings instituted against the unfortunate rajah. Sir Elijah likewise produced other high testimonials to his official character and conduct, while at the head of the courts of judicature in Bengal; including particularly, if I recollect right, the celebrated names of Blackstone and of Dunning. After having commented with great ability on the trial itself, and read the conclusion of the charge that he delivered on the occasion, from the bench, to the jury; which he cited as a

proof of his having given the prisoner every fair chance for his life; he observed that the sentence was unanimous. "If, therefore," concluded he, "I am guilty, *the other judges* who presided in that court participate the criminality with me. I was nevertheless suffered to remain in India as chief justice, near six years afterwards; and the other judges still remain at this hour in Bengal, distributing justice, though their hands have been dipped in blood. But is it credible that four men of unspotted reputation down to Nundcomar's conviction, should at once become so depraved as to join in the commission of murder? However feeble therefore may be my defence, I trust that when *they* come to this bar, *their* arguments will have more force, and will sustain whatever I, in my present reply, have left weak or inadequate."

7th February.—These facts and arguments, which, it must be admitted, were not destitute of legal or of moral weight, received still further corroboration when Sir Elijah entered a second time on his defence. I knew him personally, and I always entertained strong prejudices in his disfavour;—prejudices, which neither the expression of his countenance, nor his manners, tended to dispel. Yet truth compels me to declare, that certain passages in his appeal to the house of commons reminded me of Lord Strafford's eloquent address to his judges in 1641. "Is it intended, Mr. Speaker," said he, "by accumulating articles of accusation against me, charging me exclusively with acts in which the other judges equally participated, to induce or compel me to fly my country? Do my accusers hope that I will not come forward to refute them? Can it answer the purposes of public justice, to bring against me such a mass of falsehood and of misrepresentation?—I have much at stake. I have moreover ten children, for whose provision it is equally my duty and my wish to preserve my fortune. But I will sacrifice that fortune to the preservation of my character. No child of mine shall blush to acknowledge me for his father!" The Speaker, by order of the house, having demanded of him how soon he would be ready to reply to the remaining charges; "My mind,"

replied he, "is so unhinged by the imputation of having legally murdered Nundcomar, and my health is so deeply affected by such an accusation, that I find it impossible to exert myself in my defence against the other articles, till a decision has taken place respecting the leading charge. It is of a deep cast, and on it I have concentrated my attention. With respect to the minor charges, I hold myself ready to answer them whenever the house shall call on me." Pitt having instantly moved to comply with Sir Elijah's request, Elliot, desirous to avoid a division which would unquestionably be carried against him, reluctantly assented to the proposition.

Violent personal altercations nevertheless accompanied every stage of the prosecution. Already the truth of Lord Mansfield's profound observation on the essential difference between *criminal* and *political justice* began to be fully exemplified. Eloquence might induce a legislative assembly, unrestrained in its proceedings by legal forms, to accuse a *governor-general* of having committed criminal acts in his *political* capacity, because the crimes imputed were in themselves vague and indefinite. But, in order to impeach a *chief justice* of having been corrupt or oppressive while sitting on the bench, it became necessary not only to adduce evidence the most formal and defined, but to follow the ordinary rules laid down in courts of law. To these fetters, the prosecutors very unwillingly submitted. Impey's recent defence at the bar had produced a strong sensation in his favour, and effected a temporary revulsion in popular opinion. He enjoyed, moreover, an advantage denied to Hastings; namely, that he belonged to a learned profession, the individuals composing which body assembled round him as a sort of guard, ready to defend him against his accusers, Francis having moved to *require* the delivery of a paper which Sir Elijah had read in exculpation, and the solicitor-general opposing its forced production as subversive of every principle of justice; Francis launched out in a tone of indignant complaint. "A week ago," exclaimed he, "scarcely an individual was to be found who did not esteem Sir Elijah Impey highly criminal. On a

sudden the tide is turned, and *tenderness* is to be manifested towards him. We behold a phalanx drawn up on the other side. Whole bands of learned counsel, even *judges* themselves, flock down to support him, to welcome him with cheers, and to encourage him not merely with the smiles, but with the *halloo* of government."

A cry of Order! resounding from the ministerial side of the house, Pitt immediately rose, and observed that such language he never could hear without feelings of abhorrence. "What!" continued he, "when a person accused of charges the most flagrant stands here for the first time on his defence, is it to be asserted that no *tenderness* should be shown him?" Fox and Burke persisting, nevertheless, to compel the production of the document in question, the master of the rolls (Kenyon) interposed. He had entered the house while Francis was on his legs, and as he had advanced up the floor, imperfectly heard the accusation levelled against the *judges*. Irascible as Kenyon was from constitution, and upright from character, he could not tamely submit to an imputation which personally affected him. "If," exclaimed he, "that honourable gentleman is really the immaculate person which his friends describe him to be, it ill befits him to charge bad intentions on other men; and while he reprobates Sir Elijah Impey's conduct, become himself the accuser of a whole profession." Burke desiring to be informed from legal authority, how far papers not proved authentic could furnish matters of proof; and what evidence would be admissible, or inadmissible, at the bar of the lords; the master of the rolls answered, that the judges would be ready to give their opinion on every point submitted to them. "Where disputes arise," continued he, "the law will be pronounced from the woolsack; and whatever is so pronounced, must be regarded as law." Far from acquiescing in this doctrine, Burke utterly denied its validity. "I have," said he, "contended, and successfully contended, against the unanimous opinion of the judges. If I think their opinion wrong, I will again contend against their determination. The learned gentleman appears to me to hold their decision in

much too high veneration. He is, I believe, eagerly looking to become one of that body. I hope, however, that he will continue some time longer, in his present probationary state, performing legal quarantine for the advantage of his health and constitution." These allusions related to the negotiation for Kenyon's elevation to the office of chief justice of the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield's age and infirmities rendering necessary his resignation. The business was not finally effectuated till about four months afterwards, when Kenyon became a peer and chief justice.

Francis having defended with much warmth his own conduct as a member of the supreme council of Bengal, concluded by making some querulous reflections on his actual situation. "I deplore," said he, "the unfortunate event of my having ever embarked for India, *where I sacrificed every object to the performance of my duty*; and on returning to this country, what has been my reception? Instead of receiving acknowledgments, I am made the object of party rancour." These lamentations, which, while they exhibited his own disinterestedness, reproached the public insensibility to it, did not however pass without notice. Major Scott, who accurately knew the only modes in which a large fortune could be accumulated in a short space of time on the banks of the Ganges, coming forward; "Before," observed he, "I can join in applauding the honourable gentleman's integrity, I require proof of the fact itself, in the only way which can produce conviction. Let him make a fair and candid declaration, as Lord Macartney has done! Let him state that he quitted England, *in debt*, a few years ago; that he remained *only six years in India*; that his expenses at home and abroad during the time amounted to a certain specified sum; and that his fortune is barely the difference between the amount of his expenses and the remainder of his salary as a supreme councillor. Until he gives this test of his integrity, I shall set little value on the panegyrics of his friends." Francis made no reply to Scott's proposition, nor manifested any inclination to submit to such a disclosure. Fox persisting to require the production from

Sir Elijah Impey of the paper to which allusion had been so often made, and Pitt as pertinaciously resisting it, a division ensued, when nearly three to one supported the minister. But Impey, on being called to the bar, and asked by the Speaker whether he had any objection to deliver in a copy of the document, replied that he would most readily present it on the ensuing day.

13th February.—While the house of commons were thus engaged, the trial of Hastings at length commenced in Westminster Hall. It formed a very imposing and august spectacle. In that immense fabric, which carried back the mind of the spectator to the Plantagenet and Norman princes, by whom it was constructed or repaired at distant periods of our history, almost all the rank and talents, as well as much of the beauty of the country, were assembled. The queen, accompanied by her four eldest daughters, distinguished it with her presence. They were seated in the Duke of Newcastle's box, who, as auditor of the exchequer, possessed in virtue of his office a distinguished portion of the gallery. Charles the First, as well as Henrietta Maria his consort, were present, as we know, throughout the whole trial of the Earl of Strafford, concealed in a close gallery of Westminster Hall. But George the Third did not think proper to imitate the example of his predecessor. He never once visited the court before which Hastings appeared, from the commencement to the close of the judicial proceedings, though they were protracted during successive years. The Prince of Wales, on the contrary, closely connected as he was with all the chiefs of opposition, lent his countenance to the prosecution by walking at the head of the peers, to the number of more than one hundred and fifty. The whole British peerage did not at that time exceed two hundred and twenty; while they now fall little short of three hundred. Notwithstanding all the precautions used for warming the Hall, a cold damp vapour, augmented by the gloom of the season, pervaded the edifice. In the midst of this vast assembly, the late governor-general of India presented himself, accompanied or followed by his counsel, Law, Plumer, and Dallas. Erskine, who, ten years earlier,

had first attracted public attention by his defence of Admiral Keppel, might have been retained on the present occasion. Never, perhaps, had a more ample subject presented itself for the display of that impassioned, nervous, and glowing appeal to the human mind, which characterized Erskine's oratory! But his personal habits of private, as well as of political friendship with Fox, and the other leaders of the prosecution, induced him to decline the office of Hastings's advocate.

Precluded from availing himself of such assistance, Hastings made the best selection then permitted by the state of the bar. Law, who has since risen to the distinguished employment successively filled before him by the Earl of Mansfield and Lord Kenyon, possessed eminent abilities. But he wanted the refinement of Erskine, who, though driven by necessity to seek support from his exertions as a barrister, never forgot that he was a gentleman, and a man of quality. Law, on the contrary, when elevated to the peerage, retained and exhibited all the coarse breeding of his natural character and habits. Not less irascible than Kenyon, he was far more intractable. Kenyon, it is true, sometimes gave way to his indignation, while seated on the bench, in his judicial capacity; but, as a member of the upper house, I never recollect his having violated the decorum usually observed in that assembly. Lord Ellenborough, on more than one occasion, burst forth into transports of anger, accompanied with language such as is seldom heard even in the most obscure courts of Lincoln's Inn, or of the Temple. I allude in particular to the expressions that fell from him on the debate respecting the compensation given by Pitt to the Duke of Athol for his seigniorial rights in the Isle of Man. I think it took place in the summer of 1805, only a few months before that minister's decease. Not that I approve of the measure, which I have always considered as one of the most censurable ever adopted by Pitt. But the epithets affixed to it by the chief justice of the King's Bench appeared so unbecoming, as to induce Lord Mulgrave to remind him that he was addressing peers, not lawyers. Nor did the sen-

tence which he pronounced upon Lord Cochrane, for that nobleman's participation in the memorable and infamous "hoax" practised on the Stock Exchange, excite less condemnation. Such, indeed, was its severity, as effectually to prevent its being carried into complete execution. Notwithstanding these defects of character and deportment, he proved himself highly qualified for the great post that he filled during near seventeen years of the present reign. Plummer and Dallas, though neither of them were men of brilliant talents, have deservedly attained, and at this hour continue to occupy, two of the greatest situations in the profession of the law.

15th—22d February. — The attention of the metropolis now became concentrated on Westminster Hall. Burke, who led the way in the proceedings, rising on the third day of the trial, commenced an oration unequalled, I believe, either in antiquity, or in any modern period of time. Those who most disapproved the impeachment, yet were not less sensible on that account to the magnificent structure of ideas, the vast series of facts, the prodigious grasp of his mind which could arrange, and his memory which could retain, such a multitude of transactions. If we further reflect, that Burke had never visited the scene which he thus presented before the minds of his audience in colours the most glowing, we shall find new cause for admiration of the mighty faculties conferred on him by Nature. The illustrious orator,

—"Quem mirabantur Athenæ
Torrentem, et pleni moderantem fræna theatri,"

had personally seen Macedonia, had visited Pella, and had conversed with Philip, against whom he declaimed. Cicero had been quæstor in Sicily before he undertook the attack of Verres, who exercised the office of prætor in that island. But Burke knew Bengal only by report, and had never beheld either Mahomet Reza Cawn, or Nundcomar, or Gunga Govind Sing, the agents, enemies, or ministers of the governor-general. The historical and geographical accuracy which he exhibited while narrating the principal events that took place in the dominions subjected to the East India

Company, from their original conquest by Clive, down to the recent period when Hastings returned to Europe, afforded fresh matter of wonder. Four days did he continue to supply this lucid stream of information. At the conclusion of the third morning, it is true that his bodily powers becoming unequal longer to sustain so arduous an effort, he was compelled by indisposition to postpone his further observations. But, resuming with new vigour the task on the following day, he finally accomplished it. His termination, if it was not ludicrous, — for extremes touch, — was appalling; when he at last impeached Hastings, not only as state criminals had formerly been accused under the Stuarts and the Tudors, "in the name of the commons of England in parliament assembled;" he resigned the governor-general "in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, of the people of India, and finally, in the name of human nature itself."

I was present, as a member of the lower house, during a considerable part of the time which elapsed between the commencement and the conclusion of Burke's speech; or, rather, of his four harangues. It would be difficult to convey an idea of the agitation, distress, and horror excited among the female part of his audience, by his statement of the atrocities, and, in many instances, of the deeds of blood, perpetrated, as he asserted, by Hastings's connivance, or by his express commands. Curiosity naturally attracted, on each successive day, a vast proportion of females, many of whom were peeresses, or women of the highest condition. No sooner, however, had the emotions produced by Burke's description in some measure subsided, than Fox, addressing the chancellor, attempted to lay down as a principle, that the managers intended to substantiate each charge *separately*; to hear Hastings's defence, as well as evidence; and to reply: — by this mode of accusation, proceeding to a conclusion on every *specific* article, previous to opening another head of charge. Law strongly objecting, as counsel for the prisoner, to such a form of proceeding, which he declared to be subversive of all equity, or the practice of judicial courts; Fox undertook to justify it by precedents. Nor

did he blush to cite the cases of Cransfield, Earl of Middlesex, and of the celebrated Lord Strafford, as precedents in favour of his proposition. Two more tyrannical and oppressive examples of parliamentary, or popular violence, under the forms of law, could not have been selected from our annals since the death of Elizabeth. The first, which took place in 1624, set on foot by the vindictive animosity of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was marked in its progress, not less than in its conclusion, by every characteristic of iniquity and oppression. So contrary to all principles of justice did the fine inflicted on the Earl of Middlesex appear to Charles the First, that one of the earliest acts of his reign was its remission. It is unnecessary to say a word on the trial of Strafford, which formed the prelude to civil war, and was followed within eight years by the execution of the king his master. Yet on such a basis, wholly inapplicable to the asserted crimes or misdemeanors of Hastings, did the managers pretend to found their reasonings; and to prosecute the governor-general of India in Westminster Hall, for alleged offences committed in his official capacity, many years antecedent, in the centre of Asia.

The peers appeared to have formed other ideas of their own duty, dignity, and becoming mode of procedure. Having withdrawn to their own house, a debate of great interest arose two days afterwards, which was begun by Lord Thurlow, who stated the object of discussion with his characteristic ability. Nor, though he reprobated the impeachment (as was well known) individually, did he pronounce a less eloquent eulogium on Burke's splendid exhibition of talent. But he at the same time declared that the demand made by Hastings's counsel was a right, not an indulgence; adding, that he could conceive no principle on which the defence could be conducted, except one; namely, "to oblige the managers to complete the whole of their case, previous to a word being uttered in exculpation of the prisoner." Lord Loughborough having endeavoured to demonstrate that the ordinary rules of proceeding in criminal law did not apply to parliamentary impeachment, which could not be shackled by the forms ob-

served in the courts below; the chancellor rose a second time. "My lords," said he, "with respect to the law and usage of parliament, I utterly disclaim all knowledge of such law. *It has no existence.* True it is, that in times of despotism, or of popular fury, when, to impeach an individual, was to crush him by the strong hand of power, of tumult, or of violence, the law and usage of parliament were quoted in order to justify the most iniquitous or atrocious acts. But, in these days of light, and of constitutional government, I trust that no man will be tried except by the law of the land; a system admirably calculated to protect innocence and to punish crime."

Having subsequently shown from a review of all the state trials under the Stuart reigns, even down to that of Sacheverel inclusive, that in every instance were to be found the strongest marks of tyranny, injustice, and oppression. "In the present impeachment," concluded Lord Thurlow, "I trust your lordships will not depart from the recognized established laws of the land. The commons may impeach: your lordships are to try the cause. And the same rules of evidence, the same legal forms which obtain in the courts below, will, I am confident, be observed by this assembly." So enlightened a comment on Lord Mansfield's principle respecting the difference between *criminal* and *political* justice, proved irresistible. Though the first minister had joined in the impeachment, yet only thirty-three peers could be found to sustain Lord Loughborough, while eighty-eight supported the chancellor. When this decision was communicated by him to the managers in Westminster Hall on the following day, Fox, speaking as their organ, arraigned it in the warmest terms. Renouncing the enlarged principles of constitutional freedom by which he had always pretended to regulate his public conduct, he undertook to claim, and to defend, one of the most odious rights ever exercised by the house of commons. I mean, the privilege of bringing up new articles of impeachment *at any time*; — not only while the prisoner was engaged in *making* his defence, but even when his defence should be *concluded*.

This pretended right, worthy only of the worst periods of our history, did not, however, receive from the chancellor the slightest mark of assent or approbation. Fox entered next on the subject of trials by impeachment, declaring them to form a characteristic feature of our constitution. Then diverging to *the law and usage of parliament*, he maintained, "in opposition to opinions held elsewhere, that it formed one of the most important and valuable branches of the law of the land:" thus lending the support of his transcendent talents, to sustain a doctrine the most oppressive to the subject. Such was Fox, who, throughout his whole life, alternately attacked or defended the same measures, according to the position in which he stood; trusting to his own ability or eloquence, to cover all departures from consistency! These preliminaries being laid down, he proceeded to open the charge against Hastings for his treatment of Cheyt Sing, the Rajah of Benares. His speech, which lasted several hours, and which formed nearly a repetition of that addressed by him to the house of commons on the same subject, twenty months earlier, in June, 1786, justly excited, as a composition, great admiration.

25th February — 1st March. — At length towards the close of the month of February, commenced the business of the session. A very delicate, doubtful, and important subject of discussion had unexpectedly arisen between the administration, or rather, between the Board of East India Control, and the Court of Directors. Pitt having originally expelled Fox from power, by joining the latter corporate body, when menaced with extinction by the *coalition ministers*; it might naturally have been expected that he would not lightly quit so advantageous a political ground. Yet, in the lapse of about four years, the two heads of party seemed to have changed sides; Fox now sustaining the East India Company, while Pitt undertook to restrain their authority. In order to explain how so improbable a transmutation could take place, it is necessary to state, that during the period when war seemed to impend as a consequence of our interference in the affairs of Holland, the British government, apprehensive for the

safety of our Eastern possessions, determined on sending out four regiments to that quarter of the globe. The directors, impressed with the same fears, not only acquiesced in the measure, but expressed their satisfaction at its adoption. When the danger was, however, surmounted, ministers still persisting in their original intention with a view permanently to strengthen the forces in India, a violent opposition arose in Leadenhall-street. The court of directors even proceeded so far as to refuse receiving on board their ships the royal troops. Under these circumstances, no possible mode of speedily terminating the dispute presented itself, except by a recourse to parliament. But there were two ways in which government might obtain from the legislature the necessary powers. One, by a *bill enacting*, or conferring them; the other, by a *declaratory bill*, explaining and removing doubts relative to the right vested in the commissioners by the act of 1784; which, it was now maintained from the treasury bench, had fully empowered the board of control to exercise an unlimited command over the military and political concerns of India. The latter alternative was adopted by Pitt, though it evidently opened a wide field for controversy, as it placed Fox in the very position which the chancellor of the exchequer had himself occupied, and on which his ministerial greatness had been constructed; namely, the defence of the East India Company, against violence on the part of the servants of the crown.

From the first moment that the minister moved for leave to bring in his projected *bill*, down to the time of its being carried to the house of peers, during a period of near three weeks, the most determined opposition was experienced from a variety of quarters. It originated not merely from Fox, nor was it limited to his adherents. Enemies started up among the supporters of administration, men of the most independent minds and fortunes. Barré, whose loss of sight, when added to age and decay, seldom allowed him to attend in his place, rose more than once to reprobate and expose the measure. Baring, then one of the court of directors, displayed the same resistance. Notwithstanding his deaf-

ness, which infirmity had recently subjected him to the sarcastic edge of Sheridan's wit, few individuals in that assembly could contend with him in financial knowledge and commercial information. Like Barré, he belonged to the Marquis of Lansdown's little band.

Fullarton, whose duel with Lord Shelburne rendered him known early in life; who had subsequently distinguished himself on the theatre of India, where he commanded a considerable body of troops, during the war with Hyder Ally; and who, whenever he spoke, manifested no ordinary talents; opposed the *bill* with his utmost force. I had the happiness to enjoy a place in his friendship; and though towards the close of his career, when acting as one of the three royal commissioners in the island of Trinidad, the excess of his zeal during the contest in which he there engaged with General Picton, formed subject of regret; yet I seize with pleasure the present occasion to commemorate his numerous virtues, his disinterestedness, and elevation of character. Flood, whose rivalry and animosity to Grattan in the Irish house of commons produced so many animated scenes within those walls; a man of the most forbidding physiognomy, but endowed with great powers of intellect; presenting himself on this occasion, as he had done some years earlier, in December, 1783, when he opposed Fox's "East India Bill," now inveighed against Pitt's measure, as an insidious, rapacious, and unjustifiable act of power.

These formidable opponents were joined by others not less respectable. "The bill that I approved in 1783," said Powis, "possessed all the characteristic features of its author's mind, bold, open, and manly. It now becomes evident that the measure which I then opposed was founded in duplicity and fraud, undermining the charter which it pretended to support." Sir Edward Asley, member for the county of Norfolk, descended of an ancient and opulent family, renowned for loyalty; himself a plain, unlettered country gentleman, of very moderate talents, but of the most upright views; was heard with much attention. Scarcely did he rise in general more than once or twice throughout a whole session, on the subject of a turnpike bill, or some

local business affecting his constituents. "I voted," exclaimed he, "for the present chancellor of the exchequer's India Bill, because I was given to understand that it formed the reverse of the *bill* which preceded it. But I now find that there is very little difference between them. The one seems to be nearly as bad as the other. I have not withdrawn my confidence from him, but *I wish he would keep better company*. In other words, *I distrust his colleagues*." This severe reflection, levelled principally, or rather exclusively, at Dundas, could not be mistaken. Even Pulteney, a man whose vast property and strong sense gave weight to his opinions, declared himself adverse to the measure. He had contributed, both by his vote and by his pen, to overturn Fox's memorable *bill*. His opposition, therefore, painfully affected ministers. Yet, unlike Sir Edward Asley, he qualified his line of action by compliments to Dundas on his integrity, and assiduity at the board of control. Nor did he omit to give his tribute of praise to Pitt's ministerial character and conduct. Four years later, his daughter was raised to the British peerage as a baroness, and she subsequently attained by creation to the rank of a countess. Sir Edward Asley, whose ancestors fought and bled in the royal cause under Charles the First, died a commoner. Even Major Scott, little as he might incline to support Hastings's prosecutors, yet spoke repeatedly in terms of strong condemnation against the pending *bill*.

Assailed from so many unexpected quarters, the minister nevertheless could boast of some able supporters. At their head stood Scott, who at the present hour, far advanced as he is in life, fills with undiminished powers of mind the high employment of chancellor. Pitt only waited for Lord Mansfield's resignation, to make him solicitor-general.— Francis, a man little inclined to indulge in compliment towards his opponents, yet did justice to Scott. During the debates that arose on the present occasion, Francis observed, "We have among us a learned person, who is universally considered as the great luminary of the law; whose opinions are oracles; to whose information and authority, all his own

profession look up with reverence. No member of the long robe took a more active part in the debates than Hardinge. Not content with defending and justifying the ministerial measure, he attacked Powis in a manner so personal as to excite general censure. Two, and only two directors of the East India Company, spoke in commendation of the bill.

Among the county members, I recollect Rolle alone who ventured to stand forward in defence of Pitt; while Bastard, his colleague, spoke as well as voted on the opposite side. Their fate, indeed, proved different;—Rolle entering the house of peers, eight years afterwards; while Bastard continued to represent the county of Devon down to the period of his decease, only a short time ago.

2d March.—A petition against the bill having been presented by the East India Company, Erskine was heard as heir counsel at the bar. Devoted to Fox, ardent in his temper, and incapable of being awed or intimidated by the presence of any assembly; Erskine, who, during the short time that he represented Portsmouth in the last parliament, had signalized himself by the defence of Fox's "East India Bill," resumed in his legal capacity the consideration of the same subject. Spurning the limits within which advocates are usually confined when pleading before the house of commons, he ventured not only to eulogize in the warmest terms the rejected measure of his friend, but to treat the bill of 1784 as a vile imposture practised on a credulous nation. The murmurs of various members, indignant at such an infraction of decorum, at length compelled the speaker to interpose his authority, in order to repress Erskine's prurience. Affecting to apologize, while he at the same time took occasion to renew the offence; "If," observed he, "Mr. Speaker, I have been guilty of any irregularity, it arises solely from a diminution of that respect which I was accustomed to feel towards this assembly before it was shorn of its dignity; but which no longer animates me since the assumption of the extraordinary powers arrogated and exercised by the present board of control." Sentiments so insulting would probably have attracted an expression of ministerial indignation on

their author's head, if it had not been repressed by the peculiar circumstances of the case. Pitt beheld himself in a situation far more perilous than any that had occurred since his elevation to the head of the treasury. The *Westminster scrutiny*, oppressive as it was, had been undertaken immediately after the overthrow of the "*coalition*" ministry, during the intoxication incident to his early popularity. His *Irish propositions* were rejected by the parliament of that country, not here in Westminster; and from the prosecution of the Duke of Richmond's plan of *fortifying the dock yards*, he had finally desisted, when warned by the casting vote in the house of commons. But, in the present instance, if outnumbered by the opposers of the bill, no honourable retreat remained for him; nor was it easy to conceive how, if defeated, he could even with dignity continue in office. As he had risen to power by one India Bill, he might fall by another.

5th March.—Influenced by these reflections, which imperiously suggested themselves to his mind, Pitt found his best auxiliary, not in the talents of his supporters, nor even in his own eloquence, but in his *character*. Never perhaps was the value of integrity, moderation, and correct deportment, more forcibly exemplified than in the instance before us! Fox might, and I believe did possess, the first of those qualities in as eminent a degree; but he wanted the two latter recommendations to royal and to national favour. At the end of four years it had become demonstrated that the two East India Bills (that of Fox, and that of Pitt), differed more from each other in name than in reality. Yet the discovery, though it shook, did not overturn the minister; because the East India Company, the two houses of parliament, and the country at large, however undeceived they might be, were by no means disposed to transfer the reins of government to Fox and his adherents. Pitt, notwithstanding the exertions which he made to convince, and to retain his friends, beheld himself abandoned by many individuals who usually supported him. However much he strove to conceal his emotions on a point so humiliating to his haughty mind, he nevertheless felt it deeply;—for no minister ever

more justly appreciated the importance of character. Conscious of the dangerous nature of the ground which he had to maintain, he tried to prove that the powers now assumed by the board of control were virtually, if not specifically vested in the commissioners, by the act of 1784. But, able and persuasive as Pitt was, his oratory failed of its usual effect. Sheridan, directing his keen jests against the head of the India Board, observed that Dundas had formerly compared the commissioners constituted by Fox's *Bill* to seven doctors and eight apothecaries prescribing for one poor patient. "Yet," continued he, "their prescriptions were at least less nauseous than the dose now mixing by the learned *Doctor of Control*, who, in the spirit of a political quack, exhorts his patient to swallow it; assuring him that there is no occasion for his confining himself at home, but that he may safely go about his business as usual. This new sovereign remedy will no doubt be soon advertised, under the title of *Scotch Pills for every sort of Oriental disorder*."

Irritating as were such observations, Fox's insulting comments on the humbled situation of the minister sunk still deeper into his mind. "Whence arises," exclaimed Fox, "so determined an opposition to the present measure? Have the chancellor of the exchequer's friends deserted him? No! For, even now, they declare that they have confidence in his integrity. What, then, is the cause of this change? Why, in the good sense of the house, because the present *bill* has removed the film from before their eyes, while it begins to explain to the whole kingdom its destructive tendency." After alluding in terms of contemptuous ridicule to the indifference about power which Dundas affected to feel, Fox inveighed with great animation against a *declaratory bill*. "The crown and the East India Company," observed he, "are at variance on a disputed principle. Why not try the fact in a court of law? 'No,' says the minister: 'in a court of law I can exercise no influence; in the house of commons I can.' What must such an act be denominated except oppression! But, I trust, there is virtue enough yet remaining in this assembly to resist its

further progress." The hour was very late when Fox sat down; and as the impression which he had made could not admit of a doubt, every eye became directed to the treasury bench, in expectation that Pitt would endeavour to efface it. Instead, however, of rising, he alleged personal indisposition as the reason of his silence; promising, nevertheless, to answer his antagonist's arguments in the future stages of the *bill*. I scarcely recollect a division taking place under more discouraging circumstances for administration since Pitt's elevation to power. Nor did the result prove that Fox had miscalculated his force. Though three hundred and twelve persons voted, the ministers carried the question only by a majority of *fifty-seven*. Such a triumph partook of defeat, and clearly manifested how little he could trust to the support which he had been accustomed to receive within those walls, unless he modified the measure under discussion. A defection of less than thirty members, if they joined Fox, would have left Pitt in a minority; and that defection was by no means impossible.

7th March.—Yielding unquestionably to the considerations dictated by his present position, Pitt resolved, therefore, instead of advancing in a path where his popularity, if not his power, might be lost, to retrace his steps. Doubtless too he felt that he was engaged in Dundas's cause even more than his own; since the real authority of the India Board resided, not in the first lord of the treasury, nor still less in Lord Sydney, the nominal president, but in Dundas. Neither could Pitt be insensible, that however eminent were the talents of that ambitious, aspiring, and able advocate; however closely cemented might be their personal friendship, and however necessary to administration were his exertions and eloquence in parliament; yet his moral reputation fell below his political ability. Contrary to his usual practice, Pitt therefore opened the discussion, on the evening when it was moved "to bring up the report of the *bill*." Assuming a tone and a language foreign to his disposition, he endeavoured to regain the eminence which he had occupied before the introduction of the present obnoxious measure. Hav-

ing first conciliated his hearers, he next addressed himself to their understanding; and while he vindicated the *bill* which he had brought forward, professed nevertheless his anxious desire to propose, as well as to adopt, every clause, and every mode of prevention, against the apprehended danger to the constitution. "If," exclaimed he, "checks upon patronage are tendered, let them come from whatever side of this assembly they may, or from whatever individual however hostile, accompanied by whatever language, I will gladly receive them. I shall even regard the man who proposes them as my *best friend*, because he will have proved that he is a friend to the British constitution." The conclusion of his speech, most personal to Fox, "whom," he said, "that house had dethroned, four years before, from his high seat of despotism," was filled with reiterated declarations that he never would consent to or permit the introduction of patronage under any form. To Pulteney he particularly addressed himself, in terms calculated to obviate that member's objection to the measure; and finally, as the best proof of his desire to submit it to censure or emendation, he moved "to recommit the *bill*."

Never did Pitt, at any period of his eventful life, exhibit a stronger proof of his consummate judgment than in adopting this line of action. It disarmed and finally defeated opposition; but it could not silence their sarcasms, or their clamours. Sheridan, whose eloquence, abilities, and power of fancy Pitt recognized; denying him at the same time reason and truth; — Sheridan, indignant at the compliments paid to his talents, at the expense of his morals, retorted on the minister with inconceivable ingenuity and severity. After drawing a masterly picture of Pitt's political life, and stigmatizing the prominent features of his administration; "His friends, nevertheless," continued Sheridan, "boast of his conscience, and always assert that he has been debauched into every act of folly or of iniquity, that he has committed. 'They say in his defence, that his conscience has been surprised in the present instance; and that the *bill* now before us has originated, not in wicked intention, but in bad advice. I readily

admit that he has people about him who are capable of intentionally misleading him. It constitutes his original crime, that he has connected himself with men from whom no good counsel ever can come; and it is earnestly to be wished, either that his conscience would keep a better look-out, or that he would in future keep better company. 'These pointed attacks upon Dundas were followed by reflections not less personal on Pitt himself, as well as on the *bill* under discussion. "The chancellor of the exchequer," observed Sheridan, "originally stole in upon the house this obnoxious measure, without explanation of any kind. He procured it to be read a first, and a second time: but being detected in the fact, his arm arrested, and himself exposed; finding that not only his supporters, but men on all sides have taken alarm; then he comes forward, humbly entreating that it may be checked and guarded in every shape. 'The *bill*, with its terrors, its arrogance, and its evils, came first; while the checks come behind as a rider. Prerogative foremost: the constitution in the rear.'"

Burke, engaged as he was in the prosecution of Hastings, attended nevertheless in his place, and joined in the cry against ministers on that memorable night; conscious that the division would decide, not only on the fate of the *bill*, but perhaps the duration of administration. Having first directed his animadversions against Dundas, he next turned round upon Pitt. "I congratulate the house," exclaimed he, "that confidence is at length exploded. The minister has himself avowed his distrust of his colleagues, and demanded suspicion from us. Well may the learned gentleman who presides over the destinies of the East, be clothed in sackcloth and ashes! I entreat it may be remembered that the caution comes not from this side of the house, but from the chancellor of the exchequer. He who, forty-eight hours ago, recommended, — nay, bullied us into confidence! But, even when engaged in so humiliating an act, he performs it with an air of pride. He scatters his ashes abroad with dignity, and wears his sackcloth as if it were a robe of purple." This fine portrait, sketched with such ability, bore the closest resemblance to

its original. Burke concluded by accusing the minister with the grossest hypocrisy, combined in the present instance with fraud. But all these imputations were swallowed up in the philippic pronounced by Fox. It formed one splendid display of reason, animated by a sentiment allied to triumph. For, though the division that took place ultimately extinguished the hopes of opposition, it could not deprive them of a species of victory. The minister had been humbled, and compelled to adopt the language of a suppliant in order to retain a small majority; while Fox, whose imprudence and ambition originally precipitated him from power, beheld his *bill* rescued in a certain degree from the load of obloquy under which it had so long been overwhelmed. There was indeed something like exultation in his address to the house, which might be said to resemble the animated apostrophe of a man who unexpectedly emerges out of darkness into light.

"I introduced," said he, "my *bill*, as the only mode of saving the East India Company and their territories from ruin. It produced alarm, and was rejected in another assembly. *What means were set on foot to effect that purpose, though well informed on the subject, I shall not now relate.* But the best panegyric ever delivered on my *bill* has just fallen from the lips of the chancellor of the exchequer himself, conveyed in those finished periods, and in that felicitous order, for which he is so eminently distinguished." Having next contrasted the provisions of his own *bill* with the present declaratory measure before the house, he endeavoured to show that under every point of view the former was most analogous to the principles of the constitution. "I have been accused," said Fox, "with endeavouring to pluck the crown from his majesty's head. Such language would be more justly applied to the ambition of those who are seated opposite to me. When have I conducted myself like a disloyal subject? When did I ever endeavour to diminish the just prerogatives of the crown? I know too well their value. *Those who have poisoned the royal ear*, by suggesting that only one side of the house of commons is loyal to the sovereign, are

the real enemies of the constitution. The minister has by his recent conduct forfeited all claim to the confidence of parliament. Let him at once avow his error, withdraw the present *bill*, and introduce another, adequate to the purposes of saving India!"

This advice had already been tendered to Pitt, in the progress of the debate, from two respectable quarters. I mean, by Bastard and by Pulteney. But as they both accompanied their exhortation with testimonies of the warmest satisfaction at the altered language which he had now thought proper to adopt; conveying withal an indirect assurance that his present concessions might probably secure their vote, or at least their support; he did not think it necessary to stoop to so humiliating an expedient. Neither did he attempt to answer Fox; only declaring that the whole speech just pronounced was, as far as it personally regarded himself, "a foul aspersion on his character." The division at length took place; when it appeared, that while administration maintained its preceding numbers, the opposition fell off in their supporters; 187 persons voting with government, precisely as on the former evening; but Fox who then counted 125, could now command only 115. The majority of the minister had therefore augmented from 57 to 67 members.

10th — 14th March. — Confirmed in office by this proof of parliamentary adherence, and warned by his recent danger, Pitt now hastened to accomplish his engagement by bringing in a variety of clauses, all calculated to circumscribe the powers which the bill conferred on the board of control. No concessions or limitations could however impose silence on Flood, who maintained that every argument which had been urged against Fox's *bill* applied with equal force to the present measure. "I appeal," exclaimed he, "to any candid man, whether such a difference exists between them as to cause a great ministerial revolution in the country, to convulse the state to its foundation, and to make the sovereign start from his throne. Such were the effects of a former *bill*. Yet how did it essentially differ from the one now before us?" Fox, as if satisfied with the severe discipline which

he had administered so recently to the minister, took little part in the debate of the evening. But Pitt's restrictions spontaneously imposed on his own power and on that of his colleagues at the India Board, had allayed the effervescence excited in the house, and brought back to his standard various individuals who had absented themselves. On the division, his numbers rose to 210, while the opposition could not reach beyond 122. His *bill* might consequently be regarded as secure. Yet its adversaries inveighed against it with redoubled asperity, down to the last moment that it remained under discussion. A short suspension of public business followed this violent struggle; while, in Westminster Hall, obstacles and delays arose which impeded the progress of Hastings's trial. To Burke and Fox, succeeded Grey; whose eloquence, youth, and figure, attracted a numerous audience, composed indeed frequently more of the wives and daughters of Hastings's judges, than of the judges themselves. Many of the peeresses occupied their seats, session after session, with exemplary patience, curiosity, and perseverance. Throughout the whole month of March, on account of the pressure of parliamentary affairs, scarcely ten days were allotted to the impeachment; nor was it before the middle of April that the second charge, which regarded the Princesses of Oude, was opened, not by Sheridan, but by Adam and Pelham.

April. — It is long since I have mentioned even the name of Lord North. His augmenting infirmities, particularly his loss of sight, incapacitated him, without great inconvenience, from attending as a member of parliament. He had not indeed been once seen within the walls of the house of commons during the debates that arose on the *declaratory India Bill*, when his presence and his talents might have been usefully employed for his party. Barre, it is true, who suffered under a similar privation, had taken an active part in those discussions; but, though far more advanced in his career than Lord North, his robust and athletic frame promised him many years of life. Colonel North supplied his father's vacant seat on the opposition bench. Another luminary of the period of the

American war, Rigby, disappeared likewise at this time. I believe he expired at Bath. Declining health, loss of office, — but, perhaps, more than both, pecuniary embarrassments, arising out of the extensive demands made on him by government, for payment of the balances of national money remaining in his hands; — these combined causes had operated to withdraw him almost altogether from parliament, though he still continued member for Tavistock. He possessed talents for addressing a popular assembly, which were sustained by confidence that nothing could abash. In that quality, he did not yield even to Dundas. Under Lord North's administration, Rigby had occupied a great space in the public mind; but since that time he seemed to have almost become politically extinct, and after his decease was speedily forgotten.

Rigby's death was preceded only a few weeks by that of the Dowager Viscountess Townsend, one of the most distinguished females of the court and reign of George the Second. She attained nearly her eighty-seventh year, but her intellectual faculties had suffered little or no decay. In the empire of mind, she might be said to have occupied the place left vacant by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and by Lady Hervey. At Lady Townsend's house in Whitehall, George Selwyn, and a number of other men eminent for wit or talent, were usually to be found, who constituted her evening society. Her father, whose name was Harrison, rose in life by the personal favour of William the Third, leaving to his daughter a fine property, which she bequeathed to Lord John Townsend, her grandson; one of the most gallant, accomplished, highly-informed individuals of his time; the inseparable friend and companion of Fox, throughout all the vicissitudes of his political life. Lady Townsend, besides retaining her mental powers undiminished, lived to see her eldest grandson created an English earl, and her son raised still higher, to the dignity of a British marquis; a circumstance probably without parallel in the peerage of this country. Those titles, as well as the numerous baronies of Plantagenet creation, that unite in the actual representative of the name of Townsend;

descended from the illustrious families of Vere, of Devereux, of Compton, and many others; may all be regarded at present as in a state of eclipse. So is the name of Courtenay. Both will probably emerge again under some future sovereign.

Among the persons who in April, 1788, made a strong appeal to the public, as candidates for dramatic fame, I must not omit Lady Wallace. She was one of the three daughters of Sir William Maxwell of Monteith, and a sister of the Duchess of Gordon. Inferior to the duchess in beauty, she possessed nevertheless great personal charms, which were augmented by the eccentric attractions of her deportment and conversation. No woman of condition in my time has ventured to emancipate herself so completely from all the restraints imposed by custom on her sex. I have seen her habited as a man, attending the debates in the house of commons, and seated in the gallery appropriated to strangers. Nor is this extraordinary act by any means the greatest deviation from female decorum which I have known her to commit for the gratification of curiosity or amusement. She was married to Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, a Scotch baronet; but she thought proper to prosecute him for adultery, before the court of session; and though the accusation was dismissed, Lady Wallace always continued to live in a state of total separation from her husband. Emulous of attaining the fame of Mrs. Behn and of Mrs. Centlivre, she composed and brought forward at this time a comedy, entitled "The Ton." It was performed three times at Covent-garden theatre; each time, to crowded audiences. I was present at two of the three representations. All the principal characters, male and female, were individuals of fashion, easily recognized by those who knew the town. The piece wanted neither plot, nor wit, nor movement, nor easy dialogue, nor theatrical effect, though it was in many passages very indelicate; yet not so grossly violating decency as Congreve has done in "Love for Love," and in "The Way of the World;" confessedly two of the finest comedies in the English language, if considered merely as dramatic compositions. But our refined manners and

habits will not tolerate the scenes at which the *Belindas* and the *Stellas* of the reign of George the First assisted without repugnance, and almost without a blush. All the efforts of Lady Wallace's friends, however numerous and powerful, with the Duchess of Gordon at their head, could not protect the play nor secure it from theatrical damnation. She never presented another piece to the manager; but her whole life was in itself a perpetual comedy. After the commencement of the French revolution, about the year 1794, she embarked for Hamburgh, professedly with the intention of there meeting and conferring with the expatriated French general, Dumourier. Lady Wallace terminated her extraordinary career at Munich, censured for the irregularities of her deportment, and little lamented by her own family.

Scarcely had Pitt surmounted the impediments to the "East India Declaratory Bill," when administration was assailed from another quarter. Lord Howe, who presided at the admiralty board, having at the time when a rupture with France was apprehended to be imminent, made a promotion of naval officers, thought fit to pass over more than forty captains, while he selected sixteen for elevation to the rank of admirals. Lord Rawdon (since created Marquis of Hastings), a nobleman of generous and elevated feelings, alive to every impulse of wounded honour, conceiving these individuals to have been unjustly superseded, brought the subject before the upper house. But the ministerial influence in that assembly could stand the severest assaults of opposition, and the first lord of the admiralty defended his conduct with reasons of solidity. Finally, Lord Rawdon's motion for an address to the king, praying that "he would take into his consideration the services of those captains who had been passed over in the late promotion," was negatived without a division. This event happened as early as the 20th of February. Not deterred, however, by the ill success of Lord Rawdon's attempts, Mr. Bastard brought forward the same subject in the house of commons, on the following day. He was a man of ample fortune, of an independent mind, of grave and correct deportment, animated by upright

intentions, and possessing a sound, though not a superior understanding. His position, as one of the two members for the county in which was situated Plymouth, with its dock-yards, gave him no ordinary advantage, when discussing a naval question.

Among the captains who had been passed over in the recent promotion were two, Balfour and Thompson, who, having received the thanks of the house on the event of the memorable 12th of April, 1782, seemed to challenge more respect than their companions. Bastard enlarged on the peculiar hardship of excluding two distinguished officers from the reward of their long services: men who had participated in the defeat of De Grasse. He ventured even to assert that unless some reparation should be made to their injured characters, the service itself would receive an irreparable wound. "Henceforward," exclaimed he, "increase of fortune, not of fame, will form the object of naval commanders. Servility and meanness must conduct to eminence. He who would rise in the profession, must effect it by running on the errands of the head of the admiralty board; by performing the part of his follower, his flatterer, perhaps of his pimp. He concluded by moving to address his majesty, that "he would confer on Captains Balfour and Thompson, some mark of his royal favour." Pitt opposed this proposition by reasons which were unanswerable. Having shown that it would form an unprecedented interference with the prerogative of the crown, he contended that "even if such a principle could be admitted, yet the house of commons was incompetent to take upon themselves the selection." He treated with ridicule the idea of making the two captains named by Bastard, subjects of an address to the sovereign for favour, merely because they had been thanked in the lump with all the officers and all the seamen who gained the glorious victory in question. Nor did the chancellor of the exchequer omit to notice with becoming disapprobation, the very gross manner in which had been described the offices necessary to be assumed by candidates for promotion. Such insinuations would indeed have been most unjustly applied

to Lord Howe, who was a man of very correct manners; but it did not appear equally certain that some of the qualifications enumerated, might not have formed recommendations to one of his predecessors in the same office, the Earl of Sandwich. Bastard finding that none of the opposition leaders came to his aid, that Lord Hood took part against him, and that the house seemed disinclined to adopt his proposition, withdrew it; stating at the same time his determination to renew it under another form.

18th April. — This menace he accomplished, about two months afterwards, when he moved for "the house to resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the admiralty respecting the late naval promotion." The arguments with which he maintained his proposition, were nearly the same as he had used on the present occasion; but the result proved widely different. — Many professional men, some of whom were warmly attached to administration, impelled by personal feelings, declared in favour of the *motion*. Sir George Howard, an officer devoted to the crown, and who had been placed at the head of the army, protested that he thought an enquiry could not be refused without the sacrifice of honour and of justice. Other individuals of independent character followed his example. Pitt resisted with great eloquence and ability the tide which set strong against him; combating it by precedents, as well as by arguments; allowing, nevertheless, that if the point was agitated within those walls, the present mode formed the only constitutional ground on which the discussion could take place. Fox, concurring in this sentiment, admitted the royal prerogative to be sacred as it regarded the distribution of military honours and rewards. "So firmly am I of that opinion," added he, "that if an address to the crown had been proposed, I could not support it; but the *motion* being for a committee, I shall give my vote in its favour. Because it is the constitutional province of this house to watch over the executive departments, wherever abuse is suspected to exist; and finally to institute enquiry, with a view either to censure, or to punishment. He next proceeded to maintain, that in the recent

promotion, the first lord of the admiralty had acted with partiality and oppression; or, to use the mildest term that could apply to the act, with caprice. A division took place at a late hour of the morning; ministers only carrying the question by sixteen votes. Bastard was sustained by 134; while 150, of which number I was one, followed Pitt. It was, in fact, a defeat to administration; and the mover, encouraged by such a proof of parliamentary approbation, gave immediate notice that he would speedily bring the matter anew under discussion.

29th April. — The third and last debate which arose out of this naval promotion, followed after an interval of about ten days. Neither Pitt nor Fox, neither Dundas nor Sheridan, bore any part in it. Bastard, who had exhausted the subject as a topic of declamation, after a short speech, moved, that it is "injurious to the service, and unjust, to set aside in the promotion to flags, meritorious officers of approved service." The treasury bench committed its defence principally to Lord Hood. That veteran commander, whose figure, countenance, and manners exhibited the characteristic marks of hard service, had fought his own way up to honours and dignities. It was therefore highly improbable that he would become the apologist of a measure, which violated justice in the persons of men with whom he had trod the quarter-deck during forty years. Yet Lord Hood strenuously vindicated the conduct of the nobleman presiding at the admiralty. From documents which he produced, it appeared that in almost every past promotion, a greater proportion of captains had been passed by, than included: but, no complaint was to be found of national injury sustained in consequence of such a practice. "The noble viscount," pursued he, "ranks conspicuous, in the opinion of the navy, as a brave and skilful seaman. He has hitherto maintained a character of unsullied honour and unimpeached integrity. Can it be supposed that such a man, placed at the head of the naval administration, would abuse his power, and plunge into voluntary disgrace?"

Various naval officers rose during the debate; every individual of whom, with

the single exception of Lord Hood, supported Bastard's *motion*. Macbride, who in a former session had opposed the Duke of Richmond's plan of fortifications, inveighed against the system adopted by Lord Howe. "I stand," exclaimed he, "fortieth on the actual list of post captains, at this time. Before the promotion reaches me, I may be worn out; and consequently I shall be set aside, if only those who can do actual duty are henceforward to expect a flag. Two officers now present (Lord Hood and Sir Edmund Affleck), have been deservedly elevated, one to an Irish peerage, the other to the rank of a baronet. Monuments in Westminster Abbey have been voted for two others, who fell gloriously in the action of the 12th of April, 1782: while Captains Balfour and Thompson, who equally signalized themselves on that occasion, are kicked out of the service." Lord Mulgrave stood precisely in a similar predicament with Macbride, his commission, as a post captain, bearing date on one and the same day. During the *first* discussion respecting the promotions made by Lord Howe, Lord Mulgrave, though seated on the treasury bench, ventured to rise, and to support indirectly Bastard's *motion*. But, being gently reprehended by Pitt, for thus emancipating himself from his ministerial fetters, in compliance with professional feelings; he remained silent throughout the course of the *two* succeeding debates. He had nearly served out his time, and he received his reward, the British peerage, little more than two years afterwards. Aware how unpopular was the ground, as well as the nobleman to be defended, ministers did not venture to meet the motion with a direct negative. They therefore moved the *previous question*, which was carried by a majority of *fifty-one*; the respective numbers being 220 against 169.

Notwithstanding this numerical victory of administration, the triumph of public opinion remained with the opposite party. The two naval captains excluded by Lord Howe, received ample compensation for the loss of rank, if the parliamentary recognition of their merits could allay their wounded feelings. Nor did that nobleman long survive in his official capacity the selection which he

had made, whatever were the motives by which it was dictated. He languished near three months in employment, and then resigned. He was indeed *kicked up stairs*, being advanced from the dignity of a viscount to the rank of an earl, with remainder of a barony to his three daughters, he having no son. This augmentation of honours, which he probably anticipated as certain whenever he should retire from the admiralty, though it might alleviate, could not compensate the loss of power, coupled with the circumstances by which it was occasioned, or at least accelerated. He returned no more to that post; but the naval action of the 1st of June, 1794, when he defeated the fleet of republican France in the Bay of Biscay, shed a lustre over his declining years. That the king did not regret his resignation, no man doubted. Lord Howe's conduct during the American war, while commanding beyond the Atlantic, as well as in parliament, subsequent to his return, was known to have made a deep impression on his majesty's mind. Nor could he efface that sentiment by the charms of his address, or of his conversation. Taciturn, phlegmatic, and destitute of all gaiety, his German descent from George the First might be traced not only on his features, but in his whole deportment.

Those persons, indeed, who remarked the hostile part taken by Sir George Howard, during the *second* debate relative to the promotions at the admiralty; and who knew the almost unlimited deference of the commander-in-chief for his sovereign's supposed wishes; inferred that so good a courtier did not steer such a course, without secretly knowing that it would be approved at St. James's. Pitt unquestionably fulfilled every ministerial obligation imposed on him, towards one of his colleagues in office, throughout the discussions that took place, however he might lament the cause that rendered necessary his exertions. So might Lord Hood, whose services, eminent as they confessedly were, yet would not perhaps have raised him to the dignity of the British peerage, if Fox, instead of Pitt, had presided in the councils of the crown from 1794 to 1801. Assuredly, his brother, Alexander;

who had rendered himself so obnoxious by his evidence on Keppel's court martial, after the action of the 27th of July, 1778; would not have been created a viscount, unless Pitt had been minister. The two *Hoods* were sons of the clergyman of the village of South Petherton in Somersetshire, where was situate the estate of Burton Pynsent, bequeathed by Sir William Pynsent to the first Mr. Pitt, as a tribute of grateful admiration for his public services. They rose under his auspices, and devolved on his son. Pitt could not well regret Lord Howe's departure from office. He had, indeed, every reason to rejoice at it; as he supplied the vacant place by introducing his own brother, the earl of Chatham, into that high employment. Lord Hood, named at the same time a member of the board of admiralty, was given him as a *Mentor*.

5th May.—"The severe conflicts which Pitt had with so much difficulty surmounted, during the passage of the "East India Declaratory Bill," and throughout the discussions respecting Lord Howe, were speedily obliterated by a day of triumph. Early in May he laid before parliament a state of the finances; or in technical language, *he opened the budget*. Never did any minister make a more gratifying exposition, conveyed in language equally, clear, concise, and yet ample in point of information! Without parade or ostentation, he observed that a very considerable augmentation had occurred in the expenses of the *actual* year, beyond the estimate made in 1786; which increase had been judged indispensable to our national honour as well as prosperity. Having then detailed the different items or heads of this extraordinary expenditure; having shown that they amounted in the aggregate to near one million three hundred thousand pounds; of which sum, one hundred and eighty thousand had been voted towards payment of the Prince of Wales's debts; "Notwithstanding these heavy demands," added Pitt, "there now remains a clear surplus of seventeen thousand pounds; without new taxes, without loan, and without interrupting for an instant the application of *the million* set apart for the discharge of the national

debt. Seven millions have been expended within the last four years on the improvements of the navy. Thirty ships of the line, and thirty-five frigates, have been constructed or repaired, more than during the first four years which followed the peace of 1763. Meanwhile, in addition to all these propitious events, we have extinguished two millions and a half of our national debt.

Gratifying as was the minister's disclosure of the state of the finances, the contrast which they formed with those of France prodigiously augmented its effect. "I have," said he, "seen within these few hours past, the acknowledged condition of the French revenue, as exhibited by their own government. According to that account, the avowed annual deficiency, after all the retrenchments which they have effected, does not fall short of three millions three hundred thousand pounds sterling. Our rival, therefore, who engaged in a war for the emancipation of our late colonies; which object she accomplished, and from which she projected to draw immense advantages; has failed in her ambitious calculations." So exhilarating a picture of our national resources reflected too much lustre on the administration to pass without comment. — Sheridan rising as soon as the chancellor of the exchequer finished, observed, that "invidious as the task might be, it nevertheless became necessary to dissipate the delusion under which the country laboured, and to detect the fallacies by which it was still attempted to perpetuate that deception." He then proceeded, with great financial ability, to dissect every proposition contained in the speech just pronounced; exhibiting proof of the solidity and depth of those faculties, the brilliancy of which he had so frequently displayed in that assembly.

Passing in review consecutively, Pitt's assertions and calculations, he endeavoured to demonstrate their falsity, or at least their uncertainty and exaggeration. If he did not persuade his audience of the truth of all his own assertions, he unquestionably impressed on their minds a strong conviction of his extraordinary endowments: for, contrary to his accustomed habits, wit formed no part of his

appeal. The whole was fact and arithmetical demonstration. Such was the versatility of his parts, adapted to parliament as well as to the theatre; formed equally to delight at Drury-lane, in the house of commons, or in Westminster Hall! Sheridan wanted only two qualifications in order to have outshone all his contemporaries. I mean, application and moral character. He possessed, even more than Burke, a superabundance of genius. But the defects of his conduct finally plunged him in embarrassments of every kind, enfeebled his intellect, produced premature old age, accompanied with diseases, and terminating in death. Raised to the rank of a privy counsellor before his decease, endowed with transcendent talents, after sitting almost his whole life in parliament, caressed by princes, by women, by all mankind; his concluding days were passed in taverns, and in spunging-houses, surrounded by bailiffs, a stranger to domestic tranquillity or enjoyments. Neither Bacon, nor the second Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, nor Pope's Duke of Wharton, hold out more striking proofs of the inefficiency of genius to excite respect, or even to procure comfort, if not accompanied with prudence and with morals, than was exhibited in the person of Sheridan.

Fox continued the attack thus begun on *the budget*. "I make no scruple," observed he, "to assert, whatever odium may accompany the declaration, that our revenues and resources have been represented in language as much too sanguine, as our annual expenditure has been estimated on too low a scale. This exaggeration produced the very delusion by which France has been reduced to her actual state of embarrassment. But, such is the happy constitution of Great Britain, that we cannot long be held in error. We may be deceived in pence; in millions, deception cannot operate." On the following day, Sir Grey Cooper, followed by Hussey, member for Salisbury (both men deeply conversant in matters of finance), undertook to point out the fallacy of Pitt's propositions. The former, than whom few individuals within those walls better understood the subject, at considerable length discussed *the budget*, and declared it to be an il-

lusion. Hussey put various questions to the minister, designed to probe the obscure or vulnerable parts of his exposure. Pitt, thus assailed, justified his calculations. Yet, with a manly mind he admitted, that though he saw no reason for expecting it, nevertheless the revenue might deceive his expectation in the coming year. "Should the fact so prove," added he, "this house must meet the difficulty in a becoming manner, and raise the deficiency by a loan, or by new taxes." Pulteney, more favourably disposed towards administration, complimented the chancellor of the exchequer on his financial plans, bestowing on them the most flattering epithets. All the *resolutions* proposed by Pitt for the adoption of the house were finally passed without any division.

The proceedings in the prosecution of Impey, which had been retarded by the examinations of witnesses, at length appeared to approach their termination. Towards the last days of April, Sir Gilbert Elliot began to open the charge relative to the trial and execution of Nundcomar. His monotonous and measured enunciation, unilluminated by a ray of vivacity, or a spark of wit, derived nevertheless an interest from the sound sense which pervaded his whole discourse, from the serious nature of the accusation preferred, and, above all, from his accurate information on the subject. He admitted that Sir Elijah's defence had produced on his audience, as well as on the public, a very favourable impression. But he took occasion, at the same time, to comment with great severity on the *sort* of defence to which the person accused had thought proper to resort. In fact, Sir Elijah, with the guarded caution of a man bred to the law, made only a *verbal* defence, declining to commit it to paper. The chancellor (Lord Thurlow), when alluding to the circumstance, during a debate in the house of peers, had not hesitated to pronounce Impey a *wise* man for having adopted such a mode of reply. Nor did he scruple to declare Hastings a *weak* man, for having delivered in at the bar a *written* defence. Elliot adverting next to Sir Elijah's justification, that "he had done nothing more than the other judges who tried Nundcomar; and that if he was guilty, they

participated in his culpability;" observed, "In every instance where more than one person is accused of committing a criminal act, it is customary to prosecute the ringleader. The end of justice is thus sufficiently answered, the principle of human penalties being to make an example of great offenders, thereby deterring others from the perpetration of similar enormities."

Sir Gilbert next approached a part of his argument on which he felt it necessary to observe the utmost circumspection. I mean, the share taken by his own brother in Nundcomar's trial. This brother, Alexander Elliot, has been sent out, when very young, to Calcutta, in the civil service of the East India Company, where he not only gave promise, but exhibited proofs of distinguished talents. They had justly endeared him to Hastings; and on the trial of the unfortunate rajah, Elliot acted in court as interpreter. He was subsequently sent home to England by the governor-general, on a secret mission, at which time he brought to London the copy of that legal proceeding. Returning to India, he continued to enjoy, and to deserve, Hastings's friendship. But his career was arrested, he having perished in the flower of youth, from the consequences of passing the Cuttack river, after a course of mercurial medicines, while he was on his way from Bengal to Madras. His premature end excited universal regret; and the governor-general, as a last tribute to his memory, ordered a monument to be erected on the spot where he expired. In his parody on Horace's "Ode to Pompeius Grosphus," Hastings has commemorated his friend, when alluding to the

"Abstulit clarum cito mors Achillen"

of the Roman poet, though I do not exactly recollect the English lines. Sir Gilbert attempted to prove that his brother, of whom he spoke with the warmest feelings of fraternal affection, neither participated in, nor had ever manifested any approbation of Sir Elijah Impey's conduct during Nundcomar's trial. But Sir Richard Sutton, who undertook Impey's defence, produced and read in his place a letter addressed by Alexander El-

liot to the chief justice of Bengal. It was dated from the mouth of the Ganges, on board the ship which conveyed him to Europe, and contained the most unequivocal expressions in favour of the court, as well as of the judge, who tried and condemned Nundcomar. This evidence was not, however, brought forward on that night, being reserved by Sutton for the evening when a division finally took place on the question relative to Impey's guilt or innocence.

7th May. — Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the second debate, which followed after an interval of about ten days, endeavoured to prove that the whole judicial proceedings instituted against Nundcomar, were in themselves subversive of, as well as contrary to, the established forms of criminal justice. He denied that the King of England possessed, or could delegate, any jurisdiction whatever over the natives of India. His reasonings on that most important point appeared to me to carry with them great weight, if they were not indeed unanswerable. Even though the right of trying the accused rajah by the authority of British laws should be recognized, yet he maintained that Impey's whole conduct, while sitting on the bench, carried with it an internal evidence of his intention or determination to despatch Nundcomar. Sir Elijah well knew that the rajah had not only come forward as the informer against Mr. Hastings, whom he accused of gross peculation; but was likewise engaged as a principal witness in a pending prosecution, for the express purpose of proving the allegation, at the very time that he was apprehended, indicted and brought to trial. Impey's avowed political attachment to the governor-general, — a fact which was not contradicted, — rendered it too probable that he had made himself the voluntary instrument of Hastings's resentment. Lastly, Elliot positively denied that the crime of forgery had ever been regarded throughout Hindostan as a capital offence punishable with death. Nundcomar's counsel, he observed, at the very commencement of the trial, had made objections to the competency of the tribunal before which he was arraigned; — objections, which the chief justice answered with marks of unbecoming

warmth and passion. Even in the examination of the witnesses, and throughout every part of Impey's conduct, he asserted that the indelible traces of partiality were obvious and incontestable; fixing on the chief justice a strong suspicion of his having become the governor-general's instrument for the purpose of offering up Nundcomar as a victim.

Having reached this stage of the charge, Sir Gilbert threw himself on the liberality of the house, to permit of his postponing for a few hours the remaining circumstances of the case. Two points in particular, both which took place subsequent to the trial, merited, he said, their peculiar attention, namely: Sir Elijah's having overruled an arrest of judgment, which had been moved; and his refusal to grant a respite. Sir Richard Sutton opposing the proposition of any further delay, as equally injurious to the feelings of the individual accused, and disgraceful to their own proceedings, Burke started up in great agitation. After pronouncing a fine encomium on his friend's speech, he demanded whether some attention was not due to a member who requested a short pause from the exertion and fatigue that he had undergone? — "We have been called upon," continued he, "to consider the *feelings* of the person accused. But the person himself does not manifest in his deportment that he is not much actuated by *feelings* becoming his present situation. I have recently seen him in Westminster Hall, where he appeared rather like an accuser, than a party accused. Contumacious, arrogant, confident, and assuming." Here loud and general cries of Order! interrupted his further progress. Burke still attempted, nevertheless, to justify, and even to repeat his animadversions on Impey's behaviour, as altogether unbecoming a man charged with such weighty crimes. Finding, however, that the house would not permit him to throw out reflections of that nature against an absent individual, he assumed a milder tone. With pathetic remonstrances he endeavoured to show, that even Impey's friends would neither consult his honour nor his advantage, by pressing for a hasty decision. He was himself, he said, from exhausture, utterly unfit to

take part in a debate of such magnitude. Pitt now interposed. Having passed a comment rather severe on the length of Sir Gilbert's two speeches, and having expressed his reluctance to postpone the business to another day; he yet admitted that if the mover of the charge found himself unable to proceed, the assembly must of necessity adjourn. It was universally agreed at the same time, that a final decision should take place on the evening fixed for the next agitation of the question.

9th May. — Not having been present on that occasion, I cannot relate, as an ear-witness, any of the circumstances which then occurred. Some friends of Impey had strongly importuned me to attend in my place whenever the last discussion should arise. But as I thought very differently from them on the subject of his judicial conduct in Bengal, I left London, in order to avoid giving any vote. In the composition of these memoirs, I lay claim only to one merit, *truth*, which necessarily includes *impartiality*. Whatever errors may become embodied in the work, I have not any where intentionally disguised or given a false colouring to facts. I highly disapproved and condemned every part of Impey's conduct, from the commencement to the catastrophe of Nundcomar's trial. That it was "a legal murder," I will not by any means assert; but the proceedings were more worthy of Jeffries, or of Seroggs, than of Hale, or of Forster. A determination, not only to condemn, but to execute the sentence, seems to have animated the chief justice. Otherwise, why did he not respite the prisoner? Yet, as three other judges participated with him throughout the whole proceeding, I doubt whether Impey could legally be an object of *exclusive* impeachment.

When I thus pass *moral* sentence on Sir Elijah, I most reluctantly extend it to Mr. Hastings, under whose concealed directions, or understood wishes, it is impossible not to suppose that he acted. Here again I sacrifice to *truth*: for these memoirs sufficiently attest how highly I estimate the governor-general's public services. They were, in my opinion, eminent: but Nundcomar's execution cast a shade over his administration. I

do not indeed hesitate to declare, that under all the circumstances of the two cases, the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, which has been considered as so great a blemish in the reign and character of Elizabeth, excites far less condemnation, and is susceptible of a much more solid defence, than are the proceedings that accompanied the trial, and precipitated the end of the Hindoo rajah. If I had been *compelled* to vote on the question, however I might have regretted such a necessity, yet beyond a doubt, I should have been found on that night among the minority. I am of opinion that two-thirds of the members who were absent, would, on a similar supposition, have acted in the same manner.

Though I did not assist in my place on the 9th of May, nevertheless the interesting nature of the subject, and my personal acquaintance with every individual who took part in the discussion, lead me to detail its principal features. It was universally admitted that Elliot summed up with great ability. He endeavoured to prove, from a number of concurring facts, the systematic criminality of Impey in not respiting the prisoner, even though he might have been capitally convicted by iniquitously applying to the case our statutes of English law. "I would vainly seek," continued Elliot, "such an accumulation of guilt in the legal annals of our own country. It is only from the sanguinary records of Spanish America that I can extract a precedent. When Pizarro was determined to put to death the Peruvian Inca Atabalipa, he constituted a court with all the formalities of law, before which tribunal he arraigned the devoted prince. Pizarro then accused him of having usurped his own kingdom, and of levying war on the Spaniards, his rightful sovereigns. On these atrocious charges was the Inca condemned and executed." — "What is there," observed Elliot, "in Sir Elijah Impey's character that should prevent his impeachment? Neither the dignity, the profound learning, nor the comprehensive genius of Lord Bacon, the founder of modern science, could shelter him from the punishment merited by his corruption as a judge." Towards the conclusion of his speech, after appealing to the reason of his au-

dience, he addressed himself to their emotions. Having related the affecting particulars of Nundcomar's end, from the testimony of an eye-witness. "The ghost of that murdered-rajah," exclaimed Sir Gilbert, "demands justice! It is on all our heads! The cry of blood rings in our ears, and bursts our walls for vengeance! To your justice therefore I commit the culprit. Deal with him as he deserves." There is something in these appalling expressions which involuntarily reminds us of Clarence's dream; of the "shadow like an angel, with bright hair dabbled in blood," who shrieks aloud,

"Seize on him, Furies, take him to your torments."

Sir Richard Sutton, to whom the defence of Impey was principally entrusted, rising immediately, addressed the house. He was a man of coarse and almost rugged exterior; but whose powers of mind, matured by experience, and fortified by perfect information of the case under discussion, enabled him to place in the most favourable point of view every fact which could conduce to the extrication of the chief justice. After professing his inability to follow Sir Gilbert through a speech, or rather, through three speeches, comprising in the aggregate *fifteen hours*; Sutton, in language of perspicuity and energy, brought forward a number of documents calculated to erase the impression of Impey's guilt. He was followed by Macdonald and Arden, the solicitor and attorney-general, both of whom justified Sir Elijah's conduct on the bench throughout the trial; but both acknowledged that if they had sat as judges on the occasion, they should have respited the prisoner. Such an admission was in itself a *moral* condemnation. All the entrenchments thrown up by legal ingenuity, in order to protect the chief justice, were however stormed with resistless eloquence by Fox, who accused him of having committed a *deliberate murder*. The application to Nundcomar's case, of English acts of parliament, passed under Elizabeth, or early in George the Second's reign, long before we acquired any territorial possessions in India, Fox treated with mingled ridicule

and indignation. "Would any man except Sir Elijah Impey," demanded he, "on the doubtful operation of such statutes, have taken upon himself the responsibility of putting an individual to death? Must he not have said to himself, before he passed sentence on the unhappy prisoner, 'If I had been in England, I could not have perpetrated this act of blood. *There*, the king's prerogative of mercy would have been sacred; but *here*, this wretch is in my power, and I will murder him.'"

Pursuing Impey with the same force of severe reason, Fox endeavoured to render palpable his complicity with the governor-general, for the purpose of offering up Nundcomar. "It is, to my conviction," observed Fox, "absurd to maintain, that no malice existed in the chief justice's mind throughout the trial. His subservience to Mr. Hastings is to be presumed from all the circumstances of the case. Being so presumed, a corrupt motive forms a necessary inference: for no two individuals would agree in so wicked an act as that of taking away a fellow-creature's life, without a corrupt motive of some kind." Fox's conclusion was most impressive. "If," said he, "I was called on to pronounce as a man of *honour*, I should declare that Sir Elijah Impey has been guilty of a deliberate murder. I would say the same, if I were to depose as a jurymen, on my *oath*. I lament that our powers, as a branch of the legislature, are contracted, that we *can* only vote him guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor; because, in my opinion, *imprisonment for life, and half his fortune, could form no adequate compensation for his guilt.*" He added, "It is well known that I am not a sanguinary man. But I should not regret if murder were, in the present instance, to incur the punishment deserved by murder."

The chancellor of the exchequer did not rise till a late hour. On *his* line of conduct, Impey's friends well knew, would probably turn the final event. Pitt spoke with force and decision; declaring his firm belief that "in no view could any corrupt motive *be brought home* to Sir Elijah; and that therefore he should give his vote in the negative to the question of impeachment; as, unless

a corrupt motive could be *proved*, no man *ought* to support Elliot's proposition." The accusation of a conspiracy between Impey and Hastings, for the purpose of destroying Nundcomar, he treated as destitute of any shadow of solid *proof*. Reviewing in succession all the objections urged against the competency of the tribunal before which the rajah was arraigned; the consequent illegality of the proceedings, and the refusal of the chief justice to grant a respite; Pitt endeavoured to demonstrate their futility. So indignant was Fox at finding the minister thus extend his shield over Impey, that he did not scruple to say in reply, "I consider the man who can bring himself seriously to defend such a conduct, *as an accomplice in the guilt of the murder*." But Pitt calmly answered, that "if the innocence of Nundcomar had ever been shown, he would then have admitted there existed some foundation for the *declamatory invective* just pronounced." I have nevertheless always considered Pitt's speech on this occasion as having done more honour to his abilities, than to his principles. That the corrupt motive by which the chief justice had been actuated, was not *juridically proved*, must indeed be conceded: but all the circumstances of the transaction impress with a strong conviction of his guilt. Nor will impartial posterity probably approve the conduct of a minister who could join in the impeachment of Hastings for *political* crimes, while he became the advocate and protector of a judge who, when sitting on a case of life and death, acted like Impey.

Two individuals distinguished themselves on that evening; one, by the eloquent but vehement nature of his speech; the other by its Spartan force and brevity. The former, Colonel Fullarton, whom I have already had occasion to mention, inveighed in animated terms against Impey, as a criminal of the most atrocious description; whose ermine was steeped in human blood, who trampled on all laws to gratify his insatiate love of money, who amassed an immense fortune by bribes and contracts, and who had converted the court of judicature itself into an "*officina scelerum et malorum*." Nor did he fail to verify many of these allegations, by more than declamation.

Some of the facts which he enumerated, however irrelevant they might be to the immediate subject under discussion, yet deeply impressed his audience. On the cruelty and injustice of subjecting a Hindoo to the operation of English laws, which never could be construed to extend over that country, Fullarton observed, "If it were legal to hang Nundcomar on the statute passed in 1728 against forgery; it would be equally consonant to justice, to hang the Nabob of Bengal, or the Great Mogul, and all his court, on the statute of James the First against bigamy." Sir James Johnstone, who always brought Robert Bruce before my eyes; but who concealed under a rough form, and unpolished manners, great integrity, directed by strong sense; exclaimed, after listening more than two hours to Fullarton's severe philippic, "Every argument confirms my opinion that the question ought to be supported. We have beheaded a king: we have hanged a peer: we have shot an admiral: we are now trying a governor-general; and I can see no reason why we should not put on his trial, a judge and a chief justice."

Burke concluded this long and most interesting discussion. Having laboured, not without effect, to prove, from a variety of concurring testimonies, the confederacy that existed between Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, for Nundcomar's destruction; "Those persons," continued he, "who sanction by their vote such an act of enormity, will practically say to future judges, 'Copy the conduct of the chief justice of Bengal. Desert your duty and your impartiality. Become political instruments in the hands of government. Oppose power to right, and instead of protecting innocence, embrace the cause of guilt!'" His animadversions on Pitt were most severe. "It was asserted of old," said Burke, "that if the gods addressed themselves to men, they would use the language of the Greeks. With equal truth may I declare, that if despotism itself were to speak, it would use the language, and enforce the arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer." After a debate of more than twelve hours, a division at length took place. I believe that the attendance never exceeded two hundred

members, at any period of the night. Only one hundred and twenty-eight voted on the question, who did not constitute a fourth part of the aggregate numbers of the house of commons, as then formed. Fifty-five were for the impeachment; seventy-three negatived it: thus leaving a majority in favour of Sir Elijah, amounting to eighteen. It might be deemed an escape; but it could not be denominated a triumph. Dundas did not vote on the question; — a circumstance which gave rise to much speculation, as he very rarely took a different line in parliament from the minister. That the real independent majority of the members present were of opinion to impeach Impey, no man can doubt, who considers how many individuals implicitly followed Pitt. I will estimate them at eleven, but I might take them at a higher number, and I shall enumerate them.

The Hon. John Charles Villiers, whom he made chief justice in eyre north of Trent not more than a year and a half afterwards, may be placed at their head. This office, a sinecure, and for life, he owed entirely to the minister's friendship; and he continues to hold it at the present hour. Lord Camelford (probably at Pitt's request) brought Mr. Villiers into parliament, for Old Sarum. Early in 1787 he had been made comptroller of the king's household, by the same powerful influence. He possessed no parliamentary ability; but his figure was tall and elegant; his features noble, and set off by a profusion of light hair. The "*Rolliad*" notices him as

"Villiers, comely with the flaxen hair;"

subjoining, "The character of *Villiers* seems to be drawn after the *Nireus* of Homer; who, as the commentators remark, is celebrated in the catalogue of warriors, for the handsomest man in the Grecian army, and is never mentioned again through the whole twenty-four books of the *Iliad*." Edward James Eliot, and his younger brother, John Eliot, now Earl of St. Germain's, who then jointly represented the Cornish borough of Liskeard, might be regarded as almost inseparable from the chancellor of the exchequer. He had raised their fa-

ther to the British peerage, immediately after his own accession to power, in January, 1784; and the eldest of the two brothers stood in the closest ties of connexion with him by marriage.

Mr. William Grenville, from consanguinity, as well as from principle, naturally kept his eye fixed on Pitt. So did the Marquis of Graham, on whom he lavishly conferred offices and honours, down to the period of his own decease. Lord Hood and his brother Sir Alexander, I have already counted, not long since, among the devoted adherents of the minister. Rose and Steele, the two secretaries of the treasury, followed of course the head of the board. No individual in the house was probably more strongly attached to Pitt than the Earl of Mornington, whom he had made a lord of the treasury in 1786. He represented Windsor at this time. Lastly, Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, owed his whole advancement in life to the protection of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, not long afterwards, placed him in the Speaker's chair. I do not include in this list either Mr. Bankes or Lord Apsley, now Earl Bathurst, though both voted against Impey's impeachment; because the former, notwithstanding his friendship for Pitt, always displayed a most independent mind, neither to be warped by interest, ambition, or attachment. Lord Apsley, who was placed at the board of admiralty by Pitt, in December, 1783, of which he still remained a member, I might be fully justified in ranging among the ministerial followers. Hardinge, who during the debates that preceded Hastings's prosecution, in April and May, 1786, exclaimed so vehemently against allowing the governor-general's services to form a *set-off* against his demerits; — Hardinge, who then displayed so tender a political conscience, yet voted for acquitting Impey. Kenyon likewise gave his vote to Sir Elijah; but he did not speak on the question. It is evident that Impey owed his security to his profession. If he had not been a lawyer, he would probably have been impeached. We must recollect that Pitt was bred to the bar: Fox felt no predilection for the long robe.

Several of the minister's most intimate friends absented themselves nevertheless

on that night. Lord Bayham, now Marquis Camden, whose father had been raised to the dignity of an earl, only two years earlier, by Pitt,—and who was himself a lord of the admiralty,—did not attend the debate. Another member of the same board, a nobleman with whom I have lived in some degree of intimacy; a man most conscientious and correct in all the actions of his life;—I mean, Lord Arden;—declined voting on the point. So did Lord Mulgrave, notwithstanding the lucrative office of which he was in possession, and the peerage to which he looked forward with anxious expectation. John James Hamilton, who so soon afterwards became by Pitt's special favour Marquis of Abercorn, strenuously as he supported the governor-general, yet did not form one of Impey's small majority. Even Mr. Robert Smith, on whom his friend the chancellor of the exchequer induced his majesty, nine years later, to confer a British peerage, absented himself on that evening. To the members who followed the head of the administration, we must add *four* who were devotedly attached to Hastings. Major Scott was his agent; Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sullivan, his two sureties at the bar of the house of lords. Finally, Barwell, who, while a member of the supreme council had invariably taken part with the governor-general in all his disputes with Clavering, Monson, and Francis. Barwell had besides, during his residence at Calcutta, formed an intimate connexion with Impey. A prosecution having been instituted by the East India Company against the former for specific acts of speculation, which suit was tried before the latter, Barwell was cast in the action. Yet, while sitting on the bench, the chief justice, though engaged in the exercise of his solemn judicial functions, did not hesitate to declare that he had accepted the office of trustee for Mr. Barwell, and of guardian to his children. This fact, which Colonel Fullarton asserted in the course of his speech, and which remained uncontradicted, sufficiently accounted for the vote given by Barwell. If, after deducting the personal friends of Pitt and of Hastings, we calculate Impey's majority, we shall find it reduced almost to a nullity. His person and fortune were, however,

secured by it. His official character, in my opinion, suffered shipwreck.

12th—18th May.—Since the commencement of Hastings's impeachment, no account had hitherto been delivered to parliament, specifying the mode in which the sums of money were expended which had been advanced by the exchequer to the managers of the prosecution, although these issues already amounted to several thousand pounds. A *motion* being unexpectedly made from the ministerial side of the house, demanding that "the account should be laid on the table," Pitt expressed not only his assent to the proposition itself; but added, that the lords of the treasury had addressed a letter on the subject to the managers, making the necessary enquiries. "As, however," continued he, "the answer received gives little hope of deriving from them the information required, I am happy that means have been adopted for compelling its production." Fox, with great temper, replied, that the managers were undoubtedly responsible to parliament for the propriety of the *services* ordered; though not for the *disbursement* of the money, which lay with the solicitors employed on the prosecution; over whom it was the duty of the lords of the treasury to exercise due vigilance. But Burke, who, as chairman, had written the answer alluded to by Pitt, after observing that he should make no objection to the *motion*, subjoined, that "the suggestion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, as applying to the letter which he had written by order of the committee of managers, *was not true*." Pitt, thus contradicted on a point of fact, rose a second time; and after remarking the decency and propriety of Fox's reply, "The other gentleman," said he, "perhaps from being accustomed to use an extraordinary license of speech *elsewhere*, forgets the place in which he now is, and seems desirous of introducing the practice within *these* walls. No impropriety committed by *him*, and which disgraces himself, shall however prevent me from doing my duty, as well as saying whatever may be dictated by a sense of that duty." He then formally repeated his preceding assertion. Irritated by this reprimand, Burke inveighed with much

asperity against the minister. Finding nevertheless the sense of the house decidedly adverse to him, he on the same night presented the accounts. They contained no particulars of the expenditure; briefly stating that a sum exceeding 8,000*l.* had been already issued by the treasury. About 3,800*l.* of it was laid out in erecting, or in furnishing, the court; while more than 4,000*l.* passed into the hands of the gentlemen of the long robe, retained for aiding the impeachment.

Another occurrence of a most interesting nature took place on the same evening. Wilberforce (a name which will always be pronounced with veneration) was at that time one of the representatives for the county of York. Impelled by the active benevolence of his character, he had, after mature reflection, digested a plan for the regulation, if not for the suppression, of the negro trade. As early as the commencement of the session, he had even given notice of his intention to bring the subject before the house; which he would personally have carried into effect, if he had not been prevented by illness. Pitt, with whom he had contracted an early friendship, which years had cemented, undertook therefore to supply his place. Having briefly stated that the African trade had long engaged the public attention, Pitt observed that two opinions respecting it seemed to divide the nation; all agreeing in the necessity of taking some steps, but not coinciding as to their precise extent: the complete abolition being demanded by a vast majority, while others conceived that it might still be permitted to exist under certain limitations. But, on account of the advanced period of the session, he thought it judicious to defer all further proceedings till the ensuing year; when, if his friend should not be sufficiently recovered to undertake the task, he pledged himself to submit a proposition for their consideration. He concluded by a *motion* to that effect. Throughout his whole speech, Pitt took care, however, not even to glance at his own opinions upon the question, reserving all explanation respecting it for future deliberations.

Fox instantly stood up, and in language of force, yet not intemperate, declared

his surprise, as well as his sorrow, at finding that it was intended to postpone to another session the consideration of so important a subject. Pitt nevertheless persisting to declare that he would make no disclosure of his individual intentions, until the whole matter should be agitated on a future day, Burke reiterated Fox's arguments in more vehement terms. Martin, — who, like Aristides, never enquired whether a measure was merely useful, but whether it was just and humane, — briefly expressed his hopes that “no political benefit, no commercial expediency or advantage, would ever be allowed to preponderate, in opposition to the eternal dictates of moral rectitude.” Sir William Dolben, one of the representatives for the University of Oxford, declared his instructions from that respectable body to be most adverse to a continuation of the commerce in slaves. With much emotion, he pointed out the misery endured by the human victims crowded into vessels, on board which they were transported to the West India colonies, as calling loudly for *immediate* interposition. “Between the present session,” added he, “and the commencement of the next, ten thousand lives may be sacrificed to our criminal delay.” Mr. Pelham, then member for the county of Sussex, rising in his turn, avowed not only his detestation of the traffic in question, but his intention, if supported by the house, to bring forward, before the approaching prorogation, a measure for its general regulation. In answer to so many appeals, Pitt replied, that though he should most thankfully receive every species of information which might be offered him, yet as he could not consider the question itself to be ripe for discussion, he should persist in his original *motion*.

Two, and only two, individuals ventured to speak in extenuation, if not in justification, of the African trade. They jointly represented the town of Liverpool, and loudly called for an immediate investigation, as the sole mode of exposing the calumnies circulated respecting the merchants, as well as the planters, engaged in that unpopular branch of commerce. The first, Lord Penrhyn, had been raised to the dignity of the Irish peerage by Fox, in the autumn

of the year 1783; when the king, though he positively refused to augment the *British* house of lords, consented to add eight or nine to the peers of the sister kingdom. I may here remark, that in thus acting, his majesty, or his secret advisers, displayed much foresight; for on the first division to which the memorable "East India Bill" gave rise in the *upper* house, shortly afterwards, the adjournment was carried against administration by a majority of only *eight* votes. If, therefore, Fox could have induced George the Third to give him a similar mark of royal favour, or weakness, with the proof of both exhibited by Anne in 1711,—when on the Lord Treasurer Harley's suggestion, she created *twelve* peers at one time,—the *coalition* might have rendered ineffectual all his efforts at emancipation. Indeed, the king appears to have foreseen that his only chance of escape from bondage lay, not in the lower house, where Fox's presence, eloquence, and influence overbore all opposition, but among the peers.

To return to Lord Penrhyn. He was a man of moderate talents, childless, but possessing very extensive patrimonial estates in North Wales, besides considerable property in the West Indies. His colleague, Bamber Gascoyne (son of the lord of the admiralty of the same name, whom I have had occasion to mention more than once, towards the close of Lord North's administration), treated the abolition of the slave-trade as a visionary and impracticable project; but admitted that some regulations might be beneficially adopted. Lord Penrhyn flatly contradicted Sir William Dolben's assertions respecting the severities inflicted, and the mortality produced, among the Africans, on their passage across the Atlantic Ocean: observing, that "the argument proved too much, as the whole profit made by the commanders of the vessels employed in that branch of commerce arose from the number of negroes whom they could bring to the market in good health." Pitt's *resolution*, for "postponing the further consideration of the subject till the ensuing session," was finally carried without any division.

30th May. — I have already related,

that in consequence of the *motion* made for that purpose, Burke had laid on the table of the house, though not without marks of indignant reluctance, a statement of the expenses already incurred by the prosecution of Hastings. But it was couched in terms so general and laconic, as to give no satisfactory information. A second *motion* therefore followed from the same quarter, for an account, "specifying to whom, and for what purpose, the respective sums had been issued." Sheridan, after observing that the obvious intention of the mover was to disgust the public with the trial, as a source of enormous expense, diverged, with his usual felicity, into the path of humour. "Unquestionably," continued he, "the house may, if they think fit, resolve that no counsel shall be henceforward allowed the managers. In such a case, it will be necessary to move that the attorney and solicitor-general, with the master of the rolls, be added to our present committee. Or, the house may come to a *resolution*, compelling the managers themselves to defray the expenses of counsel. If so, I hope they will have the goodness to join to the committee Sir Sampson Gideon, and some others of the wealthiest individuals composing this assembly." Sir Sampson, who then represented the city of Coventry, if he was one of the richest, was likewise one of the most benevolent men who has appeared in our time. His hand was never shut to distress, or closed against human sufferings. He might have furnished the prototype of Cumberland's "Jew." Pitt, not long afterwards, raised him to an Irish peerage. Sheridan concluded by expressing a hope, that when the account should be produced, the mover would follow up his present *motion* with another; recommending that "the counsel employed should in future be better paid." The managers nevertheless being obliged to withdraw, previous to a division personally affecting themselves, the question was carried by sixty against nineteen votes.

21st May. — Among the most magnificent public structures which have been raised under the reign of George the Third, in London or Westminster, may justly be reckoned Somerset House. I am, indeed, old enough perfectly to

remember the ancient palace of that name, constructed about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the imprudent and unfortunate Lord Protector, uncle of Edward the Sixth. It was a beautiful and princely edifice, neither, strictly Gothic nor Grecian in its architecture; the successive residence of two queens dowager, during the period between the *Restoration* and the *Revolution*; namely, Henrietta Maria of France, and Catherine of Portugal: lastly, the pretended scene of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's murder in 1678; one of the most obscure and problematical events recorded in our history. Passionately attached as I am to the monuments of departed times, I beheld its demolition, which took place about the year 1776, with sentiments of no ordinary regret. The construction of the new edifice was entrusted to Sir William Chambers; an architect who, though he may not rival the fame of Inigo Jones, or of Sir Christopher Wren, yet would have passed down to posterity with distinction, if in an evil hour he had not published his "*Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*." This performance exposed him not only to ridicule, but to poetic ridicule, illuminated by genius, and pointed with inconceivable elegance of satire. I allude to "*The Heroic Epistle*," which appeared about the spring of the year 1773. The author (universally considered to be Mason) thus apostrophizes Sir William, at the commencement of the poem:

"Knight of the Polar Star! by fortune plac'd,
To shine the cynosure of British taste;
Whose orb collects in one refulgent view,
The scatter'd glories of Chinese virtü!"

Chambers found, however, in the royal patronage, ample compensation for these "paper bullets of the brain." He was made surveyor-general to the board of works, as well as architect to the king; some branches of whose education he had superintended under the reign of George the Second. He likewise derived no inconsiderable pecuniary advantage from the *per centage* allowed him on the large sums expended in the erection of Somerset House.

Eleven years had already elapsed since its commencement, during which

time above three hundred thousand pounds had been issued to him from the treasury. His own estimates originally fell very short of that sum, and yet it was calculated that one hundred thousand pounds more would still be wanted for its completion. So vast an expenditure of the public money excited animadversion, and the subject was repeatedly mentioned with much condemnation in the house of commons. I well recollect, during the course of the session under our review, the loud complaints made respecting it by Hussey, one of the representatives for the city of Salisbury. He was a man of coarse, simple, and homely manners, but of recognized integrity; versed in arithmetical calculations, however deficient in classic attainments: never speaking except on pecuniary topics, and exceedingly tenacious of the national purse. Somerset House, whenever mentioned, always excited his indignation; and on one occasion he exclaimed, "Would to heaven that building were burnt to the ground!" Observing Dundas opposite to him, seated on the treasury bench; and who, as treasurer of the navy, was preparing to occupy the apartments officially assigned to him in the quadrangle; Hussey added, smiling, "I do not, however, wish it at present, as the right honourable gentleman would be enveloped in the conflagration." The individual who at this time brought the subject under parliamentary consideration was Sir John Miller, an Irish baronet. His wife, who, in the early part of the present reign, published her "*Travels through Italy*," attained after her return from the Continent a degree of celebrity, by establishing a sort of *blue stocking society*, or *della Crusca Academy*. The scene lay at her seat of *Bath Easton Villa*, near the city of Bath. Here she gave morning entertainments, to which the company of both sexes repaired for the purpose of depositing their poetical compositions within an urn, placed in the pleasure-grounds. The productions were afterwards read aloud, and honorary prizes adjudged or distributed by the lady of the mansion to the successful candidate. Sir John, after his wife's decease, brought himself into the house for a Cornish borough, though by no means

endowed with parliamentary talents or eloquence.

Having detailed all the leading facts of the case, and demonstrated the enormous profits which Sir William Chambers had already made, as well as those that must prospectively accrue from his architectural contracts, Miller moved for "a committee of enquiry into the expenditure of the sums voted for constructing Somerset House." The motion was seconded by Mr. Drake, who, jointly with his father, represented the borough of Agmondesham, in the county of Bucks; which town and its inhabitants might be considered as a part of their large patrimonial estates. I believe Mr. Drake, sen., sat in eight or nine parliaments uninterruptedly, always for that place. His son manifested great eccentricity of character and deportment; but his uprightness of intention, sustained by a very independent mind, qualified these singularities of manner. Pitt, who no doubt knew the royal wishes on the point, rising immediately, entered into a laboured defence of Chambers. He admitted, indeed, that the account of the sums expended by the architect ought to be without delay submitted to parliament; leaving, nevertheless, the appointment of a committee of enquiry for ulterior consideration. Pulteney fearlessly expressed his astonishment and concern at the resistance to Miller's *motion* made by the chancellor of the exchequer. Such was likewise apparently the sense of the house; but the question not being connected with party, none of the opposition members attended in their places. Miller had in fact addressed his discourse to empty benches. Pitt, though he professed the utmost deference to Pulteney's opinion, yet adhered to his own determination. Under these circumstances, the mover himself expressed his readiness to withdraw the *motion*: when Mr. Drake starting up, protested that he never would consent to such a proposition. "I am," exclaimed he with much emotion, "*adamantine* on the subject." A division therefore took place, when ministers were supported by seventy-six votes. Only twenty-one sustained Sir John Miller. Yet the triumph of administration was merely a victory of numbers, and by no means a proof of opinion.

24th May. — The session began now to draw towards its close, and a prorogation would probably have taken place before the middle of June, if Sir William Dolben, certain as he was of support from every side of the house, had not brought forward a measure for alleviating the condition and sufferings of the African slaves, while on their passage to the West India colonies. Sir William joined to the mildest manners a cultivated mind, and a most benevolent nature. The bill itself, intended solely for *regulation*, kept wholly clear of *abolition*. Pitt, while he reserved his opinion on the *general* question, yet admitted that, as during the intervening months between the present and the ensuing session, the hardships endured by the slaves during the voyage might be aggravated, a sufficient parliamentary ground had been stated for enacting a *temporary* law. On that principle only, which might be esteemed more a moral and humane impulse or conviction than the basis of a political measure, he said it should receive his support. Scarcely any opposition was exhibited on the occasion; but, a few days afterwards, Lord Penrhyn peremptorily denied the cruel practices asserted to prevail on board the slave-ships; all which stories he declared to be founded in calumny, ignorance, and defamation.

28th May. — Impediments to the bill arose, however, from a variety of other quarters. Not only Liverpool but London, petitioned to be heard against it by counsel. Sir William Dolben, in a manner equally temperate and convincing, stated its object; limited exclusively to ameliorating the treatment, and regulating the number, of the unhappy captives, during their voyage across the Atlantic. The cruelties perpetrated, he offered to prove by witnesses without number, of every description. Lord Penrhyn, nevertheless, still denying all the facts advanced; appealing to the prudence and the policy of the house, against their compassion; at the same time reclaiming loudly the faith of parliament pledged to his constituents, for carrying on the African trade; concluded by declaring that the merchants of Liverpool were determined on contesting to the last its principle. Pitt observed, that no man could

dispute the *principle* of a bill intended solely to protect from injury and outrage unfortunate individuals consigned to slavery.

Fox himself, while he endeavoured to defend Lord Penrhyn, did not sustain with less energy the proposed regulations; his enlarged and generous mind spurning, when engaged in the cause of humanity, all the little feelings of party.

"With regard to the *principle* of the present measure," observed he, "I know too well the texture of my noble friend's mental formation, not to be certain that he never intended to oppose its *principle*, in the accurate sense of that term. It is the *truth* of the facts alleged as the foundation of the *bill*, that he means to contest. But how can any candid mind denominate calumnies, facts which are stated by a member of this house, who expressly declares that he does not wish his assertions to be credited, unless they shall be confirmed in every particular by witnesses at your bar? I, for one, do assume the facts. The *bill* now introduced may prove unfit to be adopted. Still it ought not to be postponed to another session; and if upon examination it can be made applicable to its object, we are bound as men to adopt it." This powerful support from such a quarter proved at the moment irresistible. Lord Penrhyn, though unconvinced, yet attempting no reply, scarcely any further impediment to the progress of the *bill* was experienced during the course of that evening.

Impey, who had been rescued, rather than acquitted, on the charge relative to Nundcomar, yet had still to encounter five other accusations, including a variety of heinous crimes or offences, asserted to have been committed in his judicial capacity, during his residence in Bengal. The second of these charges, commonly denominated "The Patna Cause," had excited the condemnation of parliament, when intelligence of it first reached England in the year 1779. An act of the legislature had even been passed, for the indemnification of the unfortunate individuals who had suffered under the sentence pronounced against them by Impey. Sir Gilbert Elliot now moved to go into its consideration, but was stopped in *limine* by the attorney-general, on the

ground of the *cause* itself having been appealed to the privy council, before which tribunal it must speedily be tried and decided. This ingenious and timely legal devise, by which Sir Elijah was again snatched from imminent danger of impeachment, excited Burke's utmost indignation. In language the most intemperate, yet classic and elegant; for even in rage he could call to his aid the writings of antiquity; he accused the East India Company of gross collusion, fraud, and villany, in order to protect a man against whom they had originally appeared as prosecutors. Pitt supporting the attorney-general's argument, and making some severe personal reflections on the conduct of Burke towards Impey; "I do not desire the right honourable gentleman," exclaimed he, "to assume the office of being my historian. I have suffered many harsh observations from his predecessors on that bench. But I have suffered more from his foul and offensive breath, than from the aspersions of every minister who has gone before him." The chancellor of the exchequer, though not usually forbearing, yet half apologized for any harsh or unguarded expression which might have escaped him during the warmth of debate; adding, "I have not heard as many ministers as he has done; consequently I cannot remember the severe remarks which they may have applied to him. He has, however, sufficiently demonstrated his own oblivion of the severe observations that he has applied to other ministers." The consideration of "The Patna Cause," postponed for three months, was never again resumed.

June.—At the commencement of June, a great promotion took place in the higher departments of the law. Lord Mansfield, who had long *stopped the way, drew off*. After presiding more than thirty years in the court of the king's bench; enfeebled by bodily infirmities, though retaining all the vigour of his intellect; he retired at length from public life. His retreat would have been sooner accomplished, if he could have secured the succession to his office for Buller, one of the judges in that court. But Pitt refused to hear of any conditions. The chancellor likewise adhered firmly to Kenyon, whose deep knowledge of

the laws, sustained by integrity of character, well qualified him for supplying the vacant seat. He was raised at the same time to the peerage. Arden became master of the rolls. In his person was exemplified the power of ministerial friendship to supply every defect, and to conduct the object of its predilection to the greatest dignities, as well as honours and employments. The last act of Pitt's first administration, in the spring of 1801, was to remove Arden from the rolls, to the chief justiceship of the court of common pleas. Nor did his attachment stop there, Arden being immediately afterwards created Lord Alvanley. His good fortune in thus reaching the house of peers is the more remarkable, as he died just before Pitt's second entrance on office in 1804.

I have designated by the name of *friendship* the minister's regard for Arden, because though he was not endowed with those great legal abilities which usually conduct to the eminences of the law, yet he manifested no want of talent, at least in parliament. But to what cause except favouritism can we ascribe Pitt's predilection towards other individuals whom it might be invidious to name; some of whom he successively placed, first at the board of admiralty, and afterwards at that of the treasury? It would be difficult for Pitt's warmest admirers to assign any public motive or foundation for these selections. When he made a country apothecary of Sevenoaks, in Kent, comptroller-general of the customs, the cause was obvious, if not venial. He had obtained the hand of the minister's niece in marriage. For the *marquisate* conferred on Lord Abercorn, and the rank of an *earl's daughter* given at that nobleman's request to Miss Cecil Hamilton; as well as for *Lord Carrington's* introduction into the British house of peers; there may have been solid and weighty, though not apparent or ostensible reasons. Nor do I mean to deny, that among the long list of individuals whom he raised and employed, between 1784 and 1805, the far greater part were men of merit and capacity. But Pitt, disinterested, elevated, and superior to injustice, as he proved himself in general, was not exempt in particular instances from great prejudice, and as great partiality.

To return to the legal promotions at this period; Macdonald succeeded to the vacant place of attorney-general. He has not, however, like Arden, ever entered the house of peers. After presiding nearly twenty years in the court of exchequer, as chief baron, Macdonald condescended in 1813 to accept a baronetage. By the transfer of Kenyon, Arden, and Macdonald, Scott became solicitor-general. His rise resulted from a combination of talent, labour, and character. Neither noble birth, nor favours, nor alliances, produced it. Pitt's friendship he indeed acquired and enjoyed, because he earned it by great exertion. Such were the qualities by which Lord Eldon finally attained the peerage, as well as the great seal; and such are the qualifications by which, at this hour, in January, 1820, he holds his high employment.

During the months of March, April, and May, Hastings's trial had advanced by slow gradations, impeded at every step by the examination of witnesses and recapitulation of evidence. But, towards the beginning of June, as the prorogation of parliament approached, Sheridan felt that the time was arrived for his entrance on the theatre of Westminster Hall, and he had already thoroughly rehearsed his part. Never perhaps was public expectation raised so high as on his appearance; and never, I believe, in the history of modern ages, was it so completely gratified! On the 3d, 5th, and 6th of June, — for on the 4th, being the royal birth-day, the trial did not proceed, — he spoke during many successive hours. The audience comprised almost every individual illustrious or respectable, which the capital could furnish, of both sexes; forming a most august, imposing, and interesting spectacle. Probably, two-thirds of the English peers and peeresses, accompanied by their daughters, were present on the occasion. Even the season of the year, when the hall of Rufus (across the gloom of which the eye could scarcely penetrate in winter) was illuminated by the beams of a vivid sun, augmented, while it displayed, the grandeur of the scene. Every part of that vast edifice was crowded to excess.

Sheridan, accustomed to study thea-

trical effect at Drury-lane, did not neglect to observe its principles, or to practise its rules, on this great national stage, surrounded by all the rank, beauty, and talent of the metropolis. In fact, the majesty of the tribunal was half swallowed up and forgotten in the contemplation of the surrounding assemblage; among which *females* formed, if not the largest, at least the most attractive portion. To *them*, indeed, the orator did not neglect indirectly to address much of his discourse: more fortunate in that point of view than the great orators of antiquity, whose audience was exclusively composed of *men*. He enjoyed likewise another advantage above the accusers of Strafford, Danby, and Oxford; whose alleged crimes (domestic treason, or misdemeanors committed within the realm), limited the prosecutor to matters of fact, and admitted little scope for the imagination. But, in the present case, a wide field of description expanded itself along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna; while the subject, which depicted the woes of Asiatic princesses, was in itself well calculated to make a deep impression on the other sex. Many of Sheridan's pictures were likewise so highly coloured, and so magically wrought up as to produce an almost electric shock. Perhaps, a less diffuse oration, more subdued in tone, more compressed in its matter, might have far better answered the ends of justice. But, who that knew Sheridan, his mode of life, his habits, his character, and even his manner of subsistence, could believe that he was solely impelled by the abstract love of justice? He embraced the occasion, as it allowed him to display his prodigious oratorical powers, while he sustained his party, and gratified his ardent love of fame. His success placed him on an eminence which no public man in either house of parliament has attained in my time. The most ardent admirers of Burke, of Fox, and of Pitt, allowed that they had been outdone, as orators, by Sheridan.

6th June. — At the close of the last of these three memorable days, when the house of commons met, subsequent to the adjournment of the peers from the trial; Mr. Buges, who had moved for the account specifying the mode in

which the public money issued for Hastings's trial had been expended by the managers, rose a second time. He then briefly observed, that no vote or declaration of that assembly had ever authorized the managers of Mr. Hastings's prosecution to employ counsel. Having next expressed his disbelief that there existed any precedent for it in our parliamentary history during the progress of past impeachments; he demanded whether peculiar circumstances of difficulty had arisen on the present occasion, that rendered necessary their employment. Whatever legal doubts might occur, he said, there were to be found among the managers themselves, individuals learned in the law of England, competent to solve every question. In fact, three of them — namely, Adam, Anstruther, and Michael Angelo Taylor — had all been bred and called to the bar. With respect to the expense of the trial, he remarked, that though it had been estimated only at about eight thousand pounds, it already amounted to fifteen thousand, and would exceed eighteen thousand before the end of the session. Burges concluded by moving, that “the solicitors for the prosecution do present from time to time an account of the expenses incurred, at the bar of the house.”

Some moments having elapsed without any individual rising to second Burges's motion, Burke presented himself to the Speaker's eye, under great and visible agitation. “I do not mean,” said he, “either to second, or to resist, the present proposition; but simply to congratulate the mover on his having selected this glorious day, after the splendid exhibition which we have recently witnessed, when thousands hung with rapture on my honourable friend's accents, for examining the items of a solicitor's bill.” Then diverging to the oration just pronounced in Westminster Hall, he lavished on it the highest encomiums: encomiums unquestionably well deserved. Yet when Burke, after enumerating “the variety of information, the beauty of diction, the force of expression, the astonishing diversity of composition, and the numberless graces which met in Sheridan's speech;” — when he added, “the pure sentiments of

morality with which it abounded," many persons found it difficult to resist thinking of *Joseph Surface*, in his own "School for Scandal." Certainly, the life and practice of the orator himself did not furnish the best commentary on that text. "Instead of resolving ourselves," continued Burke, "into a committee of miserable accounts, let us, like the Roman's after Scipio's victories, go and thank the gods for this day's triumph in Westminster Hall! As to myself, I have been too highly strained, and my mind is not sufficiently relaxed, after the sublime repast of which I have just partaken, to sink my thoughts to the level of such an enquiry." This beautiful description of his feelings recalls the attempt of our first father to portray his overwhelming emotions, when Milton makes him say,

"My earthly by his heav'nly overpower'd,
Which it had long stood under; strain'd to the height
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
As with an object that excels the sense,
Dazzled and spent, sunk down."

Burke, nevertheless, quickly resuming his ordinary mode of expressing himself when irritated, added, "I disdain to notice the present subject. Call the solicitors to the bar, and examine them. Meanwhile I shall order such services as I think proper, till the house may command me to desist."

Fox, with much more command of temper, admitted that the employment of counsel on such a prosecution was, he believed, new; but subjoined his opinion, that their assistance was indispensably necessary to its success. The chancellor of the exchequer, conscious how delicate was his position — between the care of the public purse, over which it was his official duty to watch, and the danger of exposing himself to the accusation of impeding the trial, — steered a middle course. "With respect to the number of counsel employed," observed Pitt, "I have doubted whether two civilians are wanted. Nevertheless, if the managers declare them to be requisite, I think they should be retained. Respecting the general expense attending the impeachment; that point, serious as it

is, must be governed by due attention to the nature of the case." *Burges's motion* still remained without any person to second it; till at length Mr. Drake, whom I have so lately mentioned, — and who, when impelled by his feelings, or by his principles, set at defiance all personal considerations, — after concurring fully in the eulogiums bestowed on Sheridan's eloquence, yet ventured to add, that he must stand up the friend of economy. Sir William Dolben, having first deprecated Burke's resentment, proceeded a step further, and seconded the *motion*. A division must therefore have inevitably ensued, if Dundas had not prevented it by a manœuvre. In order to extricate the minister his friend from a situation of some embarrassment, he moved the next *order of the day*; which being acquiesced in by all sides, an adjournment immediately took place. The managers consequently remained without pecuniary control of any kind.

One of the most splendid instances of parliamentary, or, more properly to speak, of national sympathy and munificence, to be found in the history of mankind, was exhibited at this time in the house of commons. That numerous body of men known by the denomination of "loyalists," who in consequence of the American war had not only been driven from their paternal seats, but had beheld their whole property confiscated, necessarily looked to Great Britain for some remuneration. Though Sir George Rodney's victory over De Grasse, in April, 1782, had restored our naval supremacy in the West Indies, yet the circumstances of depression under which Lord Shelburne signed the general peace with France and America, about nine months afterwards, incapacitated him from exacting any conditions in favour of these expatriated individuals. Neither magnanimity, nor pity, nor generosity, could operate on the minds of their Transatlantic countrymen; accessible only to considerations of the most interested or vindictive description. It is not on the banks of the Delaware, or of the Hudson, that even in the nineteenth century we can hitherto look for many of the virtues that elevate and adorn our nature. The arts of gain, and the science of naval warfare, combined with a grasp-

ing policy ; — such seem to be, down to the present time, the characteristic features of the Washington cabinet. We may hope, and even safely assume, that the moral current will run purer as it flows on ; but not till another race of statesmen have succeeded to the Jeffersons, the Madisons, and the Munros, — the servile instruments of Bonaparte's vengeance, or of their enmity to England. — To return to the "loyalists," technically so termed ; parliament having referred their claims to commissioners for examination, Pitt now proposed a plan for compensating the sufferers. The aggregate amount of their losses considerably exceeded two millions sterling, exclusive of nearly five hundred thousand pounds already issued for their temporary relief. His intention, he said, was to liquidate from the public purse above twelve hundred thousand pounds of this demand ; the claimants being divided into classes, and receiving either the whole, or a proportion of their claim, according to its magnitude. Principles of the most liberal, well-matured, and enlightened equity, regulated the sums respectively distributed to the different individuals.

The conduct observed upon this occasion by the chiefs of opposition, reflected on them the highest honour ; especially if we recollect the acrimonious terms in which they were accustomed, during the course of the American war, to inveigh against *the loyalists*. Burke rising early in the debate, declared that he never had given a vote with more satisfaction. "For, though the objects of the present national bounty," added he, "have not a claim on us founded in absolute right, yet we are bound in equity and justice to consider their demands. It will form a new and a noble instance of public generosity. In vain would we seek for a parallel in our own history, after the restoration of Charles the Second, when only the insignificant sum of eighty thousand pounds was voted by this house for distribution among the suffering royalists." — "I rejoice that America has not enjoyed the distinction which must have resulted to her, as a people, and as a government, from compensating the unhappy *loyalists*. It would nevertheless have been a wise

manner of setting up for themselves in the world." Fox even exceeded Burke in his testimonies of approbation to the measure. Throughout the whole discussion, no difference of sentiment occurred between the opposite sides of the house, except a generous emulation to outdo each other in extending relief.

Fox's expostulations and suggestions even induced Pitt to yield on more than one point, and to augment the sum proposed to be given by parliament. At the head of the list stood Mr. Harford, natural son of Lord Baltimore ; an eccentric nobleman well known in the beginning of the present reign, by the criminal prosecution which Miss Woodcock carried on against him. Mr. Harford had lost a princely fortune, or rather revenue, bequeathed to him by his father, situate in the province of Maryland. The minister, convinced by Fox's reasons and calculations, which other members sustained, finally consented to add twenty thousand pounds to the seventy thousand originally destined for Mr. Harford. I do not recollect any dissentient voice, except one, namely, Hussey ; a man most conscientious, and most frugal of the public resources. Even *he* only expressed a doubt whether the claim of the "loyalists" was founded in right, or was matter of mere grace and favour ; for which hesitation Burke did not scruple to censure him. Such a donative, so conferred, by a nation which had scarcely recovered the loss of her colonies, forms a glorious monument in the British annals, and stands alone in the records of modern times.

10th — 17th June. — With the compensation voted to the "loyalists" might be said to terminate the public business of the session. Nor would the prorogation of parliament have been delayed, if the unexpected introduction of Sir William Dolben's *bill* for regulating the African trade had not protracted its deliberations. Regardless of all considerations drawn from policy or from narrow views of commercial profit ; unmoved even by the remonstrances and opposition of some among his own colleagues in the cabinet ; Pitt steadily extended his support to that humane and beneficent measure. To so elevated a line of ministerial

conduct, posterity will not assuredly refuse their admiration. Every effort at procrastination was exerted by the enemies of the *bill*, who compensated for the paucity of their numbers by their pertinacity; the advanced season of the year offering them great facilities for prolonging or impeding the debates. In defiance of evidence the most incontrovertible, they persisted to deny the truth of the cruelties practised on the captives during their transportation, and the mortality consequent on such treatment. The facts nevertheless having been proved at the bar to the conviction of every unprejudiced person, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that "the operation of the bill should be *retrospective*, and that it should commence from the *tenth* of the existing month." We must admit that such an *ex post facto* law or principle, if applied to ordinary cases, would be not only contrary to good policy, but even subversive of justice. Neither could it be forgotten, that a *circular letter* had been officially addressed by order of the treasury, some weeks earlier, to the principal merchants concerned in the African trade, assuring them of the determination of government not to agitate the question of abolition during the actual session. Lord Penrhyn strongly contended, that the present act would therefore be an infraction of ministerial faith; and when combined with the new regulations proposed by Sir William Dolben, for limiting the number of slaves permitted to be put on board the vessels engaged in the trade, would operate *virtually* as an abolition.

A statesman of a lofty mind, of stern decision, as well as unbending principles of moral action, — and only such a statesman, — would have ventured after this reclamation, to take on himself personally the responsibility of so strong a measure. Every motive, drawn from considerations of a selfish or interested nature, impelled him to postpone any regulation of the slave-trade, to another year. He well knew that the chancellor, whose intractability rendered him always difficult to guide, entertained insurmountable objections to the present *bill*. These objections Lord Thurlow was believed to have infused into the king; who, from other causes relating indi-

vidually to himself, anxiously anticipated the close of the session. Nor was the chancellor the only member of administration adverse to the proposition. Even among the persons seated near Pitt on the treasury bench, connected with him by friendship, and acting officially under him, I know that there were enemies. One of them was Rose. Dundas remained silent, and took no part. Burke and Fox, after expressing their warmest approbation of the principle, left Pitt to carry it into execution. They had in fact withdrawn from the house, considering the session at an end. None of these impediments could, however, shake his resolution. Rising towards the close of the debate, he not only declared himself unequivocally favourable to Dolben's measure, but expressed his firm conviction that the regulations specified would in no degree effect the abolition of the trade. "If, however," continued he, "such should be their operation; — if this nefarious traffic cannot be prosecuted under the restrictions proposed; *I now retract my declaration made on a former day, against going to the general question.* Late as is the season of the year, I am confident that the house will support me in my efforts to rescue those unfortunate Africans now about to be purchased by British traders, from the jaws of destruction, and from the iron hand of oppression."

This energetic declaration, which sufficiently proved how great a change of opinion relative to the African trade had been operated on his mind within a few weeks, terminated the discussion. On the division, only *five* members voted against Dolben's motion, while fifty-six sustained it; and the *bill* having passed, was carried up on the following day to the house of peers. We may confidently assert, that no minister who presided in the councils of England during the course of the eighteenth century, except Pitt would have thus sacrificed a commercial, and consequently, a political, as well as a financial object, to a moral principle. Every minor consideration gave way to the impulse of humanity in his bosom. Looking beyond the exchequer, he legislated as Plato would have done for his ideal republic. Like Umbricius, he seemed to say,

— "tantum tibi non sit opaci
 Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur
 aurum,
 Ut somno careas."

That neither Mr. Pelham, nor Lord North, nor the Earl of Shelburne, would so have acted in similar circumstances, I imagine, will be easily conceded, even by their admirers. If any individual in our own time possessed sufficient elevation of character, and disregard of consequences, to have emulated the same praise, that person was Fox. In correct moral deportment he could not enter into competition with Pitt: but his natural benevolence, enlargement of mind, fearlessness of disposition, and love of glory, would have impelled him to adopt any measure, however bold or hazardous, which promised to augment the sum of human happiness, and to rescue his fellow-creatures from misery.

While I do justice to Pitt's line of action, and eulogize it as in my opinion it deserves, I cannot omit to mention another individual who highly distinguished himself on that evening. I mean, Beaufoy; a person already noticed more than once in the course of these memoirs. He spoke at great length in favour of Dolben's proposition; and though his eloquence might be criticised as rhetorical, florid, and diffuse, yet it teemed with information, while it displayed uncommon powers of description. I am persuaded that the appalling facts which he enumerated, relative to the treatment of the slaves; and in particular, respecting the mortality that took place among them, during the voyage across the Atlantic to the West Indies; tended strongly to produce the decided part taken by the chancellor of the exchequer. Beaufoy, arguing from disclosures reluctantly admitted by witnesses at the bar, or rather extorted from them in the progress of their examination, carried the calculation of deaths to an awful point of magnitude.

Among the arguments used by the supporters of the African trade to justify its continuance, they urged the utter inutility of our relinquishing it, as we could not prevent other nations from carrying it on; in particular, France. But Beaufoy strongly contested this assertion. "Let the ultimate decision prove what

it may here in England," observed he, "its existence among the French cannot long be perpetuated. Already, not only the philosophers and men of letters in that country are earnest for its extinction; two of her most enlightened ministers, Turgot and Necker, have recorded their detestation of its cruelty and guilt." Lord Penrhyn smiling contemptuously, "I perceive," rejoined Beaufoy, "that the noble lord treats with levity my mention of literary men. Their influence must nevertheless be great among a people where opinion maintains sovereign sway. But does he not know that Turgot and Necker, and they only among the ministers of Louis the Sixteenth, have exhorted their countrymen to reclaim their ancient constitution? *Is he ignorant that at this very hour the voice of Freedom has already penetrated the recesses of Versailles?*" Scarcely thirteen months elapsed after these words were pronounced, before the French revolution was consummated by the capture of the Bastille.

18th — 80th June. I have already stated that Dolben's *bill*, in consequence of Pitt's decided support, having passed with a *retrospective* clause by a proportion of more than eleven to one, had been carried up to the other house. On its arrival there, it appeared however to be in imminent danger of rejection. Few instances have occurred in our parliamentary history, of a more formidable opposition than it encountered. Nor did the obstacles to its progress originate, as in ordinary cases, with the regular opponents of government. On the contrary, it experienced from *them* a favourable reception, while its most violent enemies were either members of the cabinet, or great officers of state, closely connected with administration. At their head stood the chancellor, who not only declaimed against the measure itself as unwise, but treated the *retrospective* clause as contrary to the pledged faith of ministers, and a violation of their own engagements. Lord Sydney, one of the secretaries of state, whose connexion by marriage with the chancellor of the exchequer formed his best security for continuing in office a single day, joined Lord Thurlow. The Duke of Chandos, though holding the employment of lord steward, yet

spoke and voted against the clause. Even Lord Hawkesbury declared it most unjust, to subject any ship to a legal penalty, before the existence of the law which enacted the penalty. Against so numerous and able a phalanx, the Duke of Richmond was left to contend almost alone. The remaining members of administration stood aloof. Lord Howe, who soon afterwards quitted the admiralty, took no part. The Marquis of Carmarthen observed a total silence; and Lord Camden, I believe, never once attended in his place. Such was the state and aspect of the house of peers, when the *bill* made its appearance among them. It required all the noble pertinacity of Pitt's character, supported by motives drawn from some of the highest and purest sources of human action, to withstand, and finally to surmount, so great a combination of talents and of influence.

The Duke of Richmond, to whom Pitt committed the task of defending the measure; and who performed it with zeal, if not with ability; admitted that if its *retrospective* operation was permitted to remain, it would become indispensable to insert a clause indemnifying the persons concerned in the trade for any losses they might sustain in consequence. On a subsequent day he tendered a clause to that effect. But Lord Bathurst (who, though sinking under age and bodily infirmities, yet, as having formerly held the great seal during more than seven years, inspired respect when a legal question was agitated), maintained that no compensation which the legislature could propose or adopt would meet the case. Two members of the upper house, who had been elevated to the peerage by their illustrious actions, and the former of whom had witnessed the actual treatment of the Africans throughout the West Indies; — I mean, Lord Rodney, and Lord Heathfield; — denied the facts, on the assumption of which as certain the bill principally rested. Among its most strenuous, though not disinterested opposers, might be reckoned the Duke of Chandos. In right of his duchess, whose first husband, Mr. Elletson, had been governor of Jamaica, he possessed a very considerable property in that island. Lord Hawkesbury moved, that instead of a

retrospective operation, the *bill* should only begin to take effect from the 10th of June in the ensuing year, 1789. Throughout a speech which displayed much embarrassment, Lord Sydney endeavoured to reconcile his deference for Pitt with his opposition to the measure. While in language of admiration and respect for the motives by which the chancellor of the exchequer was actuated, he did justice to that minister's elevation of mind, as well as purity of intention, he lamented that a subject of such deep importance should have been brought forward at so advanced a period of the session. Yet, he added, however much he might regret the circumstance, and peculiarly its *retrospective* effect, nevertheless, as the *bill* had been brought in, it should receive from him no further opposition.

But all these measures of delicacy were spurned by Thurlow. Notwithstanding Pitt's personal appearance on the steps of the throne, the chancellor, quitting the woolsack several times in the course of the debate, neither spared his invectives, nor abstained from the most contemptuous expressions. The *bill*, he said, as it was drawn up, could only be denominated nonsense; and the amendments proposed, inserted, would render it more incapable of being carried into execution. With gloomy indignation, he levelled the severest sarcasms against the spirit of morbid or injudicious humanity which had originated such a measure at such a time. "I do not hesitate," continued he, "to declare, that if the *five days' fit of philanthropy* which has just awoke, after sleeping for more than twenty years, had remained in repose during another summer, it would, in my opinion, have displayed more wisdom, than thus to take up a business piece-meal, after publicly proclaiming that it should not be agitated at all till the ensuing session of parliament." Nor did he fail to allude in language of strong condemnation to the *circular letter* sent by order of the treasury to the merchants engaged in the African trade. Vainly the Duke of Richmond replied, that the letter in question referred solely to the *abolition*, not to the *regulation*, of the commerce; and therefore that no infraction of ministerial

faith had been, or would be committed. "The noble duke," answered Lord Thurlow, "or any other individual, may put whatever construction they think proper on the letter: *I* am content to understand it according to the acceptation in which the persons take it to whom it was addressed." We must admit that throughout the whole proceeding Thurlow argued as a statesman; Pitt acted as a moralist. Policy alone guided the chancellor; principle and humanity impelled the minister. Posterity will judge between them. *My* admiration *now* follows Pitt; but I will candidly own that at the time when the events happened which are here related, I strongly inclined to embrace an opposite opinion.

30th June.—New alterations took place down to the end of June; when the Duke of Richmond brought forward the clause by which all persons who in consequence of the operation of the *bill* might sustain pecuniary loss were entitled to claim compensation. Commissioners, named under the great seal, were appointed to take cognizance and to decide finally on the justice of the demands made by the claimants. But here again the chancellor interposed with numerous objections. A *jury*, not commissioners, he maintained, ought to assess the quota of compensation to be allowed the merchants. This opinion he supported with strong reasons, and no member of the cabinet, except the Duke of Richmond, took any part in the debate. After demonstrating how inadequate, arbitrary, and liable to error or deception, were the provisions of the proposed clause of indemnification, Thurlow added, "The warmest friend of the present measure cannot feel more anxiety than I do, that it may not disgrace this house in the opinion of the country." Lord Bathurst concurred in all the chancellor's positions.

A division at length took place, when Pitt triumphed by a majority of only *two* votes; twelve peers concurring with Lord Thurlow, while fourteen divided against him. So violent a contest on public grounds, between two members of the same administration, in one of the houses of parliament, yet not followed by the resignation of either, might be considered a sort of political paradox. I believe it

has no parallel since the accession of the house of Hanover. Its singularity is augmented when we reflect that one of the ministers who held in his hand the great seal, was by his office the constitutional keeper of the king's conscience; while the other presided both at the treasury and at the exchequer. Their difference of opinion produced however no ostensible breach, though neither of them was distinguished by placability of disposition. Mutual convenience smothered their animosity, without extinguishing the recollection: but time matured these principles of disunion into a flame, which finally drove the chancellor out of the cabinet.

4th July.—The "Slave Regulation Bill" was destined to undergo fresh attacks on its return to the house of commons; the amendments which had been made by the peers compelling Dolben to bring in a new *bill*. As the very advanced season of the year rendered it almost impossible to procure attendance for the discussion of a measure which, whatever alteration it might have produced between Lord Thurlow and Pitt, was not a party question, the enemies of the whole transaction renewed their efforts to overturn it. They were joined by a new auxiliary in the person of Gamon, member for Winchester, whom the Duke of Chandos brought into parliament; the duchess being his sister. Delay, independent either of argument or of eloquence, it was obvious, would of itself frustrate all the minister's plans. He remained nevertheless firm, determined as he was to surmount by perseverance every attempt of its opponents. No line of conduct less decided would have proved effectual. Having demonstrated that the amendments and alterations introduced by the peers were obviously favourable to the petitioners against the bill, Pitt induced the lower house to refuse hearing counsel. He concluded by moving to give bounties calculated for preserving the lives of the slaves during the voyage from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. All these suggestions meeting with nearly unanimous consent, the *bill* was a second time sent up to the lords, where it experienced no further impediment on the part of the chancellor. The prorogation of parliament, which

had been so long delayed, would therefore have taken place immediately, if it had not been discovered that an informality in framing the *bill* produced the necessity of renewing it a third time.

8th—11th July.—But Pitt was not to be driven from his purpose by any obstacles. The greatest difficulty consisted in procuring the number of members requisite for placing and keeping the Speaker in the chair, at a time when the session might be regarded as virtually at an end many individuals who commonly supported administration were altogether inimical to the measure; and the lord chancellor had, even on the treasury bench, more than one adherent. The enemies of Dolben's proposition might easily frustrate its success, by merely *counting* the house; an immediate adjournment being indispensable if there were not forty members present, as soon as the circumstances became the subject of a *motion*. Even *treasury letters* could not enforce attendance. Lord North, under similar embarrassments, would unquestionably have suspended the business till the following session. Not so Pitt. Sir William Dolben having moved to read his *bill* a second time, new petitions from Liverpool, of the same tenor with those antecedently presented, were brought up; while Mr. Gamon moved to postpone the second reading for three months. On a division, *thirty-five* members supported the minister, one of whom was Sheridan. Only *two* votes was found to oppose the measure. The *four* tellers completed the number to *forty-one*; being *one* more than was absolutely necessary to legalize the proceeding.

Before the house adjourned, the *bill* went through the committee, was reported, engrossed, read a third time, passed, and finally carried up by Dolben in person to the bar of the peers. Lord Thurlow received it with indignant silence. All these steps took place on the 8th of July. No debate or conversation whatever arose respecting it in the house of lords. On the morning of the 11th, the *bill* was returned to the commons, and instantly sent back, in order that it might receive the royal assent, which was given to it a few hours afterwards. Then, and not till then, Pitt allowed the king to

prorogue the parliament. I have descended to these minute details, because no feature of Pitt's political life places in a more conspicuous point of view the force of his moral principles of action, and his inflexible determination to pursue the path which they dictated to him. The *Slave Regulation Act*, which was ultimately carried by thirty-five votes in a sort of *rump parliament*, laid the foundation of the *Slave Abolition Act*, in the course of the following year.

July.—The court of peers which sate in Westminster Hall on the trial of Hastings did not wait for the prorogation in order to suspend their proceedings. As early as the middle of June, they adjourned to the ensuing session, after having been assembled in their judicial capacity only thirty-five times during a space of more than four months. Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, furnished the principal aliment of the prosecution. The last-named individual, more master of himself than Burke, never borne away or convulsed by passion; an actor, even when he seemed to be most deeply agitated;—Sheridan, while he shunned these extremes, as carefully avoided the repetitions in which Fox frequently indulged. The long intervals which elapsed between the grand exhibitions of oratory were filled up by the inferior managers; at whose head, *facile princeps*, must be placed Grey.

If the month of June had exhibited important changes in the higher offices of the law, July witnessed a similar alteration at the admiralty. The divisions of the 18th and 29th of April, in the house of commons, eventually produced Lord Howe's resignation; and Pitt, availing himself of his complete ascendancy at St. James's, instantly substituted his brother, Lord Chatham, in the vacant office. He was then about thirty-two years of age. In that high, efficient, and arduous employment, notwithstanding his recognized inaptitude for executing its duties, the same paramount ministerial influence retained him considerably more than six years. It is true that during the far greater part of the period, the nation continued to enjoy peace. But, towards the conclusion of 1794, the augmenting calamities of a foreign war, which demanded corresponding energies in every

department at home, rendered it necessary to supply Lord Chatham's place with a person of greater application, if not superior talent.

After the termination of the second unfortunate campaign in the Low Countries, where the Duke of York commanded the British forces, his total want of military skill had excited such universal clamour, that Pitt, however reluctant, at length determined to lay the matter before the king. He did so; and suggested, as the only means of allaying the national discontent, to entrust with the supreme command a general of more experience, as well as more responsible, than a second son of the crown. But his majesty replied, "Mr. Pitt, you mistake the matter. It is not my son, but your brother, who has produced the clamour of which you complain. It is the delay, mismanagement, and want of all energy or exertion at the admiralty, much more than the errors or misfortunes of our arms on the continent, which have involved my councils in disgrace." Shortly after this conversation, which was long and full of asperity, Lord Spencer replaced the Earl of Chatham as first lord of the admiralty. Pitt took care however to provide for his brother's comfort as well as to retain his vote in the cabinet, by conferring on him the dignified sinecure of lord privy seal.

If ever any individual drew a prize in the great lottery of human life, that man was the present Earl of Chatham. Having been brought up to the military profession, he went out to America previous to the commencement of our contest with the colonies; but was recalled to this country by his father who disapproved the war carried on for their subjugation. In 1779 he commanded the grenadier company in the newly-raised Rutland regiment, crossed the Atlantic a second time, passed some months at St. Lucie and Barbadoes, and returned to Europe by Gibraltar. He told me that he rode post the whole way from thence to Madrid, on his road to England. At scarcely three-and-twenty, he had succeeded to an earldom, to a pension of four thousand pounds a year settled on the title, and to the estate of Burton Pynsent. Lord Chatham inherited likewise his illustrious father's form and figure; but not his

mind. *That* present of nature fell to the second son. There was a third, named James, whom I never personally knew; and who died at the age of nineteen, in the West Indies, a lieutenant in the navy. The present earl so strongly resembles his father in face and person, that if he were to enter the house of peers, dressed after the mode of George the Second's reign, and his head enveloped in a full-bottomed tie wig (as we see Mr. Pitt designated in his portraits), the spectators might fancy that the great statesman was returned once more upon earth. Rising above the ordinary height, thin, and elegant in his formation, Lord Chatham's air and address announce a person of rank; but his manners seem to prohibit all familiarity, and almost to forbid approach. Yet, in private society, when I have happened to be seated next him at table, he unbent, and became pleasing, as well as communicative in conversation. Constitutionally and habitually taciturn, cold, reserved, lofty, repulsive, his silence served as a mantle to protect him from close inspection. It did more; for it inspired respect, as though it concealed great talents under that veil. Many persons, indeed, have given him credit for judgment and capacity; but his whole life proves the contrary. Two vices or defects, each of which might render inefficient the brightest intellectual endowments, even if they existed, have accompanied him from youth to age. I mean, insuperable indolence, and total want of economy.

However incredible, it is nevertheless true, that while presiding at the admiralty board, even in time of war, he seldom was visible till noon. I might indeed say, that he rarely rose from his bed much before that hour. Naval officers consequently found it difficult, or impossible to obtain an audience. After he quitted his employment, it became common to call him in derision, the *late* first lord of the admiralty. Even when commanding the British army before Flushing in 1809, his tent could not be entered nor was the general to be seen before a late hour. Of the talents attributed to him by flattery, he has exhibited no proof. I believe, he never opened his lips in the house of peers, since he first took his seat in that assembly; but be

tween 1784 and 1788, when his brother had him in training for high employment, he used most assiduously to attend the debates in the house of commons; placing himself always in the members gallery, over the treasury bench. It would have been fortunate for himself, as well as for his country, if he had never been employed in a military command. He possessed, indeed, neither activity, experience, ardour, nor any of the qualities that usually produce success. It is difficult to conceive upon what rational principle his majesty selected him to command the expedition against Walcheren in 1809; — for he unquestionably owed the appointment solely to the king, though the subservient cabinet of that day improperly acquiesced in the choice.

I saw him embark at Ramsgate, for Flanders, with the Earl of Rosslyn, and the Marquis of Huntley. All men of reflection anticipated the result of an enterprise conducted by such a leader. Bernadotte, who now sits on the throne of Gustavus Adolphus, of Christina, and of Charles the Twelfth, was enabled, by the delays and indecision of the English commander, to render Bonaparte an incalculable service, in saving Antwerp. A general of rapid and decisive movements would have dashed up the Schelde, before the enemy could be prepared to receive or to oppose him. Lord Chatham's trophies were limited to the capture of Flushing. If, however, he gathered no laurels there, I have been assured that he made a considerable sum of prize-money at Middelburg. Dalrymple's convention of Cintra, signed in the preceding year, had covered him, perhaps unjustly, with obloquy. Similar was the effect of the Walcheren expedition on the Earl of Chatham. He will no more indeed be employed again in the field, than would Sir George Prevost, if he were alive.

Lord Chatham's incapacity of restraining his expenses within any moderate limits, tended, even more than his want of energy or activity, to bring him down from the eminence on which birth and fortune placed him.

12th July. — No individual about the court, or in either house of parliament, felt probably more delight at his emancipation from the metropolis, and from

public business, than the king. He had long anticipated, not without some impatience, the *prorogation*; which, contrary to general usage, in consequence of the delay occasioned by the "Slave Regulation Bill," took place on a *Friday*. A principle of humanity in the present instance prolonged the session. It was a different motive to which Pulteney, Earl of Bath, attributed the meeting of parliament on a *Friday*, when he composed his elegant and classic impromptu on George the Second and the Countess of Yarmouth. During the spring of the year, 1788, his majesty, who had nearly attained the age of fifty, found himself attacked by symptoms of indisposition, which his physicians pronounced to be gouty. Probably, the humour might have exhausted its force in the extremities, in the shape of gout, if his majesty had eat and drunk like almost any other private gentleman. But his natural disposition to temperance, increased by a dread of becoming corpulent, and perhaps other apprehensions, impelled him to adopt the habits of an ascetic. The most simple food, taken in very moderate quantity, constituted his repasts. Yet his German origin showed itself in his predilections: — for sour crout was one of his favourite dishes; as Handel's or Mozart's music charmed him more than that of Pergolesi, or of Paësiello. His ordinary beverage at table was only composed of a sort of lemonade, which he dignified with the name of *cup*; though a monk of La Trappe might have drunk it without any infraction of his monastic vow.

The king usually eat so little, and so rapidly, that those persons who dined with him could not satisfy their appetite, unless by continuing their meal after the sovereign had finished, which was contrary to the old etiquette. He was so sensible of this fact, and so considerate, that when he dined at Kew, without the queen, and only attended by two equerries, he always said, "Don't regard me: take your own time." One of them, an intimate friend of mine, relating to me the particulars of these repasts, which were very comfortless, observed, "We know so well how soon the king has finished, that after we sit down at table not a word is uttered. All our attention

is devoted to expedition. Yet, with the best diligence we can exert, before we have half dined, his majesty has already thrown himself back in his chair, and called for his *cup*, with which he concludes his meal." Napoleon's dinners were, if possible, even less convivial, and equally brief. He, whose hours decided the fate of nations, dedicated little time to the gratifications of the table. The late Marquis Cholmondeley, who had dined with him at the "*grand couvert*" in the Tuileries, in 1802, has frequently assured me, that from the moment they sat down, till the coffee was served, not more than forty-three or four minutes elapsed. They were then *bowed out*.

The late Earl Harcourt, who became master of the horse to Charlotte of Mecklenburg, was a nobleman of high breeding, well informed, and of a most correct deportment, though of manners somewhat constrained and formal. When he had the honor to receive and to entertain their majesties at Nuneham, on their road to visit Oxford, his countess, who was one of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber, said to him, "My lord, recollect that as soon as the king lays down his knife and fork, you must do the same. You cannot continue to eat after he has ceased." Finding nevertheless that Lord Harcourt either did not, or would not attend to her injunction, she was obliged to tread on his foot, in order to accelerate his movements. The queen by no means resembled her royal consort in this respect. No woman in the kingdom enjoyed herself more at table, or manifested a nicer taste in the article of wine. In consequence of his majesty's rarely drinking even a single glass, and of his well-known indifference about its flavour or quality, he seldom had any good wine, though he paid for it the best price. During several years, the wines served at the *equerries'* table were very indifferent. As they did not, however, think proper to make any complaint on the subject, it might so have continued without redress, if, by accident, the Prince of Wales, while on a visit at Windsor, had not chanced to dine with them. The instant that his royal highness tasted the claret, he pronounced sentence upon it. He did more :

for he informed his father of the manner in which his wine-merchant treated him. The abuse was immediately corrected.

Two other motives, besides the apprehension of corpulency, impelled his majesty to practice unremitting abstinence. The first was a secret consciousness (which, however, he as carefully concealed, as his grandmother, Queen Caroline, did her tendency to an internal rupture), that the disease which menaced him could only be repressed by severe renunciations, and that it menaced his *head*. Why else did he inflict on himself, before he attained his thirtieth year, the loss of his hair? We know that shaving the head is one of the earliest and most indispensable operations performed on persons attacked with privation of intellect. He did not, we may safely assume, submit to it without strong reasons. It is with probability conjectured, that the disorder which seized him in the autumn of 1765, the nature of which was mysteriously withheld from the public, affected the brain. In order to subdue that tendency, he thought no prescription so effectual as spare and simple diet. "*Junius*" says, in a note annexed to his letter dated "3d of April, 1770," that the king was so agitated, in consequence of the remonstrance presented to him by the city of London, in the month of March of the same year; and so irritated at his inability to punish the lord mayor and sheriffs for their presumption in approaching him with such a paper, as to have "been obliged to live upon potatoes for three weeks, to keep off a malignant fever."

The second reason for denying himself any gratifications of appetite, was his great aversion to confinement. The king was not a studious man. He neither liked books, nor sedentary occupations, nor convivial society, nor places of public diversion, if we except the theatre; nor cards, till his augmenting defect of sight compelled him sometimes to have recourse to the last-mentioned amusement. George the Third never enjoyed his existence so much as when in the open air; at times on foot; but generally on horseback; either following the hounds, which he did with great ardour; or at a review, where he was always animated; or inspecting his farms, or visiting his

various improvements and embellishments round Windsor. It was his delight to mount his horse before the equerry in waiting could possibly be aware of it; often in severe or unpleasant weather, which rarely deterred him; always at an early hour. One of his equeries has assured me, that when thus surprised, he has been compelled to follow the king down Windsor Hill with scarcely time to pull up his stockings under his boots. No place about his majesty's court or person, so long as he retained his intellect, could indeed be less of a sinecure than the office of an equerry. The appointments were very inadequate to the fatigue and exertions of the post: a fact of which the king himself was so well aware, that he used to say he had fewer applications for the employment of equerry than for any other in his donation. Returning late from his excursion on horseback, after a very short time passed in the occupation of dress, he sat down, surrounded by his family, at table. All indulgence he deprecated and avoided, as conducting to certain indisposition.

Among the noble individuals who formed the establishment of the king's bedchamber in 1788, was the Earl of Fauconberg; sprung from an ancient and loyal family, though an ancestor of his had married one of Oliver's daughters. Being constitutionally subject to a violent scorbutic humour in his face, he frequently had recourse to the mineral waters of Cheltenham, then a small, obscure provincial town of the county of Gloucester. Its spring, though unquestionably endowed with powerful and salubrious qualities, yet during many years had fallen into neglect. Lord Fauconberg finding or conceiving that he derived great benefit from the water, purchased some land in its vicinity, where he constructed a house of moderate dimensions, which he named Bays Hill Lodge, situate on a gentle eminence, about three hundred paces from the spring. The king who usually entered into much familiar conversation with the lord of the bedchamber in waiting, before he came out to begin his levees, often made enquiries of Lord Fauconberg respecting Cheltenham. His warm encomiums on the virtues of the mineral water, as well as on the beauty

of the surrounding country, inspired his majesty with a wish to visit the place. Its privacy and simplicity formed additional recommendations. Lord Fauconberg offered Bays Hill Lodge for his reception, which, though not very capacious, might nevertheless contain the part of the royal family destined to participate in the excursion. The physicians who were consulted expressing no disapprobation, the plan was finally settled to take place as soon as the public business would permit of its execution. Unfortunately, parliament remained sitting, as we have seen, till the 11th day of July. But such was the king's impatience to begin his journey, that after proroguing the two houses in person, and pronouncing a speech from the throne at three on Friday afternoon, he returned to St. James's and drove down to Windsor. On the ensuing morning, before seven, their majesties, accompanied by the three eldest princesses, had already quitted the castle on their way to Cheltenham. They only stopped to take breakfast at Lord Harcourt's seat of Nuneham, and reached Bay's Hill Lodge on the same afternoon at an early hour.

12th—31st July.—Here his majesty found himself, for the first time since his grandfather's decease, transformed in some degree from a sovereign into a country gentleman. No minister or secretary of state attended him. During near eight-and-twenty years of a stormy and calamitous reign, marked with the greatest national disasters, though set off by some days of glory, he had scarcely seen any part of his dominions. The Nore, Cox's Heath, Portsmouth, and Oxford, formed almost the extent of his travels. At Cheltenham, he had left a hundred miles behind him the

* "Fumus et opes, strepitumque Romæ."

His mode of living might be deemed patriarchal; more suited to the first ages of the world, than to the dissipated state of society towards the close of the eighteenth century. He visited the spring at so early an hour, that few of his subjects were found there to meet him. Constantly on horseback, when the weather permitted, from eleven till three, he sat down at four to dinner; strolled

out, like a citizen, with his wife and daughters, on the public walk soon after seven; and by eleven at night, every thing was as completely hushed at Bays Hill Lodge as in a farm-house.

The king was not even accompanied on this excursion by any of his usual attendants; neither by a lord of the bed-chamber, nor by an equerry. The Earl of Courtown, an Irish nobleman, who held the office of treasurer of the household; himself a man of moderate faculties, but of polite and pleasing manners; followed his majesty to Cheltenham, by special invitation. So did the Honourable Stephen Digby, vice-chamberlain to the queen. They usually were his companions when he rode; but he delighted to emancipate himself from all restraint, to walk out alone in the fields, and to enter into conversation with the persons who accidentally fell in his way. He made likewise some excursions of pleasure and curiosity; particularly to Gloucester, where, when visiting the cathedral, he appeared to contemplate with much interest the tomb of one of his unfortunate predecessors, on which is extended his recumbent figure. I mean, Edward the Second; who, after his inhuman murder at Berkeley Castle, was conveyed for interment to Gloucester. The king, queen, and princesses drove over likewise, on a morning visit, to the classic seat of Lord Bathurst, the friend of Pope, at Oakley Grove. But on that occasion, as on every other, the king invariably declined all dinners or entertainments. Lord Fauconberg himself could not have paid more assiduous attention to the Cheltenham spring than did George the Third. He drank of it indeed so profusely, and its effects on him were so violent, that many persons, not without apparently good cause, attributed his subsequent temporary loss of reason to the irritation produced by the waters on his nervous system.

The two representatives for the town of Windsor in 1788 were the Earl of Mornington, and Mr. Powney. Royal and ministerial influence combined had recently brought in the former, on the decease of Lord Montagu, son of Earl Beaulieu; but Powney had not so easily obtained his seat. He successfully undertook at a period when the king, in

consequence of the American war, was very unpopular, to turn out Admiral Keppel, who sat in the house of commons for Windsor. Scarcely any individual could be more obnoxious to the king than was that naval officer at the time when the general election took place, in September, 1780; though within little more than eighteen months afterwards, he found himself compelled to create Keppel a viscount, and to place him at the head of the admiralty. It is well known, that previous to the dissolution of the parliament in question, George the Third indirectly *canvassed* many of the tradesmen at Windsor, in favour of Powney; and his influence must necessarily have been great in a town where he so much resided. After a sharp contest, Powney only carried the election by sixteen votes, though the freeholders amounted to nearly three hundred. So efficient a proof of loyalty, exhibited at such a juncture, could not fail to make a favourable impression; especially as Powney was again returned for the same borough, at the ensuing dissolution in 1784. The king, on all occasions, treated him with marks of familiarity and regard. His landed property, which lay in the immediate vicinity of Windsor, and was considerable, rendered him likewise an object of royal attention. Neither nature nor education had set their stamp upon him, as a fit companion for princes. His person, short and thick, was ignoble; his manners, unrefined and rustic; his countenance, destitute of elevation or expression; and his mind by no means highly cultivated. The distinction shown him by his sovereign procured him nevertheless a place in the "*Rolliad*," as the esquire of the commander-in-chief, Sir George Howard.

"Erect in person, see yon knight advance,
With trusty squire, who bears his shield and lance:
The Quixote *Howard*! royal Windsor's pride,
And Sancho Pança *Powney* by his side."

Since the decease of the Earl of Pomfret in 1785, who was ranger of Windsor Little Park, the king had not filled up that office; and it was thought that he intended to confer it on one of the princesses, his daughters. But in the last

days of July, Powney was appointed ranger, with a salary of five hundred pounds per annum. His majesty undoubtedly designed it as a mark of his predilection, and as some remuneration for Powney's expenses incurred by bringing himself into parliament. The king did not however mean that Powney should consider the post as efficient, or that he should exercise any control over the park; having previously taken it into his own hands as a farm, for the purpose of agricultural experiments and occupation. Some time subsequent to the appointment, his majesty, accompanied by Colonel Manners, his equerry, on horseback, returning to Windsor, met Powney, whom he accosted, and they rode together till they arrived at the entrance into the Little Park. Manners holding open the gate, the king entered first; and Powney was about to follow, when the colonel let the gate fall, by which unexpected circumstance, the ranger found himself excluded from the very park placed under his supervision. The king and his equerry passing on, he remained for a minute in silent mortification. Then turning his horse's head, he retraced his steps homeward. Meeting Lord Sandwich, who was master of the buck hounds, Powney communicated the case to him; intimating at the same time, that he should probably ask some explanation from Colonel Manners, for thus shutting the gate in his face. "Powney," replied the earl, "I would advise you to desist from any such intention; first, because Manners, who has killed one or two highwaymen that attempted to rob him, is not a man likely to give you any satisfactory explanation of the matter; but still more, because he probably either had the king's private directions for his conduct, or guessed his pleasure. Let the affair rest." The ranger followed Lord Sandwich's advice, who himself related to me the story.

August. — The political power possessed and exercised by Pitt at this time, placed him in a far higher point of security than any minister of the crown had enjoyed, not only since the accession of the Brunswick line, but since the revolution. In fact, if we except the chancellor in the cabinet, and Dundas, out of the cabinet, Pitt composed himself

the administration. His application to business, his renunciation of pleasure, together with his facility, rapidity, and activity in the conduct of affairs, enabled him to superintend every department. The formation of a sinking fund in 1786, followed in 1787 by the emancipation of Holland from the French influence, rendered him not merely popular, — he was idolized by the nation. At St. James's he could dictate even when he did not persuade or convince. The king feared and respected him. George the Second entertained similar sentiments towards his father. George the Third lamented and disapproved the impeachment of Hastings, to which Pitt had mainly contributed. Even on the recent measure of the "Slave Regulation Bill," his majesty would probably have taken part with his chancellor against the first lord of the treasury, if he could have followed the impulse of his own inclination or judgment. But, on the other hand, the king justly appreciated Pitt's transcendent parliamentary abilities, as well as services during the long and doubtful struggle with "the coalition." Conscious that whoever presided in the councils of the crown, he must yield to his minister upon many points; so long as Pitt did not interfere with matters of conscience, George the Third felt the warmest disposition to give him unequivocal support.

In the cabinet he exercised almost uncontrolled authority. Bastard, by his repeated attacks on Lord Howe in the house of commons, which ultimately produced that nobleman's resignation, had in fact played into Pitt's hands, who filled up the vacant office by placing in it his own brother. Already the minister meditated to change in like manner the two secretaries of state, and to substitute in their places his most devoted personal adherents. We must indeed candidly admit, that though in December, 1783, when the country was in a state of convulsion, two individuals more proper for those high employments could not probably have been found on the moment, than the Marquis of Carmarthen and Lord Sydney; yet in August, 1788, functionaries much more capable might replace them. In the upper house they were almost null. Lord Sydney had

even ventured to speak, though not to vote, in opposition to the "Slave Regulation Bill." The marquis, his colleague, who presided over the foreign department, rather belonged to the *Shelburne* school, than to that of *Pitt*. He was besides, though not a man of superior talents, yet endowed with a very independent mind : more so than a minister of *Pitt's* character might like for one of his associates in power. It was, however, necessary to wait for favourable occasions of displacing the two secretaries. Within ten months from the time of which I speak, Lord Sydney was pushed out of the cabinet ; not, indeed, as the Archbishop of Grenada had dismissed *Gil Blas*, by the shoulders ; but gently ; — a bed of repose being previously prepared for him by the chancellor of the exchequer. I mean the chief justiceship in eyre, south of Trent. Mr. William Grenville was immediately made secretary for the home department. Lord Carmarthen survived his colleague nearly two years. In June, 1791 (before which period he had become Duke of Leeds), he formed the instrument of impelling the court of Berlin to adopt hostile demonstrations against Catherine the Second, during the negotiations relative to *Ockzakow*. But when it was found necessary to abandon this line of foreign policy, rather than submit to the humiliation, he threw up his employment. *Pitt* instantly transferred Lord Grenville (who had intermediately been created a peer) to the foreign office ; while Dundas succeeded to the vacant secretaryship of state.

Among all the members of administration, the Duke of Richmond manifested the most implicit deference to *Pitt's* wishes on every point, and seemed to be united with him by the strongest ties. Throughout the whole progress of Sir William Dolben's bill in the house of peers, the duke, like *Abdiel*, "faithful only he," while his colleagues either stood aloof or opposed the measure, defended it with his best exertions. The minister had indeed paid dearly for his grace's friendship, by adopting his plans of fortification : plans not only very expensive, but adverse to the genius of the nation, if not contrary to the spirit of the British constitution.

Like "the Westminster scrutiny," and "the Irish propositions," the attempt had only produced defeat, accompanied with some portion of condemnation. Lord Camden, whom *Pitt* had created an earl, and made president of the council, was, it is true, sincerely attached to the chancellor of the exchequer. But that great lawyer had already passed the ordinary limits assigned to human life ; and if the brightness of his faculties had suffered no diminution, yet his energies, intellectual as well as corporeal, began to feel the pressure of time. The Marquis of Stafford, who held the privy seal, might be considered as the least efficient of the cabinet ministers ; and he had been throughout a considerable part of his life closely united with Lord Thurlow by habits of convivial and social intimacy.

The chancellor remained, during the recess that followed the prorogation, in a state of sullen alienation. Pepper Arden's recent appointment to the place of master of the rolls, an employment so closely and personally connected with the court of chancery, furnished fresh aliment to his irritated mind. He held Arden in personal aversion, without respecting his legal talents or acquirements. Nor did he fail to oppose every official impediment and delay that animosity could suggest, to prevent its accomplishment. But, after a long and ineffectual struggle, *Pitt's* pertinacity prevailed. Thurlow could not however be removed from the councils of the sovereign, like the two secretaries of state. His talents and eloquence were indispensable in the upper house, where he formed the only adequate opponent to Lord Loughborough. *That* necessity, and that alone, prolonged his tenure of the great seal for nearly four years longer ; till, in June 1792, *Pitt*, wearied out with incessant and acrimonious altercations which took place between them, having sent Lord Grenville to fight the ministerial battles in that assembly, and having got complete possession of the cabinet, ventured to dismiss Lord Thurlow. The great seal was then put into commission for a few months, till Wedderburn could be prevailed on to accept it.

The state of depression into which

the opposition was fallen as a party, in the summer of 1788, formed a striking contrast with the apparent stability of Pitt's ministerial power. Yet the lapse of a few weeks demonstrated how slippery are the foundations of ambition, and had nearly precipitated the minister from his elevation. Burke, at this period, occupied as he was with the prosecution of Hastings, embarrassed in his private circumstances, sinking in years, and almost hopeless of any amelioration of affairs, had become acrimonious in his temper, and irritable in his manners. Sheridan, on the contrary, accustomed from early youth to subsist by ingenuity, placed at the head of one of the theatres, fertile in plans for procuring money, and not fastidious in the means that he employed to raise it; convivial in his disposition, universally sought after for the charms of his society, and always extinguishing his cares in wine; seemed, like Teucer, to exclaim, when looking round on his companions in political misfortune,

"O fortes, pejoraque passi
Mecum sæpe viri, nunc vino pellite curas!"

His father, Thomas Sheridan, a man of eminent talents, but whose whole life had been a struggle for bread, finished his protracted career just at this time. Immersed as he was in pecuniary difficulties, he must yet have derived no ordinary pride and gratification at having given birth to a son whose resplendent talents, collectively considered, almost threw into the shade those of every other competitor for fame.

Fox, after contending through five successive sessions against an individual whom his own imprudence had raised to power, and whom every revolving year confirmed in authority; resolved to quit for a time the scene of his own defeat, and of his rival's triumph. He had only taken a hasty view of Italy, when young; a country to which all his recollections, all his partialities, all his studies, continually re-conducted him. He determined to visit once more the soil which had produced a Dante, an Ariosto, a Guicciardini, and so many illustrious historians, philosophers, or poets. Already, accompanied by Mrs. Armstead, whom

he married about five years afterwards, he prepared to set out on his journey; projecting, as he did, to pass the ensuing winter south of the Apennines. His health likewise, which was much broken, prompted him to try the air of a softer climate. Before he left London, he had the gratification of witnessing no ordinary victory over administration, in the return to parliament of his intimate friend, Lord John Townsend, as member for Westminster. Pitt, when he gave his brother a *Mentor* in the person of Lord Hood, no doubt had anticipated the re-election of that gallant veteran. But he found himself greatly deceived in his expectations. After a violent contest, Lord John obtained his seat. The success was celebrated by every proof of party exultation, and the metropolis again exhibited scenes of riot nearly similar to those that disgraced Westminster in 1784. Unfortunately, too, the majority exceeding eight hundred, left no rational hope of restoring Lord Hood by a *scrutiny*. The very name had indeed left behind it recollections which could not be pleasing to the minister.— Under these circumstances, it became necessary to wait for the dissolution of parliament before any new attempt should be made to replace Lord Hood in the house of commons, as representative for the city of Westminster.

His majesty, after passing above a month at Cheltenham, during which time he indulged in a more copious use of the mineral waters than prudence would have dictated, returned with the royal family to Windsor. Previous to his departure, he had visited Gloucester in July, so he made an excursion, in August, to Worcester. Besides the natural desire to see a place which might rank among the greatest and most opulent cities of his dominions, he was desirous of testifying his regard for the venerable prelate who then occupied the episcopal see:—a prelate whom he would willingly have raised, some years earlier, to the metropolitan dignity of Canterbury. The king, with the queen and princesses, passed a night at the bishop's palace. On the following day he held a sort of levee there; previous to which ceremony, at an early hour, the weather being very fine, he went on foot,

alone, to the bridge which extends across the Severn. The mayor, corporation, with many of the nobility and gentry of the surrounding country, afterwards accompanied him to the Guildhall. It is unquestionable that he displayed on the occasion an extraordinary elevation of spirits, attended with some striking peculiarities of deportment. Wine being brought, he drank one or two glasses before dinner, and appeared deeply sensible to the testimonies exhibited of loyal affection. As he became totally alienated in mind within twelve weeks afterwards, there were not wanting persons who imagined that the first symptoms of effervescence produced by the Cheltenham waters on his nervous system might be traced at Worcester. Soon after his return to Windsor, the king celebrated with great splendour the Prince of Wales's birthday. Among the sons and daughters of the crown who assisted at that ceremony, was Prince William Henry, third in order of birth. Having been destined by his father for the naval service, he had proceeded, when very young, to America and the West Indies, as a midshipman, under the superintendence of Admiral Digby. There he soon gave proof, not only of personal courage, but of ardour and capacity. No prince of England since James, Duke of York (afterwards James the Second), had been brought up to sea.

Having completed about this time his twenty-third year, he expressed much impatience to be created a peer, as his elder brother, Frederic, had been on attaining to the age of majority. Independent however of the Duke of York's greater proximity to the throne, his majesty always felt a degree of predilection for his second son. He likewise knew or believed that the Prince of Wales possessed and exercised a great ascendant over the mind of William Henry. These motives, together with a reluctance to augment the pecuniary pressure of the royal family on the nation, induced the king to reject the importunate solicitations made to him on the subject. Mortified at the denial, and naturally anxious to perform some public part upon the great political theatre of the world, the prince determined, if he could not take his seat among the peers,

at least to reach the lower house. With that view, in the anticipation of an approaching dissolution of parliament, he took measures for procuring his return, as one of the members for Totness, in the county of Devon. Probably, such an election, if it ever had taken place, would have been pronounced invalid and null by the house of commons. But the experiment was not made. About nine months after the time of which I speak, in May, 1789, George the Third created him Duke of Clarence; observing, as I have been assured, at the moment when he signed the patent, "I well know that it is another vote added to Opposition." I may here remark that though the title of York has, ever since the accession of the house of Tudor, been uniformly conferred on the *second* son of the sovereign, yet it was otherwise under the Plantagenets. Edward the Third made his *second* son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence; while his *fourth* son, Edmund, received the dukedom of York,—not, indeed, from the king, his father, but from Richard the Second. Henry the Fourth gave in like manner, to Thomas, his *second* son, the dukedom of Clarence. Since the weak, imprudent, unfortunate George, Duke of Clarence, next brother to Edward the Fourth, whom we assume to have been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, in 1478, no prince of the blood had been invested with the title. Charles the First, who had three sons, created the third, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, not of Clarence. A circumstance still more singular is, that no such place or county as Clarence exists within the realm of England. I believe, antiquaries agree in asserting that it is from the town of Clare in Suffolk, or from the territory adjoining, the dukedom derives its origin.

September.—I set out for Paris early in September, and did not return to England before the ensuing month. Previous to my leaving London, died the Duke of Manchester, after a short but severe indisposition. The Opposition lost in him a steady adherent. His person and manners were most dignified; but neither his abilities nor his fortune corresponded with his figure. On the first day of Hastings's trial, which took place, as we have seen, towards the mid-

dle of February, the Duke attended in Westminster Hall. Before he quitted that edifice, he experienced a sensation of a paralytic nature in one of his arms, which he attributed, probably with reason, to the damp, noxious vapour that pervaded the whole building. Having in the course of the summer visited Brighthelmstone for the benefit of his health, he committed the imprudence of seating himself on the turf, the weather being fine, in order to enjoy the spectacle of a cricket-match, played on the *Steyne*. A violent fever which ensued, carried him off within two or three days.

The short administration of the Archbishop of Sens, from whose supposed talents great expectations were originally entertained, but who only aggravated the national calamities, was already terminated before I reached the French capital, and Necker had resumed his place in the councils of the crown. The effervescence which pervaded the public mind, the deficiency in the revenue, and the contending parties in the cabinet,—all portended some impending convulsion. A free constitution was demanded from every quarter of France. So universal and so violent was this reclamation, that neither Henry the Fourth, nor Louis the Fourteenth could have successfully opposed the will of the nation. But a free constitution might have been conceded to the people, without producing disorganization or revolution. So well cemented was the French monarchy, and so deeply rooted in long prescription was the Capetian dynasty by a lapse of nearly eight hundred years, that no sovereign of ordinary vigour could have been dethroned. Louis the Fifteenth, indolent, dissolute, and feeble as he was, would not have tamely resigned his throat to the knife. He would have resisted at some point of the contest. But his grandson, with the most benign intentions, allowed insurrection to organize itself, and to proceed, unopposed, through every gradation of enormous crime, till he fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

One of the last exhibitions of royal magnificence which the French court displayed previous to its fall, took place a short time before my arrival at Paris. I mean the ceremony attending the presentation of Tippoo Sultan's ambassadors

to Louis the Sixteenth. Versailles became the scene of this splendid spectacle; as it had been seventy-four years earlier, of the reception given by Louis the Fourteenth, a short time preceding his decease, to the ambassadors of Siam. Tippoo, one of the most enterprising, active, and warlike princes who has arisen in the East during the course of the eighteenth century; though, as we must admit, one of the most imprudent; the *Mithridates* of our time; impelled by his extinguishable enmity to the English name and nation, meditated (like the King of Pontus in antiquity) to renew the struggle against his powerful opponents. This object, which was never absent from his mind, induced him to send an embassy to France, charged with presents of the most costly nature. Nor can it be doubted, that if the calamities which soon afterwards swallowed up the French monarchy had not intervened, we should have witnessed a new contest in the centre of Hindostan, where the armies of Louis the Sixteenth, and those of the Sultan of Mysore, would have acted in concert. The queen, who had not then completed her thirty-third year, decorated on the occasion with the finest diamonds of the crown; herself the most majestic and graceful princess in Europe; was present at the reception of the Asiatic ambassadors. So were the Count de Provence, now Louis the Eighteenth; and his brother, Count d'Artois, with their consorts; accompanied by the heroic Elizabeth of France, sister to the king, who perished, five years later, on the scaffold. Philip, Duke of Orleans, labouring at that time under his sovereign's displeasure, and already engaged in those criminal machinations which burst out within twelve months, absented himself. Tippoo's ambassadors continued at Paris during some weeks, and were treated with distinguished honours; but their master derived little or no benefit from a mission so expensive, which, under more propitious circumstances, might have subsequently changed the face of affairs in Asia.

1st — 15th October. — While the French capital presented every symptom of approaching commotion, London exhibited at the beginning of October a political calm. His majesty, who appeared

to enjoy perfect health, came up weekly from Windsor, and held his levees at St. James's with his accustomed regularity. If in the interior of his family he ever betrayed any indications of an eccentric or a disordered mind, these ebullitions were so carefully concealed as not to become known beyond the limits of his residence. Such was the tranquil aspect of this country, while the far greater part of the Continent had already become a scene of war and devastation. In the Netherlands, scarcely were the Flemings prevented from rising in open insurrection against Joseph the Second; while that restless and injudicious prince, insensible to the dictates of prudence, pursued his ambitious but ruinous projects of aggrandizement on the Lower Danube. Surrendering his councils to the direction of Potemkin, and of Catherine the Second; intent only on conquests in Servia and Bosnia, anxious to acquire the fortress of Belgrade; directing his armies in person, like Frederic the Second, but wholly destitute of Frederic's military talents, — Joseph had nearly subverted the Austrian monarchy.

At a time when France was menaced with revolution, when the Low Countries hardly acknowledged his supremacy, and Hungary might, from day to day, throw off all subjection; he persisted in prosecuting hostilities against the Turks. Never were the Austrian arms subjected to more humiliating, as well as sanguinary defeats, while contending against the Ottomans, than throughout the campaign of 1798! If the Turkish throne had been then filled by an active, warlike, and enterprising sultan; by a Mahomet the Second, a Selim the First, or a Solyman the Second; all Hungary and Transylvania must probably have passed again under the Mahometan yoke. Joseph, broken in health, irritated in his temper, and sunk in reputation, at length quitted the camp, and retired to Vienna. As it was said of his ancestor the Emperor Charles the Fifth, when he regained the Spanish shore after his ill-timed and unfortunate expedition against Algiers in 1541, "*qu'il étoit allé enterrer son honneur en Espagne, morte en Afrique;*" so might it with equal truth have been applied to Joseph, that he was gone to bury his honour in Austria,

which had expired in Hungary. Happily his reign drew towards its termination.

If that prince became the victim of his Muscovite connexion, his ally, Catherine, succeeded far better in her enterprises along the shore of the Euxine. Potemkin, by a desperate act of fortunate valour, made himself master of Ockzakow. But previous to its capture, a most formidable opponent had appeared at the other extremity of Europe, who threatened to set limits to the empress's thirst of dominion. Gustavus the Third, to whom I allude, must be ranked, notwithstanding his vices, among the greatest princes who have reigned in Sweden. He possessed courage and talents, military as well as civil, which, if they had been seconded by his subjects and his soldiery, might have retrieved, at least in part, the calamities inflicted on the Swedes by Charles the Twelfth's insatiate ambition. After emancipating the royal authority from the state of degradation to which it had been reduced under his two immediate predecessors, Gustavus undertook to carry war to the city of Peterburgh itself. Nor would the attempt, however hazardous, have failed, if the empress had not corrupted both his senate and his army, while she induced the Danes to invade Sweden on the side of Gottenburgh. The efforts made by Gustavus under these circumstances excite just admiration. His uncle, "the great Frederic," scarcely exerted energies more conspicuous during the memorable campaign of 1757. The insubordination of Gustavus's forces in Finland, who, when within so short a distance of the Russian capital as to allow the noise of his cannon to be there heard, nevertheless refused to advance, or to draw their swords in his cause, compelled him to return to Stockholm. There, new dangers and difficulties awaited him. The senate, profiting of his absence, had assumed all the functions of government. Count Razamowsky, Catherine's ambassador, dictated his mistress's pleasure to that factious, venal, and unprincipled assembly; but Gustavus, by an eloquent appeal to the burghers, dissipated their machinations.

The Danish auxiliaries of Catherine had meanwhile advanced almost unopposed to the gates of Gottenburgh. Gus-

tavus, imitating the founder of the house of Vasa, descended, like him, into the mines of Dalecarlia, in order to rouse the rude inhabitants of those subterranean abodes to the defence of their country. Nor were his exertions unsuccessful in awakening their loyalty. They formed a body of three thousand men for his protection. Gustavus's efforts must nevertheless still have proved unavailing to rescue himself and Sweden from foreign enemies, unless he could preserve Gottenburgh. In order to effect it, he was compelled to traverse the central provinces of his kingdom (precisely as Charles the Twelfth did those of Germany in 1714, on his return from Demotica to Stralsund), unaccompanied, travelling by night as well as by day, mounted on a common post-horse, liable at any moment to be intercepted by the Danish parties scattered over the open country. Already the governor of Gottenburgh prepared to capitulate, when the king, having eluded all the dangers that menaced him, entered the place.

His unexpected presence, and avowed determination to perish rather than surrender, operated with electric effect on the inhabitants. Yet such was their defenceless state, that if no foreign power speedily interposed, Gottenburgh could not have resisted beyond a few days. Unquestionably, under ordinary circumstances, and in other times, France would have come forward as the ally of Gustavus. During successive centuries, the closest political ties had subsisted between the courts of Versailles and of Stockholm. But Louis's domestic embarrassments, which in 1787 had compelled him to remain a passive spectator of the British and Prussian operations in Holland, incapacitated him in 1788 from extending assistance to the Swedish prince. France herself already approached the abyss of revolution. Such was the desperate condition of Gustavus at the commencement of October. Imprisonment, or flight, followed in either case probably by deposition, seemed to constitute his only alternatives.

In this moment of crisis, Hugh Elliot, the British envoy to the Danish court, well apprised of the inclinations of his own cabinet, and sustained by the Prussian minister in Denmark, did not hesi-

tate to pass *the Sound*, and to join Gustavus at Gottenburgh. Since the decease of Sir Thomas Wroughton in the preceding autumn, the English ministers had neglected to send any diplomatic representative to Stockholm. Fortunately, Elliot possessed all the energy, decision, and spirit, demanded for the King of Sweden's preservation. "I found Gustavus," said Elliot to me, when relating the fact, "in circumstances so distressing, that notwithstanding his determination to resist as long as possible, he nevertheless regarded himself as nearly dethroned. He even held a small vessel ready in the harbour of Gottenburgh, on which he intended to embark at the last extremity; and his resolution was taken to retire to Italy. I said to him, 'Sire, prêtez-moi votre couronne, et je vous la rendrai au bout de vingt-quatre heures.'" Gustavus did not hesitate in entrusting the interests of Sweden, as well as his own, to Elliot's zeal and ability; who instantly opened a negotiation with Prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, commander of the Danish forces. The prince royal (now Frederic the Sixth), then nearly twenty-one years of age, served under him as a volunteer. Prince Charles of Hesse stood in a very close degree of connexion with the Swedish sovereign, they having both married daughters of Frederick the Fifth, sisters of Christian the Seventh, successive kings of Denmark. But he was not the less ardently engaged in the interests of Catherine, nor less decidedly hostile to Gustavus. It required all the efforts of the British minister, acting in conjunction with the envoy of Prussia, to effect his extrication, and to snatch Gottenburgh from the Danes. A dextrous mixture of expostulation with menace at length accomplished the two objects, and replaced Gustavus on the Swedish throne. Within little more than three years afterwards, he perished, like Henry the Fourth of France, in the midst of his own capital, at a masquerade, by the hand of an assassin.

While I am recounting these facts, in the first days of February, 1820, George the Third has descended to the grave. Never, I believe, did any prince—not even Elizabeth—leave behind him a memory more cherished by his subjects!

Confined as he was to his apartments at Windsor, unseen except by his medical attendants, having long ceased to live in a moral and in a political sense; deprived of sight, as well as of intellect; and oppressed under the weight of old age; yet his people have clung to his memory with a sort of superstitious reverence; as if, while he still continued an inhabitant of the earth, his existence suspended or averted national calamities. This affectionate respect he owed far more to his moral qualities, than to his abilities or mental endowments; and his long reign, if considered only as a period of time, abstracted from the consideration of the sovereign, presents a melancholy picture of enormous public debt, immense territorial loss, and most ruinous hostilities. Between 1760 and 1812, when he ceased to reign, a period of fifty-two years, we enjoyed scarcely twenty-four of peace. The decrease of every other sovereign recorded in history, labouring under incurable mental derangement, has always been considered as a consummation equally happy for the individual and for the community. George the Third is the *seventh* prince whom Europe has beheld during the last four centuries, seated on a throne, and alienated in mind. Of the seven, *two* have been females, and *three* have reigned in our own days. Germany, France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and England, have each, in turn, exhibited this painful spectacle.

The *first* in order of time, Wenceslaus of Luxembourg, Emperor of Germany and King of Bohemia, ascended the throne in 1378, before he had well attained to manhood; and, like Nero, at first gave hopes of many virtues. But they soon became obscured under the most scandalous and vicious excesses. In *him*, insanity was produced by the combination of an understanding naturally feeble, with furious passions and ungovernable appetites, whose indulgence rendered him frantic. Deposed from the imperial throne, repeatedly imprisoned, and degraded to the lowest point of wretchedness, he was nevertheless permitted to retain the title of king, and died in 1419, at Prague.

The *second* instance of royal insanity was presented nearly about the same

period, in the person of Charles the Sixth of France; a prince on whom, with more reason than on Louis the Fifteenth, his subjects bestowed the epithet of "le Bien-aimé." Endowed by nature with faculties adequate to the weight of government, a constitutional tendency to mental alienation, which appears to have been inflamed by a *coup de soleil*, terminated ultimately in madness. Under so severe an affliction he laboured during thirty years: not, indeed, constantly deprived of reason: for, like George the Third, he enjoyed intervals of sound understanding; relapsing nevertheless from time to time into total incapacity. Charles terminated his life and reign three years after Wenceslaus, amidst scenes of national distress, and of personal destitution, the most deplorable.

Jane, surnamed "la Folle," or the Mad, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, sister to Catherine of Arragon, Henry the Eighth's wife; herself the greatest princess in Europe, Queen in her own right of Spain and of the Indies, who forms the *third* example; remained in a state of incurable lunacy during near fifty years. In *her*, it resulted from original weakness of intellect, aggravated by the untimely death of her husband Philip "le Bel;" on whom, notwithstanding his indifference towards her, she doated with undiminished fondness. Immured in the castle of Tordesillas on the Dour, by her son the Emperor Charles the Fifth, from the age of twenty-four to seventy-three; neglected, forgotten, sleeping on straw, which she sometimes wanted, though her apartments were hung with tapestry;—she expired in 1555: an awful monument of human misery, combined with the highest earthly dignities.

Sweden offers the *fourth* instance of a crowned head bereft of reason, in the person of Eric the Fourteenth, eldest son and successor of the great Gustavus Vasa. He probably inherited at his birth the intellectual malady which precipitated him from the throne; his mother having been confined on a similar account. Eric, who was deposed in 1568, after a reign of eight years; whose remaining life was passed in captivity, transferred from one prison to another; and over the precise nature of whose death a veil is drawn,—like those of

Richard the Second, of Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth, in our own annals; — Eric, ferocious, sanguinary, and cruel, as he ultimately became, seems, when not under the dominion of frenzy, to have been mild, tractable, and humane.

We now arrive at the present times. Here Christian the Seventh, King of Denmark, furnishes the *fifth* exhibition of disordered reason among the sovereigns of Europe. It was neither constitutional nor hereditary in him. Excesses, followed by diseases, and the imprudent use of remedies, wholly deprived him of understanding before he had well accomplished his twenty-third year. From 1772 down to 1808, when he ceased to exist, Christian remained the victim of debilities, mental and corporeal, the most humiliating and incurable in their nature. If I do not relate the particulars of his condition, it is not because I am unacquainted with them, but from motives of delicacy and concern.

Widely different were the causes which deprived of intellect Maria, Queen of Portugal; a princess endowed with many virtues, animated by the best intentions towards her people, and by no means destitute of qualities or talents worthy a throne. Superstition, combining with a melancholy temperament, overturned her mind. She forms the *sixth* in this list. Dr. Willis, who was principally instrumental in restoring George the Third to health, and who soon afterwards visited Portugal, in the expectation that he might effect a similar recovery in the queen, found her beyond his art. Sir Sydney Smith nevertheless assured me, that soon after she embarked on board his ship in the Tagus, towards the close of 1807, when she was seventy-three years old, she perfectly recovered her reason during about twenty-four hours; at the end of which time she relapsed into her former disordered state. It is an extraordinary fact, that the two last mentioned sovereigns should both have been driven out of their respective capitals about the same time; one, by the English; the other, by the French. Christian was conveyed into Holstein, previous to the siege of Copenhagen. Maria, expelled from Lisbon, crossed the equinoctial line, and found an asylum in the southern hemisphere.

George the Third, who closes this procession of kings and queens "beheld in dim eclipse," is justly embalmed in the affection of his subjects. Yet his reign may with truth be divided into two portions; the first comprising about twenty-two years, from 1760 down to 1782, during which he enjoyed little or no popularity; the last, of seven-and-thirty years, throughout the whole of which period, though the greater part of it was passed in war, his virtues have obtained for him a higher place in our esteem than any prince has occupied since the Norman Conquest, Elizabeth, and William the Third, were sovereigns of much greater talents; so were Henry the second and Edward the Third; but beneath him, considered in a moral point of view.

I resume the subject of Gustavus the Third. He unquestionably bore a strong resemblance in the formation and features of his character to his maternal uncle, "the great Frederic;" too close a similarity, indeed, on various points. Conversing with Elliot, in March, 1791, I asked him his sentiments respecting Gustavus, and his two brothers, the Dukes of Sudermania and of East Gothland. "The king," replied he, "possesses great talents, capacity, and resolution; but his moral principles are most relaxed, and he indulges in scandalous irregularities of conduct. He is besides a comedian, capable of practising every species of artifice or delusion in order to serve his purposes. When his mother, the queen dowager, a princess of very strong mind, lay expiring at Stockholm, in July, 1782, he waited on her, embraced her, wept over her, and affected the most acute distress. She was not, however, the dupe of his pretended sorrow. No sooner had he quitted her bedside, than the dying queen called for pen and ink. She then wrote these, or nearly these words, addressed to her brother, Prince Henry of Prussia; — '*Les marques d'attendrissement et de douleur que le roi vient de marquer pour ma mort prochaine, ne sont que des grimaces. Il me croit à l'agonie. J'écris ces lignes d'une main mourante, et je les signe de ma main. Louise-Ulrique.*' — Prince Henry retains the note in his possession at this time. The Duke of Sudermania,

next brother of Gustavus, has displayed eminent courage, energy, and activity, during the late sanguinary war with Russia, when he commanded the Swedish fleet at the memorable naval action in the Gulph of Finland. I cannot speak in the same terms of Frederic, youngest of the three brothers, Duke of East Gothland. He possesses no capacity; and during the perilous crisis in 1788, remained wholly inactive, with his mistress, at Stockholm." One of Napoleon's lieutenants now occupies the Swedish throne, to which he has united Norway: while the weak and unfortunate Gustavus the Fourth wanders in exile over Europe.

Elliot himself well merits a place in these memoirs, as one of the most eccentric, high-spirited, and distinguished members of the corps diplomatique, during thirty years of my time. His father, Sir Gilbert, placed him in the army at a very early period of life; but as profound peace then prevailed, he quitted the service, and, impelled by a martial disposition, made a campaign in 1773, under Romanzow, against the Turks. On his return, Sir Gilbert's interest procured him the appointment of envoy at Munich; and he was soon afterwards removed in the same capacity to Berlin. There I found him in the autumn of the year 1777. While I was in that capital, the American insurgents, who were then engaged in endeavours to procure the co-operation, not only of France, but of other European powers, sent an agent, named Sayre, to the court of Prussia. Elliot having received information that this man was in possession of the treaty recently signed between America and the ministers of Louis the Sixteenth, determined to obtain it at all hazards. Availing himself of Sayre's absence, who had gone by permission for one night to Potsdam, he caused the bureau to be broken open in which the treaty was deposited. It was instantly copied and transmitted by him to Lord North. The servant who had performed the act (which we must own, was not to be justified by the ordinary rules of diplomatic usage), Elliot immediately mounted on a fine English hunter, and in less than eight hours he reached the territory of Mecklenburg Strölin. I have been as-

sured that Lord North received the first authentic proof of the alliance contracted between France and America, not from Lord Stormont then our ambassador at Paris, but through the copy thus obtained from Sayre's bureau.

That agent, on his return from Potsdam, discovering the violence which had been used, and its object, made loud complaints to the ministers Hertzberg and Finckenstein, who presided in the cabinet of Frederic the Second. He subsequently laid the matter before the king himself, demanding reparation for such an infraction of the laws, as well as for the insult offered to himself in his public character. Frederic, who during "the war of seven years," and even antecedent to its commencement, had considered every mode of obtaining intelligence as justifiable; and who had practised arts, or committed acts, particularly in Saxony, the most contrary to every principle of honour or morals, for his own protection and defence; affected nevertheless great indignation at the conduct of Elliot. He beheld England engaged in a ruinous contest with her colonies, on the point of being attacked by France, disunited at home, and her councils destitute of vigour; or, at least, of success. Under these circumstances he manifested much displeasure, and was with difficulty restrained from ordering our envoy to quit the Prussian territories, or reducing him to the necessity of demanding his own recall. Not long afterwards, early in 1778, a French officer, who was then at Berlin, being in company with Elliot, subsequent to the departure of D'Estaing's squadron from Toulon for North America, put various questions to him respecting its supposed destination. The British minister endeavoured by his answers to liberate himself from such importunity; but the other persisting, at length observed to him, "Voilà au moins un fier soufflet que la France vient de donner à l'Angleterre." This insult exceeded Elliot's patience to support. "Et le voilà," replied he, "ce même soufflet que l'Angleterre rend à la France de ma main;" at the same moment applying to the Frenchman's ear a blow as severe as he could inflict. The fact happened as I relate it, but I have forgotten how the affair terminated.

Elliot nourished all the Antigallican antipathies of a thorough home-bred Englishman, though his whole life had been passed on the Continent among foreigners. Being at the "Comédie Française," at Paris, during the representation of "La Bataille d'Ivry," a dramatic piece in which Henry the Fourth, after gaining the victory, with a view to stop the effusion of blood, exclaims, "Épargnez mes sujets! sauvez les Français!" Elliot, who was seated in the "amphithéâtre," rose, and elevating his voice, cried out, "Ne vous mettez pas en peine! ils se sauveront bien eux-mêmes!" His character fitted him more for the camp than for the cabinet. He married, while at Berlin, a Prussian lady of distinguished family; but it proved a very unhappy connexion, terminating in a duel and a divorce. After passing more than twenty years among the Northern courts, Pitt sent him as envoy to Naples, towards the close of the last century. In 1808, when Bonaparte's power might be said to overshadow the whole Continent, and when the English corps diplomatique was almost expelled from every foreign capital by his overwhelming interference, Elliot accepted the post of governor of the Leeward Islands: less however from choice, than from necessity. "If I had," said he to a friend, "not otium cum dignitate, but, otium with a potatoe, I would not cross the Atlantic." Fortune held however in reserve for him a much longer voyage. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, who had married Elliot's niece, one of Lord Auckland's daughters, and who was then president of the East India Board, conferred on him the government of Madras. Returning from Antigua in 1814, he embarked for Fort St. George; and is now about to revisit his native country, after a career of near fifty years passed in public employments, throughout almost every part of the globe.

15th — 31st October. — Towards the middle of October, while the king resided at Windsor, his health first underwent a change, the earliest proof of which was his postponement of the accustomed weekly levee; but no suspicion existed in the public mind of the nature or seat of his malady. On Friday the 24th of the month, he however again repaired to

St. James's, and held a levee. That he laboured nevertheless at the time under a degree of mental alienation, became afterwards well ascertained. It would indeed seem as if he was not unconscious of his impending, or actual insanity. Two days earlier, on the 22d of October, one of his physicians, Sir George Baker, first entertained a suspicion that he was not sane; and various singularities in his deportment were remarked by persons who attended that levee. His dress exhibited still stronger proofs of absence, or oblivion. The chancellor, who was present, having perceived the circumstance to which I allude, requested permission to say a few words to his majesty in the closet. He then informed the king of the fact, who instantly availed himself of the communication. It may be confidently assumed, that he was not of sound mind on that day: but he did not the less give away one, if not two regiments, before he returned to Windsor. General Gordon, a son of the Earl Aberdeen, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, kissed hands for the seventh regiment of foot. I left London in the last week of October, on my way to Bath, stopping two days with Lord Walsingham at Old Windsor. Vague reports of the king's supposed indisposition pervaded the neighbourhood; and a review, at which he had intended to be present, was in consequence deferred. These rumours, however, excited no alarm. Individuals of the highest condition, residing within a very short distance of Windsor Castle, who were accustomed frequently to see his majesty, to hunt with him, and to be invited to the queen's evening parties, entertained not the most remote apprehension of the seat of the disease. — Yet it subsequently appeared that from the 27th of October he never had possessed his reason; though the disorder did not assume the form of decided insanity before the commencement of November.

1st — 20th November. — But the subsequent week divulged the fact. On or about the 4th of November, this malady became so serious that its nature could no longer be mistaken. One of the first paroxysms of his disordered intellect took place after dinner, at the Queen's Lodge; where not only her majesty

and the princesses were present, but likewise the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. On the 6th of the month, when all the royal physicians were summoned to attend, as well as the ministers and officers of state, the king's condition was explained to them. The gates of the lodge being shut on the same night, and no answers returned to persons, even of the first rank, who called to make enquiries, it was generally supposed that his majesty had either breathed his last, or lay expiring. Next morning the truth became universally understood; and as the duration of so awful an attack, which suspended all the functions of the executive government, formed an object of the greatest national anxiety, measures were adopted for satisfying the public curiosity. A lord and a groom of the bed-chamber remained in regular waiting at St. James's Palace every day for the purpose. But the greatest object of embarrassment related to the proceedings of parliament; both houses standing prorogued to the 20th of the month, and no power existing in the state which could postpone the meeting beyond that day. Ministers, anxious to procure a numerous attendance, issued circular letters to their friends, stating the necessity of being present on the occasion. So did the heads of opposition. Men of all parties hurried up to the metropolis, in order to witness so new and so interesting a situation of affairs. I returned to London from Bath a day or two previous to the commencement of the session. The capital exhibited a scene of fermentation difficult to conceive or to depict. Yet was it far exceeded during the last days of January, 1793. on Louis the Sixteenth's decapitation.

Two singular circumstances took place early in November, both of them having reference to the 5th of the month. It being the centenary of King William's auspicious landing in England, the day was celebrated not only in London, but at Edinburgh and at Dublin, with testimonies of extraordinary festivity. Lord Stanhope, one of the most ardent and enthusiastic defenders of civil liberty who has appeared in our time, took the chair at the *London Tavern*, where seven or eight hundred gentlemen assembled, under the denomination of "the

Revolutionary Society." On the other hand, "the Whig Club," in which society the Duke of Portland presided during Fox's absence from the kingdom, met at the *Crown and Anchor Tavern*; where Sheridan, in a speech of great power, proposed the erection of a column in Runnemede, a spot rendered historically sacred by the signature of *Magna Charta*. This proposition, made after dinner, when the company was in a state of exhilaration, met with the most favourable reception. A subscription being immediately commenced, twelve or thirteen hundred pounds were subscribed, and Colonel Fitzpatrick was appointed treasurer of the fund. Many persons nevertheless thought that the choice of the treasurer threw a damp on the patriotic sentiment exhibited:—for, though Fitzpatrick's wit, gallantry, talents, and accomplishments were universally acknowledged, yet his aptitude for the office of receiving and accounting with the subscribers for their deposits did not excite the same conviction. Whatever was the cause, the momentary enthusiasm evaporated, and Runnemede still remains without any column or monument to commemorate the charter extorted by the barons from one of the most odious and vicious princes who has ever dishonoured the English throne.

The other event was meteorological. We know, by the concurring testimony of many contemporary writers, the sudden and fortunate change that took place in the wind on the *fifth* of November, 1688, when the Prince of Orange arrived on board the Dutch fleet, off Torbay;—a change so propitious, that Burnet says, the lines of Claudian were applied to him,

"O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!"

That historian was himself a passenger in the fleet which conducted William to our shores, and has left us the most accurate account of the fact in question. "On the *third* of November," says he, "we passed between Dover and Calais, and before night came in sight of the Isle of Wight. The next day being the day in which the prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land

that day, it would look auspicious to the army, and animate the soldiers. But we all, who considered that the day following being *Gunpowder Treason Day*, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the English nation, were better pleased to see that we could land no sooner." The pilot, miscalculating the force of the wind, which blew very strong at east, found himself, on the morning of the *fifth*, to the westward of Torbay and Dartmouth. All was consternation throughout the fleet, as they must have proceeded to Plymouth, where their favourable reception was more than doubtful.

"But," continues Burnet, "on a sudden, to all our wonder, it calmed a little, and then the wind turned into the south; and a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole fleet, in four hours' time, into Torbay. Immediately, as many landed as conveniently could." — "We had no sooner got thus disengaged from our fleet, than a new and great storm blew from the west; from which, our fleet being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice. But the king's fleet had got out (of the Thames) as the wind calmed, and, in pursuit of us, was come as far as the Isle of Wight, when this contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to pursue us; but they were so shattered by some days of this storm, that they were forced to go into Portsmouth, and were no more fit for service that year." We cannot wonder that William should ask of Burnet, as he did, "if I would not now believe in predestination?" The singular fact which I have to record is, that precisely the same sudden change of wind happened in 1788, on the same day, and nearly in the same manner, as in 1688. I was at Bristol Wells on the *fifth* of November, having gone there from Bath. The wind had blown fresh at east during two or three days, or in that direction. During the day it fell nearly calm, and at night flew suddenly round to the westward, with violent rain; blowing strong from that point, where it continued for some time. I believe the circumstance was commemorated, when it took place, by more than one of the daily newspapers or magazines. Though in consequence of the adoption of the new style in 1752,

the Centenary Revolution had been advanced *eleven days*, and therefore was *not* complete in point of time; yet the coincidence of such similar facts on the same nominal day, at the termination of a hundred years, excited considerable attention.

20th — 30th November. — The meeting of the two houses of parliament, during a crisis when the throne might be considered as vacant, being contemplated with the liveliest impatience and anxiety, produced a very numerous attendance on the day fixed for commencing their proceedings. In the house of commons, as soon as the Speaker had taken the chair, Pitt stood up, and having alluded in terms of becoming concern to the awful and afflicting malady with which his majesty was visited; a malady that wholly incapacitated his servants from approaching his person, or receiving his commands; moved an immediate adjournment of a fortnight. The proposition was adopted without a dissentient voice, or the utterance of a single word; each side acquiescing from opposite motives. The friends of the minister only desired to gain time, in order for ascertaining whether any beneficial change might immediately take place in the king's complaint; while the principal persons in the opposition, deprived of their leader by Fox's absence on the Continent, impatiently anticipated his return. Early in the month of November, as soon as the nature and the seat of his majesty's illness became perfectly ascertained, the Prince of Wales lost not a day in despatching to Fox information of so interesting an event, urging at the same time his immediate presence in London. As, however, it was altogether uncertain where the intelligence would reach him, or how soon, at that season of the year, he might be able to appear in his place at Westminster; his royal highness found himself necessitated, till his arrival, to consult other advisers. The members of the "coalition" cabinet, with the single exception of Keppel (who had been long dead), were, it is true, all of them in existence; and the Duke of Portland might be again replaced at the head of a new administration, as Lord John Cavendish might occupy a second time his former place at the exchequer. But

Lord North laboured under the privation of sight, in addition to many infirmities ; and though Lord Stormont possessed eminent talents, as well as eloquence, yet he belonged, not to the party of Fox, but to the friends of Lord North. The Earl of Carlisle, who had held the privy seal in 1783, stood in a similar predicament.

Under these circumstances, two individuals assumed the principal temporary influence in the prince's confidential deliberations. The first, Lord Loughborough, unquestionably was one of the most able lawyers, accomplished parliamentary orators, and dextrous courtiers, who flourished under the reign of George the Third. Yet, with the qualities here enumerated, he never approved himself a wise, judicious, or enlightened statesman. His counsels, throughout the whole period of the king's malady, were, if not unconstitutional, at least repugnant to the general sense of parliament, and of the country ; violent, imprudent, and injurious to the cause that he espoused. In 1793, when he held the great seal, and sat in cabinet, it was universally believed that the siege of Dunkirk, one of the most fatal measures ever embraced by the allies, originated with Lord Loughborough. Nevertheless, his legal knowledge, experience, and versatile talents, seemed eminently to qualify him for guiding the heir apparent, at a juncture when, if the king should not speedily recover, constitutional questions of the most novel, difficult, and important nature, must necessarily present themselves.

The second individual who enjoyed the prince's unlimited confidence, was Sheridan. His transcendent powers, so recently displayed in Westminster Hall, combining with the conviviality of his disposition, and partiality to the pleasures of the table, were well calculated to establish him in his royal highness's favour. His influence, however studiously concealed it might be from the public eye, was not on that account the less real. Erskine, then attorney-general to the prince, and who has since held the great seal for a short period, occupied likewise very deservedly a high place in his esteem, as well as in his affection. The elevation of Erskine's mind, aided by the

attainments of his comprehensive intelligence, personal, no less than professional, entitled him indeed to be consulted at such a juncture. But his avocations in the courts of law left him little leisure for personal attendance in Pall Mall ; and as he was not a member of the house of commons, whatever service he might perform in the closet, he could render none in parliament.

Pitt's situation at this period demanded not only the firmest mind, but the most unruffled temper, aided by the soundest judgment. He beheld the edifice of his ministerial power, apparently constructed on such firm foundations, menaced with speedy, as well as total subversion. From the first moment that the king's seizure was known to have affected the organs of reason, and consequently that a regency must inevitably take place, unless his entire recovery and resumption of the government should be speedy, his son and successor appears to have determined on an immediate change of administration. Nor did he make any secret of his intention. Such a resolution, nevertheless, seemed equally contrary to prudence, as it was repugnant to decorum, and adverse to the general wishes of the country. Even if the king had been withdrawn from his people by death, Pitt's dismission would have been considered by a great majority of the nation as a calamity of no common order. But, without waiting to ascertain whether his father's attack of insanity might prove only temporary, to begin at once by overturning his institutions, and dismissing his ministers ; (or, perhaps, more properly to speak, his *minister* ; for Pitt constituted, in fact, the administration ;) — was an act which excited not merely political, but a degree of moral disapprobation. It will indeed readily be admitted that seven years earlier, in November, 1781, after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York-town, a different sentiment would have been felt under similar circumstances. A Prince of Wales who should *then* have availed himself of the power of regent to dismiss the unfortunate conductors of the American contest, would have been hailed as a deliverer. But the intermediate lapse of time had completely restored to the sovereign the af-

fection of his subjects: while Pitt, by acts of noble personal renunciation, by financial measures of acknowledged wisdom and public utility, sustained by councils not less judicious than energetic, had attained to a point of popularity scarcely surpassed even by his father between 1759 and 1761.

But Pitt had to contend with secret opponents in his own cabinet, not less formidable than the avowed adherents of the Prince of Wales. The first lord of the treasury and the lord chancellor had long ceased to feel those sentiments of mutual regard or cordiality which two persons occupying such high places in the councils of the sovereign might naturally be supposed to cultivate and to cherish for each other. Their tempers were indeed ill suited to co-operate for a length of time, though necessity and ambition had united them against Fox. Thurlow was sullen, and often intractable: Pitt, imperious, inflexible, and dictatorial. Many causes had combined to widen the breach. The chancellor highly disapproved of Hastings's impeachment, in which Pitt had concurred. His ill-humour was augmented by the obligation officially imposed on him of presiding in Westminster Hall during an interminable trial; compelled to listen for successive hours to Burke's and Fox's invectives, or to Sheridan's heart-rending descriptions of exaggerated, if not imaginary acts of tyranny; while Thurlow seemed ready to exclaim,

"Semper ego auditor tantum, numquamne respondentam,
Vexatus toties!"

The "Slave Regulation Bill," in adopting and forcing which measure through the house of peers Lord Thurlow considered Pitt as having violated ministerial faith with the mercantile part of the nation, added to the preceding subjects of irritation. Arden's appointment to the office of the master of the rolls gave him likewise deep offence. In such a frame of mind, it was natural for him to consider whether, if the king's recovery appeared hopeless, he might not retain the great seal under a regency. He had sat during the ten preceding years in four cabinets politically opposed to each

other; namely, with Lord North, with the Marquis of Rockingham, with the Earl of Shelburne, and with Mr. Pitt. Why should he not continue to occupy the same place under a new order of things? The Prince of Wales on all occasions treated him with distinguished consideration; and at the commencement of his majesty's malady, as it became necessary to adopt measures for the reservation of his private property, the chancellor had acted in conjunction with the queen and his royal highness to that effect. So many concurring reasons or motives might incline him either to open a negotiation with Carlton House, or at least to lend a favourable ear to any overtures made from that quarter.

It is nevertheless probable that Lord Thurlow acted towards the prince with great caution, until appearances justified a belief of the incurable nature of the king's disorder. But how little confidence Pitt reposed in him, became evident when the upper house met on the 20th of November. It was not the chancellor who performed the principal ministerial part on that occasion, or who formed the channel of public business. After the intellectual attack under which his majesty laboured had been announced from the woolsack, Lord Camden, then president of the council, rose, and concluded a very brief speech by moving (as Pitt had done on the same day in the house of commons) that the peers should adjourn to the 4th of December. His *motion* was received in silence, with unanimous acquiescence. Meanwhile, the king's illness having assumed, towards the last days of November, a character of decided insanity, six physicians had been called in to attend on him. At their head must be placed Warren. He was then in every sense the leader of the medical professors, and he merited the distinction. Possessing great skill in the healing art, he was not less characterized by the pleasing amenity of his manners, and the cheerful tone of his conversation, which prescribed as much to the mind as to the body. Enjoying a most extensive practice, principally among the highest orders of society in the metropolis, he had already acquired an ample fortune. Though his family was numerous, yet his ambition,

unlike that of his Esculapian brethren, disdained a baronetage. Having successfully attended Lord North, nearly ten years earlier than the time of which I am now writing, throughout the course of a dangerous illness, that nobleman, then first minister, offered to recommend him to the king for the dignity in question. "My lord," answered Warren, "I do not aspire to the honour which you have been pleased to tender me : but if your lordship will place my brother on the bench of bishops, I shall consider it as an indelible obligation." The object of his request was conceded ; and his brother, after receiving the episcopal mitre of St. David's, was subsequently promoted to the see of Bangor. Dr. Warren's partialities decidedly leaned towards the heir-apparent, and his royal highness was known to regard him with extraordinary predilection, as well as to repose the utmost confidence in his professional opinion.

Dr. Addington, father of the present Viscount Sidmouth, was called in, principally because his medical experience lay much in the particular species of disorder under which his majesty suffered ; it not being as yet thought proper to place him in the hands of a practitioner exclusively occupied with the care of lunatics. Sir Lucas Pepys, with whom I have lived in habits of intimate friendship during more than forty years, may not, I am aware, lay claim to the highest place among the eminent physicians of our time. That he is, however, a man of sound judgment, an elegant scholar, possessing a most classic and cultivated mind, I can attest of my own personal knowledge. If, in his professional capacity, he had any bias, it was not such as actuated Warren. I shall have occasion, while relating the particulars of his majesty's illness and recovery, again to mention both Warren and Pepys. Each became conspicuous from the different view which he took of the malady, and its probable termination. The calamity, great and appalling in itself, was rendered still more painful by the distance of Windsor from the capital, and the consequent difficulty of procuring constant medical attendance. This circumstance determined ministers to make an effort for bringing the royal pa-

tient nearer London. Kew appeared to combine the advantage of good air with proximity. The experiment succeeded. General Harcourt, then a groom of the bedchamber, now Earl Harcourt, and Colonel Robert Grenville, equerry in waiting, brother of the Earl of Warwick, accompanied their master in the coach. The Queen, Prince of Wales, and Duke of York soon followed ; her majesty remaining at Kew, near the king's person.

From the first moment that the heir-apparent anticipated a regency as almost certain, if not inevitable, he exerted every endeavour to secure the cordial co-operation and support of his brother Frederic. Meditating, as he did, to place Fox at the head of the government, without waiting to ascertain the probable or final result of his father's malady, and aware of the obstacles which the minister might oppose to his intention, he manifested the utmost anxiety to prevent any discordance of sentiment arising in a quarter so near the throne. It might, on the other hand, have been naturally expected, that a prince whom the king had always treated with marks of great parental affection, if not with decided partiality, would feel a disinclination, or rather a repugnance, to overturn the existing administration. His scruples, if any such he had, were however speedily surmounted. A promise of being placed at the head of the army, with all the appointments, power, and patronage of a commander-in-chief, effectually gained him over to his elder brother's party. I have already spoken elsewhere of the duke. He was at this time strongly attached to a lady of my particular acquaintance, the Countess of Tyreconnel. She was Lord Delaval's youngest daughter ; feminine and delicate in her figure, very fair, with a profusion of light hair, in the tresses of which, like the tangles of Nereus's in "Lycidas," his royal highness was detained captive.

Her husband, the Earl of Tyreconnel, might be said to contribute at this time, more than any nobleman about the court, to the recreation of the reigning family : for while his wife formed the object of the homage of one prince of the blood, his sister had long presided in the affec-

tions of another. Lady Almeria Carpenter, one of the most beautiful women of her time, but to whom nature had been sparing of intellectual attractions, reigned at Gloucester House. The duchess remained indeed its nominal mistress; but Lady Almeria constituted its ornament and its pride. Lord Tyrconnel himself had been early married to a sister of the Duke of Rutland, from whom he obtained a divorce in less than five years. Not discouraged by so unfortunate a matrimonial outset, he soon ventured a second time on the same perilous experiment; though, as many persons thought, not with better success. His fortune by no means equalling his rank, Lord Delaval extended his paternal care over his daughter and her lord. In Hanover-square during winter, as at Claremont in Surrey during summer (a country seat which has since obtained a mournful celebrity, from the Princess Charlotte of Wales's death), the two families formed only one household. The Duke of York was a constant visitor at each place, notwithstanding that Lady Tyrconnel's father and husband were both firmly attached to the administration. Lord Delaval had received his British peerage only two years before, from Pitt; and the Earl of Tyrconnel, who sat in the house of commons for Scarborough, was elected by the Rutland interest member for that borough.

1st — 4th December. — Fox, so long and so impatiently expected, at length arrived. I believe he reached his lodgings in St. James's-street, contiguous to Brookes's, on the 24th or 25th of November. He had been nearly five years out of office. The account of his majesty's seizure, accompanied with strong exhortations to accelerate his return, reached him before the middle of November, at Bologna, and he lost not a day in compliance. Accompanied by Mrs. Armstead, he took the road to England, through Lyons; where new and more urgent letters, acquainting him with the king's total loss of reason, induced him to increase his speed. For that purpose, quitting his female travelling companion, he proceeded alone, in a French carriage, to Calais. The construction of this hired vehicle, which was not so well suspended as his own

English post-chaise, together with the bad condition and nature of the roads through the interior provinces of France, at an advanced season of the year, sensibly affected his health. His personal appearance in the house of commons on the 4th, when the adjournment ended, excited a great and general sensation. I never saw Fox, either previously or subsequently, exhibit so broken and shattered an aspect. His body seemed to be emaciated, his countenance sallow and sickly, his eyes swollen; while his stockings hung upon his legs, and he rather dragged himself along, than walked up the floor to take his seat. The attendance, as might be expected, was numerous and tumultuous. Pitt having first presented a *report* of the examination of the royal physicians relative to his majesty's state, as delivered on oath before the privy council, the document was immediately read at the table. He then moved that it should be taken into consideration four days afterwards, on the 8th of December; to which time he proposed that the assembly, at its rising, should adjourn. While addressing the house, he likewise gave notice of his intention to move for a committee, which might search for precedents applicable to the present calamitous situation of public affairs, and report upon it; adding that too much caution and deliberation could not be adopted in a crisis of such magnitude.

The first person who rose in reply to the chancellor of the exchequer was Vyner. He had been a member of several parliaments, and in the preceding house of commons represented the city of Lincoln; but after the total defeat of Fox's party in 1784, he lay under a necessity of bringing himself in for the Yorkshire borough of Thirsk. Vyner, who in his person always reminded me of the portraits of "Hudibras," was a Lincolnshire gentleman of large property, endowed with very good common sense, and of an irreproachable character. He descended, I believe, lineally from Sir Robert Vyner, lord mayor of London, of jovial memory; who, as the "Spectator" assures us, followed Charles the Second down stairs, after a city dinner, overtook, and compelled him "to take t'other bottle." Mr. Vyner briefly expressed his

doubts whether the house ought not to examine the physicians at their own bar, before the *report* just read should be made the basis of a parliamentary proceeding. Pitt endeavoured, on the contrary, to show that the delicacy of the subject, and the dignity of the great person whose health it regarded, might induce them, without any dereliction of their duty, or infringement of their legislative consequence, to rest satisfied with the *report* of the privy council. With this opinion Fox disagreed, inclining to adopt Vyner's sentiment, yet in language of the utmost moderation; and the house immediately adjourned to the subsequent Monday. A scene nearly similar took place on the same evening in the upper house; Lord Camden again performing the prominent ministerial part, while the chancellor remained silent. By the *report* of the physicians, it appeared that Dr. Addington, whose practice had been more among patients afflicted with insanity than any other of the professional attendants on the king, expressed himself in more sanguine terms than his medical brethren respecting the probability of his majesty's eventual recovery. Above fifty members of the privy council were present at Whitehall during the examination; but at least one-third of the number belonged to the opposition, it was judged proper, with a view to prevent disclosures of an unbecoming nature, to determine previously the questions which should be proposed to the physicians. The precaution formed a salutary check; and immediately after hearing the *report* read, the peers adjourned, as the commons had done, to the 8th of the month.

4th — 8th December. — Meanwhile, his majesty's distemper, subsequent to his removal from Windsor to Kew, not exhibiting any symptoms of amendment, but rather assuming a more decided character of insanity, it was thought necessary to call in a practitioner who had made the cure of lunatics his sole occupation. Among the individuals whose reputation was well established in that branch of the art, was the Reverend Dr. Francis Willis: for though he no longer performed any clerical functions, yet he united in his person the medical and the ecclesiastical professions. His residence lay in the vicinity of Boston, in the

county of Lincoln; and he had attained, if he had not already passed, his seventieth year. Assisted by two sons, he had dedicated himself, during a great portion of his life, to the exclusive care of persons deprived of reason. I have been in his company, not long after his majesty's recovery. He seemed to be exempt from all the infirmities of old age; and his countenance, which was very interesting, blended intelligence with an expression of placid self-possession. When summoned to attend the king he readily obeyed; but he at the same time frankly informed her majesty, that if she expected any benefit to accrue from his attendance, he must be allowed to exercise the same authority which he should do over the meanest individual submitted to his control.

A proof which he displayed not long afterwards of skill, or more properly to speak, of his empire over his patients, excited great amazement, not unmixed with alarm, as well as admiration. The king, who had not undergone the operation of shaving during more than five weeks, nor would submit to have it performed, yet expressed nevertheless a strong desire to shave himself. Willis gratified him in his wish. "Your majesty," said he, "is desirous to get rid of your beard. You shall have a razor given you for the purpose." He instantly put the instrument into the king's hand, who went through the process with perfect success; Willis governing him by the eye throughout the whole performance. From the first day of his arrival at Kew, on the 5th of December, he not only declared that he entertained sanguine hopes of the king's recovery, but confidentially added his expectation of its being effected within the space of *three months*. The experiment of allowing a maniac to shave his beard, when we reflect *who* that maniac was, may appear to partake of temerity; nor could it have been safely tried under a despotic government, where the physician would probably have been sacrificed if his patient had committed violence on himself. When Dr. Dimsdale inoculated Catherine the Second for the small-pox, that princess, — who, whatever might be the vices of her moral character, possessed a very enlarged and magnanimous mind, — took

precautions for securing his personal safety in case of her death. Finding herself much indisposed on a particular day, she sent for Dimsdale, whom she had already remunerated in a manner becoming so great a sovereign. "I experience," said she, "certain sensations which render me apprehensive for my life. My subjects would, I fear, hold you accountable for any accident that might befall me. I have therefore stationed a yacht in the Gulf of Finland, on board of which you will embark as soon as I am no more; and whose commander, in consequence of my orders, will convey you out of all danger." This anecdote, so honourable to the empress, I heard from one of Dimsdale's sons above forty years ago.

8th December. — As soon as the house of commons met again, Pitt presented himself to the speaker's notice; more however for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes or opinions of the assembly respecting the proper mode of proceeding, under a temporary extinction of the executive power, than with an intention of dictating any specific measure. Fox was not present, being prevented by indisposition. Vyner having a second time taken on him to open the debate, and calling on Pitt to bring forward some plan adapted to the nature of the emergency; the latter moved for "a committee to examine the physicians relative to the state of his majesty's health, and to report it to the house." This proposition met with unanimous approbation. Powis gave it as his advice, that the committee should be composed of members from both houses of parliament; but the inconveniences overbalanced the advantages of such an experiment, which, it was apprehended, might embroil the two branches of the legislature; a calamity greatly to be deprecated at any time, especially when the royal functions were in a state of suspension. Burke pathetically adjured the house not to sacrifice any of their constitutional privileges, and, least of all, the right to examine evidence at their own bar. Notwithstanding this exhortation, the committee was named and chosen. It consisted of twenty one persons, the chancellor of the exchequer being constituted chairman. Twelve of the number were either ministers, or individuals

who commonly supported administration. Among the remaining nine, besides Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, appeared the names of Lord North, Vyner, Powis, and Windham. An adjournment immediately took place. On the same evening, the Marquis of Stafford made a similar motion in the upper house; and the discussion being resumed on the following day, a committee, formed on similar principles with that chosen by the house of commons, and composed of the same numbers, was unanimously elected. Neither on the first, nor on the second of these occasions, did the chancellor utter a word, nor even appear to feel any interest in the proceedings. As they did not emanate from him, so did they receive from him no support. His silence at such a time, while Lord Camden and Lord Stafford acted, each in turn, as the managers of the house of peers, necessarily attracted much observation.

10th December. — We now enter on a period, comprising more than two months, of greater agitation, violence, and mutual animosity, than any other that I have witnessed in my time. The contests in 1782, previous to Lord North's resignation; and those which took place in 1784, between Pitt and the coalition; however personally acrimonious, yet regarded only the possession of ministerial power. In 1788, the throne was vacant, though not by the demise of the sovereign; and the question was, *by whom*, as well as *under what restrictions*, the vacancy should be supplied. On the first point, no difference of opinion could possibly exist, the heir-apparent being of full age to administer the government, of sound mind, and present on the spot. But as to the second; namely, what conditions should be imposed upon him by parliament, while the recovery of the sovereign appeared to be probable, and perhaps not distant; very opposite sentiments might arise.

Pitt appearing at the bar of the house of commons, presented the *report* of the physicians, which was immediately read. They coincided in opinion as to the probable recovery of their patient; though relative to the time when it might be expected to take place, they equally professed ignorance. Willis alone, on whose conclusions more reliance was placed

than on all the others, assigned the probable *causes* of his majesty's malady, and the probable period of its *duration*. "Weighty business, severe exercise, too great abstemiousness, and little rest, pressing with united force on his constitution, had," Willis said, "produced the attack." — "The irritation," added he, "has in a great measure subsided; which symptom must precede convalescence. Nine out of ten among those who have been placed under my care, have recovered within three months from their first seizure."

No sooner had the examination of the physicians been communicated to the house, than Pitt moved the appointment of a committee "to discover and report precedents of such proceedings as had taken place, to provide for the exercise of the royal authority, when interrupted by sickness, infancy, or infirmity." Hitherto, whatever hostile sentiments might animate the two parties who opposed each other within those walls, no indecorous external demonstrations of it had openly appeared. But the moment was now arrived when the most unqualified animosity succeeded to a temporary restraint. It had already been determined in the consultations held in Carlton House, where Lord Loughborough presided as legal guide, and on his authority, that "the Prince of Wales possessed an inherent and indisputable *right* to take on himself the regency under the present circumstances." The time *when* he ought to enter on the possession of this right, and to exercise it, Lord Loughborough however admitted, must rest for decision with the two houses of parliament. Such were the constitutional principles laid down by Wedderburn, on the solidity of which Fox relied. Rising as soon as the chancellor of the exchequer had concluded, he expressed his most animated condemnation of the *motion* just made from the treasury bench. "Why," exclaimed he, "and for what beneficial purpose, are we going to search for precedents? It is a mere loss of time, and pretext for delay. There is here among us an heir-apparent, of full age and capacity to take upon him the royal authority. In my opinion the Prince of Wales possesses as clear a right to *assume* the reins of government,

and to *exercise* the sovereign power during his majesty's incapacity, as he would have in case of a natural demise. He is not, indeed, himself to determine *when* he is entitled to exercise it: the two houses of parliament must pronounce on that matter. I conceive, however, that as short an interval as possible should be allowed to elapse before the prince assumes the sovereignty. His royal highness wishes rather to wait the decision of parliament, than to urge his claim. But ought he to wait unnecessarily, while search is made after precedents, when it is perfectly known that none which bear upon the case are in existence? Nevertheless I shall not oppose the *motion*, though it is incumbent on the house to restore without delay the third estate."

Such was the substance of Fox's memorable speech, than which the bitterest enemy of the heir-apparent could not have made any more calculated to injure him. Pitt, who instantly perceived the error committed by the prince's adherents, availed himself of it with the rapidity of lightning. Starting up the instant that his adversary had finished, while his eye flashed defiance, he denied every allegation made relative to the prince's *right*. "The doctrine now advanced," observed he, "forms the most unanswerable reason for appointing the committee. If the claim of *right* now set up had a just foundation, this house would be precluded from any possibility of deliberation on the subject. But I maintain, that from every precedent, and every page of our history, the assertion of such a *right*, either in the Prince of Wales, or in any other individual, is *little less than treason to the constitution*. Under the actual circumstances, unless by decision of the two remaining branches of the legislature, *the heir-apparent possesses no more strict right to assume the government, than any other subject of the realm*." — "I admit, indeed," continued Pitt, "that it is a *claim* entitled to the most serious consideration. But a new object of deliberation has now presented itself, of greater importance than even the original question. I mean, the question of *our own rights*: for, according to the opinion just laid down, it is become matter of doubt

whether this house possesses on the present occasion a deliberative power. Let us therefore ascertain, in the first instance, *our own* rights, since on our future proceedings depend the interests of a sovereign deservedly the idol of his people." Vainly Fox endeavoured, when too late, with great ability and eloquence, to explain away his expressions. As vainly he urged that the two houses could not constitute a *parliament*, and were only a *convention*. With as little success did he retort on his antagonist the charge of meaning to declare the crown *elective*, instead of *hereditary*. Ineffectually did he repeat his assertion, that the prince had an undoubted *claim* to exercise the sovereign authority during his father's present state; and accuse the two houses of arrogating to themselves a power contrary to the spirit of the constitution, partaking of the crime of treason.

Burke, in energetic language, but intemperate, and full of offensive personalities to Pitt, reiterated Fox's arguments, accused the minister of becoming a competitor with the Prince of Wales for the royal authority, and launched into the most violent invectives. The chancellor of the exchequer was not, however, to be affected by such imputations. He knew his own force, and the enemy's weakness; though he did not the less reply to the charges made against him. "At that period of our history," observed he, "when the constitution was settled on its actual foundation; when, in 1688, Mr. Somers, and other distinguished statesmen, declared that *no person had a right to the crown independent of the consent of the two houses*; would it have been considered as either fair or decent, for any member to have pronounced Mr. Somers a personal competitor of William the Third?" No answer being made to this remark, and Fox, however he might exclaim against the appointment of a committee to search for precedents, not venturing to divide the house upon it; the question passed without any further impediment.

Never was any act more imprudent and ill-advised than Fox's reclamation of the regency for the heir-apparent as his *right*; since it gave the minister ground on which to stand, when he must other-

wise have been driven to the last extremity! Had Fox indeed possessed a majority of votes in the assembly, he might safely have preferred any claim. But how could he or his party suppose that a minister whose prevailing passion was love of power; master, as he found himself, of both houses of parliament, and generally popular throughout the country; would hasten to lay down his employments on the first summons? If, instead of preferring a claim which he had not the means to enforce, Fox had professed the prince's readiness to *accept* the regency on any terms, under any conditions, and with any limitations or restrictions which parliament might think proper to impose, the minister would have been disarmed. His only efficient weapon, *delay*, would have been broken in his hand. The prince must have been declared regent before the middle of the approaching month of January; and when once installed in that high office, who could say what events might have followed? Fox overturned all these speculations in a single instant.

11th December. — The proceedings of the peers at this eventful period of our history, were not less interesting, nor less important, than those of the lower house. When they met on the following day, Lord Camden, after alluding to the *report* of the physicians on the king's malady, which had just been read, moved for a committee "to inspect, and to report such precedents, as might apply to the actual condition of the public affairs;" thus treading in the same traces with the chancellor of the exchequer. Then diverging to Fox's claim of *right* on the part of the prince to assume the government during his majesty's incapacity; "If this be common law," observed Lord Camden, "or analogous to the spirit of the constitution, it is a secret to me. I neither entertained such a notion, nor have I ever met with it in any writer, nor heard it laid down by any lawyer. Opinions so new and so extraordinary are more easily promulgated than suppressed, and may involve the whole kingdom in confusion." Thus challenged and designated, Lord Loughborough came forward, and in a manly manner justified the doctrine, which he avowed to be his own. He did more;

— for he arraigned the assertion made in the other house by the minister, in terms of great energy. “I have heard,” said Lord Loughborough, “of a most extraordinary assertion, boldly, arrogantly, and presumptuously advanced elsewhere. It is, that ‘the heir-apparent to the throne, though of full age, has no more *right* to assume the government, while his majesty’s malady incapacitates him from reigning, than any other individual subject.’ If this doctrine is founded in law, the regency must be elective, not hereditary. Alarming beyond measure would be the dangers of such a principle. The two houses of parliament might then set up a pageant of a regent, while they assumed, themselves, the sovereignty; because a regent so elected must necessarily be the slave of his electors.” — “Does not the law describe the Prince of Wales to be one and the same with the king? Is it not as much high treason to compass the death of the former, as of the latter? And does that penalty attach to compassing the death of any *other* subject?” — We must admit that these arguments were not void of weight, or solidity: but, in order to have sustained them, a majority of peers should have thought and voted with Lord Loughborough.

It now became impossible for the chancellor to remain any longer silent, unless he tamely sacrificed the interests of that sovereign in whose councils he held so high a place, as well as the existence of the cabinet. Yet, his position was one of uncommon difficulty; he having already commenced a treaty with the Prince of Wales, which promised a most favourable termination. I believe, the first overtures were made, not *by*, but *to* Lord Thurlow, on the part of his royal highness; promising him to retain the great seal under the approaching regency, provided that he would immediately speak and vote with the heir-apparent. In the critical situation of the king, and alienated as the chancellor had long been from Pitt, such an offer merited mature consideration. Notwithstanding Willis’s assurances, that his majesty’s recovery within a short period might be almost confidently expected, the great majority of his subjects inclined to believe and to fear his condition would

prove hopeless. Under these impressions, the chancellor quitting the woolsack delivered a speech, every word of which had been previously well weighed; and which still left him a free agent either to accept, or to reject, the prince’s propositions. Previous, he said, to making any declaration of his opinion on the delicate subject started, he wished to have the advantage of every species of information or precedent which might enlighten his judgment. Respecting Lord Loughborough’s *doctrine*, as it applied to the heir-apparent; with whatever force and authority it might come from a magistrate so eminent, yet to himself it was *new*. Towards the conclusion he delicately panegyrised the Prince of Wales, by praising Lord Loughborough for *not* resting any part of his argument on the private virtues of that illustrious person; “who,” he added, “should always have his applause, when its expression would not be an act of impertinence.” Having thus acquitted himself with no ordinary address, he left the debate to take its course. Lord Stormont powerfully reiterated the arguments advanced by Lord Loughborough; but the house did not the less agree, without any division, to the *motion* made by the president of the council.

12th December. — Fox’s assertion or reclamation of the prince’s *right* to take upon himself the office of regent; repeated in terms so emphatic and positive, by the chief justice of the common pleas, in his place as a peer:—these two opinions having operated very unfavourably on the public mind, Fox, conscious of the injury that he had done to his own cause, lost no time in endeavouring to efface the impression. As soon as the house of commons met, Pitt gave notice that he would move “to take into consideration the present state of the nation,” on the following Tuesday, the 16th of the month. Fox immediately stood up; and, after complaining of the manner in which Lord Camden (whom he described, though he did not name), had misrepresented his words relative to an august personage, he began by disclaiming any authority whatever for those expressions. “I spoke merely,” continued he, “as a private member of parliament, wholly unauthorized either by

his royal highness, or by any other person." He next laboured, if not to explain away, at least to give a more limited meaning to his late demand of the regency, as the heir-apparent's *right*. The term "assume," Fox denied to have ever pronounced. With great ingenuity he reasoned on the nature of the prince's title. "Many persons," added he, "admit him to possess an *irresistible claim* to the regency. I agree to that idea; because I know no difference between an irresistible claim, and an *inherent right*. But, whatever doubts may exist on that point, none can arise as to the propriety of investing him with the sole administration of the government; together with *the unlimited exercise of all the regal functions, powers, and prerogatives, in the same extent as they would have been exercised by his majesty, if he had remained in health*." Aware, nevertheless, that this demand might not meet with the ministerial concurrence, Fox professed a disposition to accommodate, in order to secure unanimity; deprecated the necessity of being obliged to divide the house; but admitted that if conciliation should not be found practicable, he must, however reluctantly, ascertain on which side lay the force of numbers. Lastly, he expressed his hopes that Pitt would open the nature of the proposition which it was intended to submit to them on the subsequent Tuesday; in order that when regularly made, they might not come to it altogether unprepared for its discussion.

The chancellor of the exchequer, thus pressed to explain his ulterior intentions, did not altogether refuse compliance. Previous however to entering on the demanded disclosure, he informed his antagonist that there was a point at issue between them, which must be decided before they proceeded one step farther: namely, the assertion of the Prince of Wales's *right* to exercise the royal authority, under the present circumstances of the country. "If that great preliminary question," continued Pitt, "should be determined on constitutional principles, I shall certainly proceed to propose measures for supplying the interruption of the king's authority. And unshaken as my opinion remains,

that no part of the regal power can *vest* in the heir-apparent as matter of *right*; I am equally ready to say, that as matter of *discretion* and of *expediency*, it is highly desirable that whatever portion of it shall be exercised, should be conferred on the Prince of Wales. I likewise think that he should exercise it with the free selection of his political servants; and that whatever authority is necessary for carrying on the public business, ought to be conferred. On the other hand, all authority which is *not* necessary, should be withheld; having ever in our view the moment when his majesty may be capable of resuming his prerogatives." Fox, in his reply, charged the chancellor of the exchequer with the intention of setting up, not a regent, but a *parliamentary* regent: while Sheridan warned Pitt of "the danger connected with provoking the Prince of Wales to assert his claim to the regency." These menaces made no impression on a minister, who, conscious of possessing the confidence of parliament, as well as that of the nation, pursued his course with a firm step.

I shall here relate an incident which its singularity entitles to notice. During the course of the debate on the 12th of December, James Macpherson, so well known by the "Poems of Ossian," proposed to me to take a hasty dinner at his residence in Fludyer-street, Westminster, and return immediately afterwards to the house of commons. Ever since Pitt came into power, down to that time, he had generally supported administration; but, like many other members of parliament, he now went over to the party of the heir-apparent. During the few minutes that elapsed before dinner appeared, a superb quarto edition of Virgil lying on the table, I amused myself with trying the "*Sortes Virgilianæ*," on the great public questions which then so strongly agitated every mind. Accordingly I asked of the poet, "Will the Prince of Wales become regent, or not?" Opening the book, my eye fell on these words,

—"*sic regia tecta subibat
Horridus.*"

They occur in the seventh book of the

"Æneid," where Aventinus, a son of Hercules, one of the auxiliaries of Turnus, enters the palace of Latinus. I thought the palace so descriptive of the indecorous haste which the heir-apparent manifested to assume the royal functions, as to justify me in making a second appeal. I therefore proposed for solution, to the spirit of Maro, "Will the king recover his understanding, or will he be detained in confinement during the remainder of his life?" The line on which my finger lighted occurs in the sixth book of the "Æneid," forming a part of Charon's surly address to Æneas, on his approaching the banks of the Styx.

"Corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina."

Applying it to George the Third, we must translate the words, "It is criminal to shut up, as a man permanently deprived of his faculties, a prince who will resume his intellect." Or, "It is criminal to treat as a dead man, a man who has in him the principle of life." Whether either of these interpretations may appear forced, I won't pretend to assert: but the fact of my having opened on the two passages above cited, on the 12th of December, 1788, is most accurately true. I by no means trust to memory, having been so much struck with the incident at the time, that I committed it to paper instantly; and I now have before me the identical memorandum, from which I copy the words. That their application is not equally striking, as it appears in the memorable instance, recorded by Welwood in his Memoirs, relative to Charles the First and Lord Falkland at Oxford, when *they* consulted the "*Sortes Vigilanzæ*,"* — (if we give implicit credit to that story), — I readily admit. Yet, I think, both the passages on which I stumbled may bear the interpretation here given them, without violence. The truth is, Virgil's divine poem inspires such just admiration, that the gift of prediction has been bestowed on it; as if in it dwelt a prophetic and oracular spirit, pable of resolving all questions.

15th December. — No sooner was the house of peers met, than Lord Fitzwil-

liam rose, in order to deprecate any discussion on the claim of right to the regency which has been made for the Prince of Wales. His friends recognized too late the act of imprudence committed by Fox, and repeated by Lord Loughborough. But Lord Camden replied, that the rights of the two houses of parliament having been questioned, it had become absolutely necessary not to leave undecided, points so important, previous to their adopting any measures respecting a regency. The Duke of York coming forward at this period of the debate, endeavoured, with much earnestness and emotion to enforce Lord Fitzwilliam's arguments. Speaking in the name of his elder brother, as well as in his own, "The prince," observed he, "has not preferred any such claim. I am confident that he understands too well the sacred principles which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne of these kingdoms, ever to *assume* or to *exercise* any power, let his *claim* be what it may, not derived from the public will, expressed through their representatives, and through your lordships, assembled in parliament."

Such a declaration, made from so high a quarter, would unquestionably, in case of minor importance, have sufficed to stop all further disquisition on the point. But the Prince of Wales's advisers, in their injudicious haste to get possession of power, forgot that they had to contend against a minister who could neither be cajoled nor intimidated. The Earl of Bute, the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, and the Earl of Shelburne, all had successively, when hard pressed by national clamour, or outvoted in parliament, hastened to give in their resignation. Pitt played an opposite game. Popular in his own person; maintaining the cause of a popular sovereign, labouring under an afflicting malady, which might however prove only temporary; and opposing men unpopular, whose acquisition of office, if it should take place, was generally contemplated in the light of a national calamity; — *his* business was to protract the struggle. Possessing a superiority of numbers in both houses of parliament, he could dispute every inch of ground and throw up new works against the assailants as fast as the old

* Welwood's Memoirs. Fourth Edit., London, 1702. pp. 105 — 107.

defences were carried. If the predictions of Willis were solid, three months might completely restore the king's mind. In that case, the contest became merely a race against time. Even should his majesty not recover, Pitt could return to a private station, as he had done in 1783, sustained by the regrets of a great majority among his countrymen.

It was nevertheless evident that his whole superstructure rested on the numbers which he could command and retain, in the houses of lords and commons; a foundation frail in itself, and attacked by powerful opponents. Every successive week that the sovereign remained in his present state, without any visible symptoms of amendment, weakened the minister's control over his adherents. He might, like Fox in 1784, find himself abandoned, and ultimately left in a minority. Already, various peers, as well as commoners, declared their intention to join the prince's party. Many others wavered, and might desert him. Nor was the extent of his influence in either house as yet ascertained, no division having hitherto taken place since the meeting of parliament. In this critical position, any defection in his own cabinet might open a wide breach to the enemy. But Pitt well knew that the chancellor had *closed his bargain* with the heir-apparent, since the house of peers last met on the 11th of December. Every condition demanded was conceded by his royal highness; and Thurlow engaged that in the progress of the approaching debate, he would oppose Lord Camden's proposition. Pitt, however, did *not* then know that the negotiation, after being thus concluded, had been suddenly and unexpectedly overturned. Lord Loughborough having received intimation of it, instantly repaired to Carlton House, where he clamoured so loudly against the concessions, all which must be made at his expense, that the prince, in order to appease him, reluctantly consented to send Fox to the chancellor, with a message stating his inability to fulfil the stipulated conditions. Fox only made the notification a few hours before the discussion came on in the house of peers; a fact of which the chancellor of the exchequer was ignorant. The house of commons having adjourned

over that evening to Tuesday the *sixteenth* of December, all curiosity became attracted to the upper house; where the steps of the throne were crowded with members of parliament, anxious to hear the Duke of York:—for it was well known that he intended to take a personal part in the discussion. Among them stood Pitt himself, accompanied by two or three of his intimate friends. The minister came fully prepared for Lord Thurlow's defection, and in expectation of being an ear-witness of his first speech for opposition.

As soon as the Duke of York sat down, the chancellor began by declaring that no individual present could feel a stronger repugnance than himself to the agitation of any question not absolutely demanded by the nature of the subject. Questions of right, he observed, were generally invidious, often unnecessary. When the *report* from the committee which was occupied in searching for precedents should be made, they would be enabled to judge what steps ought to be taken for restoring vigour to the executive government. "But, above all other duties, we are bound," continued he, "to preserve the rights of the king entire; so that when Divine Providence shall restore his majesty to his people, he may not find himself in a worse situation than he stood previous to his malady, or disabled from exercising all his rightful prerogatives." Adverting next to an observation made by Lord Stormont during the preceding debate, when that nobleman had said that "his emotions on contemplating the affliction under which the sovereign laboured, were rendered more acute by his recollection of the marks of kindness that he had been accustomed to receive from his majesty;" "My own sorrow," pursued the chancellor, "is aggravated by the same circumstance. My debt of gratitude likewise to him is ample, for the numerous favours which he has graciously conferred on me; *which, whenever I forget, may God forget me!*" Pitt, who was standing at only a few paces distant from him when he pronounced these words; well knowing the treaty into which Lord Thurlow had entered with Carlton House;—no longer master of his indignation, he turned round to General

Manners, and to the other friends close to him, and in a low voice exclaimed, "Oh! the rascal!" General Manners himself assured me of this fact; adding, "I was so astonished at it, and so unable to account for it, that when walking out with Pitt, some weeks afterwards, I asked him the reason of his exclamation. He related to me the particulars of the chancellor's conduct, together with the cause that finally produced the rupture of the negotiation." It is impossible to call in doubt the truth of the testimony here produced; Manners, who is alive at the present hour (in March, 1820), being a man of strict honour and veracity, my intimate friend of forty years; above all suspicion of inventing such a story; and as devoid of any enmity towards Lord Thurlow, or towards his memory, as I am myself.

The debate continuing after the chancellor had finished, became angry, personal, and tumultuous. Lord Stormont having charged the president of the council with bringing into discussion a subject of the most delicate nature in a disorderly and unparliamentary manner, that nobleman vindicated himself from the imputation. "I did not," observed he, "first broach this doctrine of the Prince of Wales's *right* to the regency. But, having been asserted, it must be noticed, because we are engaged in a proceeding which will materially affect the liberties of posterity." As the Duke of York had risen to address the assembly early in the evening, so the Duke of Gloucester spoke towards its close. In language and in a manner the most earnest, he deprecated any further conversation on a question calculated, as he asserted, to produce the greatest calamities. The Duke of Cumberland, though wholly devoted to his nephew, yet, conscious of his own inability to mix in debate, remained silent.

Pitt, however indignant at the chancellor's conduct, yet he knew too well the value of Thurlow's talents and support, under circumstances so critical, not to suppress his resentment. They continued to sit in cabinet, and to act together, if not cordially, yet in apparent union, throughout the whole future progress of the king's malady. But Lord Thurlow's meditated tergiversation did

not remain a secret. Political prints, exposed at the time in the shops of the metropolis, represented him stripping off his coat, and turning it inside out; accompanying the act with an appropriate observation, that "one side would do as well as the other." Dundas, on the contrary, who well knew that for *him* no asylum would be found at Carleton House, and that his only hopes of office, or views of ambition, must centre in Pitt, never once swerved from his friend the minister throughout the whole protracted struggle.

18th December.—Hitherto no division had taken place in either house of parliament; but such an appeal could not be much longer delayed, each party being anxious to ascertain their respective strength. It was, however, obvious that if some signs of convalescence did not manifest themselves in the king's malady, the ministerial numbers would insensibly, perhaps rapidly, diminish: while the adherents of the heir-apparent would receive continual accessions. No sooner did the house of commons meet, than the chancellor of the exchequer opened his proposition for supplying the deficiency in the legislature. During the whole time that I was a member of that assembly, I never had greater occasion to admire the prodigious powers of his calm, collected, and capacious mind, than on the evening in question. Nor did Fox, though labouring under severe and obvious indisposition, display abilities less splendid. Throughout a debate of at least nine hours, they, and they only, contended for superiority. All the other members might almost be regarded as auditors, though some of them occasionally took part in the discussion. Pitt, while he developed his intentions, and proposed his *resolutions* for restoring the suspended functions of the royal authority, did not the less adhere to his former declaration, that the question so injudiciously agitated by Fox, of the Prince of Wales's *right* to assume the regency, must be decided before any other topic.

"I readily acknowledge," continued he, "the most eminent qualities in the present heir-apparent. But it has been asserted within these walls, that he possesses, at this moment, a title as indis-

putable to exercise the sovereign authority, as he would have had by the natural demise of the king; because the present suspension is a *civil death*. Can we then consider his majesty's indisposition, which is not an uncommon case, and in general only temporary, as a *civil death*? I am persuaded that we shall not."—"The lofty terms in which that claim of *right* was originally made, have, I admit, been since somewhat lowered. It has likewise been declared in another assembly, that no intention exists of enforcing that right: but words form no parliamentary ground of proceeding, and cannot afford a guarantee that, at some future period of our history, such attempts may not be resumed or asserted."

Powerful, eloquent, and admirably adapted to the occasion, as was the minister's speech, Fox's reply did not fall short of it at any of these particulars. I cannot indeed to strongly repeat, that in mental endowments of every kind, Fox equalled, perhaps exceeded his antagonist. It was Pitt's superior judgment and correct life which principally turned in his favour the scale; which retained him in office throughout almost his whole career, while the want of those qualities excluded Fox from office. The former had, moreover, only one predominant passion: love of power, and the fame as well as advantages connected with it. Fox, as I have elsewhere observed, found room in his bosom for many pursuits besides ambition and thirst of glory. History and poetry each attracted, soothed, and delighted him. Pitt was already a minister, or aspiring and meditating to become a minister. Nature had intended him for the cabinet, and for no other situation. Fox, at his retreat on St. Anne's Hill, could derive amusement from his garden, from his library, from conversation, in a variety of domestic or of literary avocations. But Pitt, when compelled, from 1801 to 1804, to reside during many months of each year in solitary grandeur with Lady Hester Stanhope, at Walmer Castle, listening to the waves of the German Ocean; while Addington, whom he had raised from comparative obscurity to the highest offices, filled his vacant seat;—Pitt only supported life by the anticipation of his speedy return to power. On

that object, and on that object alone, was his mind constantly fixed. During his exile from Downing-street to the Kentish shore, a period of nearly three years, he underwent all the torments of morbid ambition. I saw him frequently at that time, and his countenance always seemed to say,

"Existence may be borne, and the deep root
Of life and sufferance make its firm abode
In bare and desolated bosoms."

His wishes were gratified. He resumed his office, and died within twenty months afterwards, the victim of his own accomplished desires. His *star* produced him under the reign of George the *Third*. If he had flourished under George the *Fourth*, he would probably have remained during the greater part of his life on the opposition bench, while Fox would have been minister. Throughout the whole contest, he was not less indebted to Fox's errors, than to his own transcendent dexterity, for the triumph that he obtained. If Fox had displayed at that time as much ability in *getting* possession of power, as Pitt exhibited in *keeping* possession of it, the latter never could have held out till the king's recovery.

In the course of his speech, Pitt had gone largely into precedents analogous to the actual condition of the country, drawn from the Plantagenet times, but, particularly from the calamitous reign of Henry the Sixth, when it had become necessary to elect a regent,—or rather, a protector. Fox well observed, that precedents extracted from such periods of our history,—or, indeed, from any periods antecedent to *the revolution*,—were altogether irrelevant and inapplicable; because, at no æra previous to 1688, "was civil liberty clearly defined and understood, all the rights of the different branches of our legislature ascertained, and the free spirit of the British constitution practically acknowledged." Then adverting to the great subject of actual dispute, "On the present occasion," observed he, "two opposite assertions have been made in this house relative to the Prince of Wales's *right* to exercise the sovereign authority during its actual suspension.

I deprecate any decision on so delicate a point; but since the minister seems determined to render it a personal question, and to have recourse to his majority, let the motion be, 'That we are of opinion, the Prince of Wales, being of full age and capacity, has no more right to exercise the royal authority during his majesty's incapacity than any other subject.' He knows that he dares not risk it. Notwithstanding his high character, and his influence within these walls, he would not be supported by twenty members."—"The claim itself," continued Fox, "has been disavowed; another assembly, by an exalted personage, in his brother's name; so that truly to describe the case, the preamble of the *bill* must run thus: 'Whereas the Prince of Wales has never claimed *any* right to the regency, it becomes necessary for the peers and commons of England to declare that he has *no* right; and we therefore declare his royal highness sole regent of these kingdoms.'"

After exhausting every argument suggested by reason, or furnished by history, to sustain his cause, Fox concluded with addressing to his rival the keenest personal animadversions. "He appears," said Fox, "to have been so long in the possession of power, that he cannot endure to part with it from his grasp. Finding the whole authority entrusted by the constitution to the sovereign not too much for carrying on the government with vigour, he is determined to cripple his successors. What his motives can be for adopting such a line of conduct, I am ignorant; but if in this assembly there exists an ambitious individual who designs to throw the empire into confusion, he would pursue the path traced out by the minister." Pitt was not of a temper to support such sarcasms without reply. He retorted then on his adversary in language of equal asperity; denominating his attack "unfounded, arrogant, and presumptuous. I am charged," continued he, "with acting from a mischievous spirit of ambition, unable to support the idea of relinquishing power, and therefore disposed to envy or obstruct the credit of my successors. This house and the country will determine what have been my motives throughout

the whole of the present unfortunate crisis." Fox having declared it to be the prince's determination to call himself and his friends to power, "It has been announced to-day," observed Pitt, "that the chiefs of opposition are to be the successors of the present administration. I know not on what authority this declaration is made; but we are obliged to him for the warning. Their principles are already well understood, and they furnish an irresistible reason for us deliberately to consider, what portion of the royal prerogatives should be entrusted to them during the present temporary incapacity of the sovereign." From the beginning down to the termination of the king's malady, Fox and Pitt always beheld it through opposite mediums; the former regarding it as incurable and permanent; the latter affecting to consider it as a mere attack of disease, neither uncommon nor alarming, however afflicting, and which would almost certainly yield to medical skill.

I observed, that on the night of the 16th of December these two extraordinary individuals seemed by common consent to take the debate exclusively into their own hands. Yet among those members who actively participated in the discussion, there was one whose eloquence formerly melted and animated, as his wit delighted, his hearers. I allude to Lord North, who, after having scarcely been seen within the walls of the house during the two last sessions, was now led down, blind and infirm, to express his perfect coincidence in all Fox's opinions. Seated near his former colleague, he rose at an early hour of the evening, and delivered himself with his accustomed ability; though without a ray of that humour which used to illuminate his most ordinary efforts. The time and the subject, it is true, did not favour such effusions; but as Sir Thomas More jested on the scaffold, so Lord North knew how to temper with gaiety the gravest topics. Pitt finally moved three *resolutions*: the *first*, only declaring that "the king was unable to attend to public business; but the *second*, maintaining it "to be the *right* and *duty* of the two houses to provide the means of supplying the defects of the royal authority. The *third* and *last* resolution,

which was the most important, asserted it to be "necessary that the peers and commons of Great Britain now assembled should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given, in the name and on the behalf of the king, to such bill as might be passed by the two houses." Lord North having moved that "the chairman leave the chair," a division took place at a very late hour, when only 204 members supported the *motion*, while it was negatived by 268. I made one of the 64 majority who voted with administration. It formed the first trial of numerical strength between the two contending parties. Lord North's infirmities did not permit him to witness the conclusion of the debate.

19th December. — Fox being likewise incapacitated by severe indisposition from attending in his place when the house met again; as soon as Colonel Fitzpatrick stated the fact, Pitt immediately consented to an adjournment till the following day. On that evening a long and desultory discussion arose relative to the *second resolution*, moved by the chancellor of the exchequer. Sir Grey Cooper, in a speech full of historical analogies or precedents applicable to the actual position of the country, laboured to prove that the Prince of Wales had, if not a *right* to assume the regency, yet such unquestionable *pretensions* to it as could not be rejected without alleging causes which would exclude him from the crown. Martin, a man whose recognized rectitude and independence of character gave weight to his observations even when they were trite, coarse, or offensive, did not hesitate to compare the notification made by Fox of the prince's intention to call new individuals to his councils, with Falstaff's anticipation of the offices which he and his associates hoped to fill under Henry the Fifth after he should ascend the throne. Pitt's high character and correct deportment protected him from similar attacks. Fox disdained to notice Martin's allusion; but Windham repelled it equally with the weapons of ridicule and of reason. Powis and Marsham both came forward, as did Dempster, with propositions or *motions* calculated to prevent the two contending heads of party from proceeding to extremities. Their efforts at producing conciliation

proved wholly ineffectual, and the house at length adjourned, after voting the *second resolution* without a division.

It was against the *third* and *last* of these three *resolutions* that the adherents of the heir-apparent levelled the accumulated strength of their faculties; well knowing it to be the citadel of the minister, within which he meditated to capitulate on terms. They wished to force him to surrender without previously making conditions. In order to effect it, they moved "to address the prince to take on him the administration during his majesty's indisposition." By such a mode of proceeding, analogous to the conduct of the two houses towards the Prince of Orange in 1689, they truly observed that "there would be a *third estate*; and the royal power would devolve on, or become vested in the individual who, from every motive, must be most deeply concerned in the preservation of the monarchy." These were Fox's own expressions. When that preliminary step was taken, *then, and not till then*, as they maintained, was the proper moment arrived in which the two houses should present to the newly-elected regent the *conditions* or *limitations*, on which his authority was confined to him. Of his acquiescence in those restrictions, there could not arise, they said, the slightest doubt.

Unquestionably, such would have been the most natural, simple, obvious, constitutional line of parliamentary conduct. But it did not suit the views of the minister; nor perhaps would it be, he wisely thought, the safest measure for securing the king's resumption of his power, whenever he might recover the use of his faculties. Pitt preferred to treat with the *Prince of Wales* previous, and not subsequent to his being declared *regent*. "Who," observed Pitt, "can answer for his not using the royal negative when the limitations are presented to him for his assent?" It was therefore determined in the cabinet to create or erect a *third estate*, by empowering the chancellor to put the great seal to such *bills* as the two houses should pass; thus giving to them the form and force of law. Pitt, no doubt, would have wished that a man more accommodating than Lord Thurlow, as well as one on whose adherence

he could more securely rely, had held the great seal; but the chancellor's talents rendered him necessary; and the minister might say with the Duke of Venice,

"Men do their broken weapons rather use
Than their bare hands."

22d December. — As soon as the house of commons met, Burke attacked the ministerial proposition with that impetuous, classic, splendid eloquence which frequently disdained the restraints of moderation, of reason, and almost of decorum. "As little acquainted with the interior of Carlton House as of Buckingham House, I profess," said he, "only to deliver my sentiments in a manner becoming a simple citizen. The great seal, it appears, is to be affixed to a commission, robbing the executive power of its due function. A composition of wax and copper is to represent the sovereign. So preposterous a *fiction* merits only contempt and ridicule. I disclaim all allegiance, I renounce all obedience to a king so formed. I worship the gods of our glorious constitution, but I will not bow down before Priapus!" Against the chancellor, Burke inveighed in the most personal terms. "I approve not," exclaimed he, "of robbery, house-breaking, or any other felony. Yet is each of these crimes less inexcusable than law forgery. If the unfortunate monarch whom we all lament could know the proposition now agitated, he would no doubt cry out with Macbeth,

'Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown,
And put a barren sceptre in my gripe,
Thence to be wrench'd with an unlineal hand,
No son of mine succeeding.'

'Restore me,' he would add, 'to my former state. Let me not behold a *black-browed phantom* seated on my throne!' Scott, the solicitor-general, opposed to these shafts of oratorical declamation the arms of legal metaphysics; endeavouring, not without success, to demonstrate that the *fiction* of which Burke complained, and which he so loudly reprobated, was dictated and justified by necessity. Fox, who well knew how to appreciate talents, and who respected Scott's abilities, which were of another

order from those of Arden and of Macdonald, replied to him; putting out all the energies of his mind against an adversary so worthy of his exertions. With prodigious force of language, he placed in the strongest point of view the absurdity of making the two houses *legislate*, which act they were incapable of performing without the king.

"It is, however, asserted," continued Fox, "in order to justify this monstrous act of usurpation, that though the king is incapable, yet the throne is full. Admitting such a solecism, what is the substitute which it is proposed to adopt? To appoint a person who is to give the royal assent to bills passed by the two houses. How is he to ascertain that assent? Is he to repair to Kew for the purpose? Human reason revolts at the supposition. Can he exercise his own discretion? No. To whom then can he apply? To the two houses of parliament who created him. And thus shall we have a monster unknown in English history."

Pitt answered these objections with corresponding ingenuity, if not with solidity. In reply to his adversary's denial that the two houses could in any case *legislate* without the co-operation and consent of the crown, he adduced the *revolution* of 1688 itself. "The two remaining branches of the legislature," observed he, "*did what amounted to a legislative act* in that crisis of the country. They *resolved* to settle the crown, not on the Prince of Orange, nor on the Princess his consort, but on both *jointly*; the royal authority to be exercised only by *him*. Here it is evident that whatever the necessity of the case required, the lords and commons *then* did. So will they do *now*."

In answer to Burke's and Fox's reproaches respecting the *fiction* of empowering the great seal to give the royal assent to bills, "It is this *fiction*," said Pitt, "which has been so much traduced and ridiculed, that governs our judicial proceedings in all the courts of law, and protects our dearest rights, as well as property. It is the principle which assumes the political capacity of the king to be always entire. Certain legal forms are evidence of his will. Such is the act of affixing the great seal. The highest

authority in the nation, is the great council of the nation; and if they think proper to signify the will of the sovereign, *there is no legal fiction.*" Pitt concluded by applying these principles and facts to the actual state of the country; particularly as to the point of binding the Prince of Wales under certain conditions *before* the regency should be offered him. "When powers are once conferred," observed he, "who can say, how they may be exercised? The regent may fill the other house with new peers, while we are actually deliberating whether that power shall, or shall not, be limited. The powers ought to be discussed while we possess the faculty of deliberation." How far the minister veiled his own ambition under the mantle of loyalty, and of zeal for the constitution, in adopting these maxims of conduct, may excite doubt; but we must admit their consummate prudence and policy, in whatever principle they originated. At the close of the debate, Pitt was supported by a still larger majority than on the former discussion. Four hundred and twenty-nine members voted, of whom 251 followed him, while only 178 accompanied Fox into the lobby.

26th December. — After two such triumphant divisions within the space of a few days, it still remained to ascertain whether ministers would meet with a similar degree of support in the other house, where it was well known that they would be opposed by three princes of the blood. That assembly proceeding with more deliberate steps than the commons, did not come to the discussion of the regency till towards the last days of December. Lord Rawdon having moved "to address the Prince of Wales, to take on him the executive government as sole regent." Earl Camden replied, that however deeply he regretted the agitation of the question of *right*, nevertheless, as the doctrine had been once asserted, men's minds must be set at rest respecting the point. But the most interesting circumstance of that evening's debate, was the personal attendance of the Marquis of Lansdown. Since his resignation in 1783, he rarely quitted his palace in Berkeley-square, or his retreat at Bow Wood, to attend his duty as a peer; and when he rose to speak, few

persons knew into which scale he intended to throw his weight. With Pitt he maintained no political connexion; nor could he indeed contemplate that minister as other than an intruder, who, availing himself of favourable circumstances, had vaulted into his vacant office. The *marquisate* which had been subsequently conferred on him might gratify his pride, or console his vanity, but could make no compensation to his mortified ambition. Yet, on the other hand, if Pitt was a rival, Fox was an enemy. He, as well as Sheridan and Burke, had levelled the most severe reflections on Lord Shelburne's private and public character while at the head of the treasury. The spirit of party might nevertheless supersede all recollection of these injuries, and the moment was propitious for sacrificing ancient enmities to objects of personal interest, or of national consideration.

In truth, the Marquis of Lansdown was not less eminently qualified for the minister of a great country than were either Pitt or Fox. Under many points of view, he was superior to the former; in some, he excelled the latter. Far more affable, easy of access, and pleasing in his manners than Pitt, he surpassed even Fox in accurate knowledge of the European courts, and their policy or interests. In application to business, facility of comprehension, and aptitude for affairs, he yielded to neither. George the Third considered him with much partiality, while he entertained no such personal attachment towards Pitt as he had felt for Lord Bute and for Lord North; and he nourished a dislike allied to aversion for Fox. Thus gifted by nature, ambitious, eloquent, highly informed, how happened it, we may naturally ask, that he only held his power for eight months, and never could regain it? The answer is obvious. Lord Lansdown laboured under various disqualifications, of which not the least heavy was the peerage. All our most eminent ministers since the reign of Queen Anne were members of the lower house. Walpole, Pelham, North, the first and the second Mr. Pitt, remained commoners during the whole time that they presided in or directed the councils of the crown. If the present Earl of Chatham had died between 1784

and 1801, his decease, by transferring his brother from the treasury bench to a seat among peers and bishops, would have half extinguished him, notwithstanding all his talents. Pitt required the tumult, and the effervescence, and the animation of a popular assembly, to sustain his eloquence. *They* required his presence to confirm their adherence, and to justify their votes. Nor would Fox have suffered a less deep political eclipse during the same period of time, if death had carried off his nephew Lord Holland. At the present hour, in 1820, though Lord Liverpool occupies the head of the treasury, Lord Castlereagh manages the lower house, and may be regarded as the efficient minister. Fox performed the same part in 1782, under the Marquis of Rockingham; in 1783, under the Duke of Portland; and even in 1806, under Lord Grenville. Such is the spirit and genius of the British constitution, which is essentially democratic, though tempered by monarchical and aristocratic institutions.

Lord Lansdown's second defect proceeded from the want of that quality denominated in pugilistic language *bottom*; in other words, firmness. If he had possessed it in 1783, as Pitt exhibited it in 1784, he might have maintained himself in office, notwithstanding the vote of censure carried by a small majority in the lower house against the recently concluded peace. Even Lord North displayed far more firmness than the Earl of Shelburne. During the three last years of his administration, from 1779 to 1782, he was many times left in a minority on questions of vital importance. Yet he did not resign; and he was ultimately swallowed up in the overwhelming calamities of the American war. Addington wanted almost every constituent quality of a great, an accomplished, or an able statesman. He was extinguished in May, 1804; or rather he disappeared in an instant, without any adequate apparent cause, except Pitt's impatience to re-occupy his former situation. It may indeed justly excite wonder that Addington should have remained above three years first minister of this country, during at least one-half of which period we were contending for our existence against Napoleon. In no

endowment of mind did he excel. His eloquence was cold and spiritless, while of Continental affairs he was supremely ignorant. Even in finance, he exhibited no resources. The last and greatest defect in Lord Lansdown's intellectual composition was his reputed insincerity: a vice which, more than any other, brought Charles the First to the block.

The sentiments expressed by the marquis on that evening would have done honour to any minister of any age. "I wish, my lords," said he, "that the members of administration had come down at once with such a commission as the third *resolution* points out; and that, instead of now discussing the propriety of putting to it the great seal, it had been acted upon in the first instance. What impediment prevents the officers of the crown from issuing such a commission? They ought not to be deterred by hard words, denominating the act a *fiction*."—"The principles laid down at the revolution make the crown to be, not *descendible property*, like a pigstye or a laystall, but a *descendible trust*, for millions and ages yet unborn. I contend, therefore, that *the hereditary succession cannot be considered as a right. It is a mere political expedient, capable of being altered by the two houses*. In cases of exigence, they have always been termed *the legislature*, in order to prevent the greatest of all possible evils, a *disputed succession*. This reasoning obviously applies with augmented force to the case of a regent." Could Lord Somers, or Algernon Sydney himself, devoted as he was to a republic, have more admirably defined our constitution?

There were other passages in Lord Lansdown's speech of great beauty and sublimity. "The people, my lords," said the marquis, "have rights. Kings and princes have none. The people want neither charters nor precedents to prove their rights; for they are born with every man in every country, and exist in all countries alike, though in some they may have been lost.—I wish, therefore, that the question of *right* to exercise the royal authority, which has been claimed and asserted, may be decided; in order that those who suffer oppression under governments the most

despotic may be taught their rights as men. 'They will then learn that though their rights are not, like ours, secured by precedents and charters, yet, as soon as they assert their rights, they must be acknowledged.' Neither Hampden nor Locke could have reclaimed for their countrymen, and for mankind, the blessing of civil liberty, as their birthright, in language of greater energy, than do these expressions of Lord Lansdown. His mention of the Prince of Wales, and the encomiums that accompanied it, were, however, regarded as susceptible of a more doubtful interpretation. "Let us suppose," continued the marquis, "that the present heir-apparent, instead of residing at Windsor, and exhibiting a model of affection towards the sovereign; instead of doing the honours of the country to foreigners, and raising the national character for polished manners; had been caballing away his time in the capital. Let us suppose that he had been intriguing with the army and the navy, cultivating his interests with foreign courts, or raising money to carry on his ambitious projects; thus attempting to enforce his claim, and to maintain his right, by undue means. Would not every man in the kingdom wish, if such had been the conduct of the prince, that the two houses of parliament should interpose, to exclude him from exercising the powers of regent, and appoint another to fill that office?"

The chancellor strongly supported Lord Lansdown's arguments, while he bestowed eulogiums on the prince, which were thought to be more sincere than those of the marquis. In reply to Lord Loughborough's assertions of the right which his royal highness possessed to exercise the regency, Thurlow demanded, "What means the term of regent? Where is it defined? In what law book, or in what statute? I have heard of protectors, guardians, and lords justices; but I know not where to look for the office and functions of a regent. To what end, then, address the prince to take on him a power the limits of which are not ascertained?"—"No man entertains a higher respect than myself," continued he, "for that illustrious person. I wish as ardently the advancement of his honour and interests, as

those who affect more attachment to him. But I never will argue that he possesses any inherent right to the regency; or that, as heir-apparent, he can possess such a right. There might even arise Princess of Wales whose conduct would justify the two houses in setting them aside from the regency. It becomes, therefore, expedient that we should not abandon the power inherent in us; nor, under the circumstances in which we are placed, fail to declare it to be our right."

If the Prince of Wales did not escape some reflections on the claim set up to the regency, Fox was treated with still more severity. The Earl of Abingdon, a nobleman of eccentric character, unguarded, and who, like myself, was once committed to the King's Bench prison for an act of imprudence, pointed out the inconsistency of Fox's conduct in alternately maintaining contradictory opinions. "These, my lords," exclaimed he, alluding to the asserted right of the prince to assume the government, "are the doctrines of the same man who, only a few years ago, meditated to pluck the crown from the king's head. He calls himself a whig; and while he is in the act of erecting a monumental column to commemorate the glorious revolution, he is tearing up the very ground on which reposes that revolution."—"I assert that the right to model anew, or, if necessary, to alter the succession, vests solely and exclusively in parliament. This, my lords, is revolution doctrine; this is my doctrine, though I am not a member of the Whig Club, nor have I subscribed to the intended politico-patriotic obelisk which is to be raised in Rannymead."

At a very late hour, when the division took place, only sixty-six peers supported Lord Rawdon's motion, while ninety-nine negatived the proposition. The Dukes of York and Cumberland voted in the minority; as the Duke of Gloucester would have likewise done, if he had not been prevented from attending by severe indisposition. All the lords of the bedchamber, with the single exception of the Duke of Queensberry, adhered to government. Thirteen bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, were likewise found on that

side; three members of the episcopal bench voting with opposition. The Scottish peers ranged themselves, six with administration, seven on the other side. Among the latter noblemen, the Marquis of Lothian attracted severe animadversion by joining the prince's party. He commanded the first regiment of Life Guards, was constantly near the king's person, and peculiarly acceptable to him; though, like Colonel Fitzpatrick, he was more fitted for that court of which Dryden says,

"Whitehall the naked Venus first revealed;
There standing, as at Cyprus in her shrine,
The strumpet was adored with rights divine,"

than for the correct drawing-room of George the Third.

The Duke of Queensberry's desertion produced, if possible, a stronger sensation than even Lord Lothian's; the duke having been a lord of the bedchamber ever since the king's accession, during eight-and-twenty years. Two motives led him to vote with opposition on that night: his great personal intimacy with and devotion to the heir-apparent, joined to his conviction that the sovereign had irrecoverably lost his mind. The prince and his brother Frederic passed much of their time with the duke, at his residence in Piccadilly, principally at table; where plentiful draughts of champagne went round to the success of the approaching regency. Dr. Warren confirmed the duke's wavering faith in the hopeless condition of the king. Not many weeks subsequent to his majesty's seizure, before the close of November, the duke, desirous of forming his opinion, if possible, on solid grounds, drove to Windsor. His enquiries were solely directed to ascertain the probability of the king's recovery. The person to whom he particularly applied, an intimate friend of mine, gave him such strong reasons for believing it neither improbable nor remote, that he would have acquiesced in them. But Warren entering the apartment, and being informed of the object of the duke's visit, led him to a window, where they held a long conversation in a subdued tone of voice. The result was, that the duke, fully persuaded of the desperate nature

of the malady, determined to join and to vote with the Prince.

27th — 31st December. — The year now drew to its termination. Pitt, sustained by large majorities on two divisions in the house of commons, and on one division in the house of peers, already prepared to lay before the Prince of Wales the conditions on which the king's confidential servants intended to propose to parliament, that he should be invited and empowered to exercise the royal authority during his majesty's illness. No apparent amelioration had as yet taken place in the disorder with which he was afflicted; but Willie's long experience and attentive observation enabled him confidently to hold out expectations to the queen and to the ministers, that a complete restoration of his mind would ensue at no remote period. Warren as positively maintained the contrary opinion. The former physician obtained most credence at St. James's and at Kew; the latter at Carlton and at Devonshire Houses. If the first was believed by the club at *White's*, the second was trusted at *Brookes's*. The house of commons attempted to meet on the 29th of the month, and Cornwall, the Speaker, though much indisposed, attended; but the number of members necessary for placing him in the chair not having arrived at four, no business could be transacted. On the subsequent day, illness incapacitated the Speaker from appearing, and he never again entered within those walls. His death took place early in 1789; an event which added to the embarrassments of parliament and of the nation. The season was rendered more melancholy by the severity of the weather, which during successive weeks buried the capital in snow. Under these gloomy physical and political circumstances, terminated the year 1788.

1st January, 1789. — The first event which arrested attention at the commencement of the new year, was the death of Lord Granley. He had occupied a conspicuous place under the reign of George the Third, and was considerably advanced beyond seventy at the time of his decease. After passing successively through the posts of solicitor and of attorney-general, Sir Fletcher

Norton was placed in the Speaker's chair of the house of commons, by Lord North, early in 1770, on the demise of Sir John Cust; whose portrait, as drawn by Wilkes, conveys the meanest idea of his ability to fill the office. By the same minister, Norton was displaced in 1780; and I formed one of the majority on the occasion. Yet, though thus deprived, after ten years' service, of an employment which usually or invariably conducts among us to the peerage, he had the good fortune to enter the upper house within eighteen months subsequent to his exclusion from the chair:—a circumstance for which he was however more indebted to Lord Shelburne, than to the Marquis of Rockingham. The last-mentioned nobleman, who only survived about twelve weeks Sir Fletcher's elevation, would never have compelled the king to confer on him that dignity, if his majesty, at the Earl of Shelburne's solicitation, had not created Dunning a peer. Lord Grantley was a bold, able, and eloquent, but not a popular pleader. *Junius* treats him with great severity. "This," says he, "is the very lawyer described by Ben Jonson," who

"Gives forked council; takes provoking gold
On either hand, and puts it up.
So wise, so grave, of so perplex'd a tongue,
And loud withal, that would not wag, nor
scarce
Lye still, without a fee."

Acting constantly with opposition, he would have formed one of the minority in the house of peers on the division of the 26th of December, if he had not been prevented by illness. Cornwall, his successor in the Speaker's chair, followed him on the ensuing day, only surviving him about twenty-four hours; thus presenting to the metropolis the singular spectacle of two successive Speakers of the house of commons dying on two successive days. Under George the First, in 1720, London had witnessed two secretaries of state, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs, lying dead at the same time. As Lord Grantley held the office of chief justice in eyre south of Trent, so Cornwall was possessed of the same office north of Trent. Both these lucrative sinecures were bestowed by Pitt,

some months afterwards; the former on his brother's father-in-law, Lord Sydney; while with the other he gratified his friend John Charles Villiers.

2d—5th January.—Never was any man in public situation less regretted, or sooner forgotten, than Cornwall! His death being notified on the same day, by Hatsell, the first clerk, to a large assemblage of members who crowded down to the house as soon as the intelligence of the Speaker's decease was announced; Rose, acting as minister in Pitt's absence moved and carried an immediate adjournment. On the ensuing Monday, being the 5th of the month, the Earl of Euston, Pitt's colleague for the University of Cambridge, proposed Mr. William Wyndham Grenville to supply the vacant chair. Pulteney seconded the *motion*; observing, after the customary encomiums on Mr. Grenville, that "he possessed an hereditary claim to the favour of the house, as the guardian of their privileges; which he had contributed to fortify by his judicious alteration of his father's bill; the *Grenville Act* for trying contested elections. On the other side, Sir Gilbert Elliot was started against the ministerial candidate. Neither the chancellor of the exchequer, nor Fox, took any part in the debate, which was short, and conducted on both sides with great moderation; but I believe not a word of regret, or even of approbation; was expressed for the character and services of the deceased Speaker, from any part of the house. In truth, he little deserved such recognitions of this official merit. The division formed a test of the respective strength of the two parties. Grenville carried it by a majority of seventy-one, only 359 members voting, so that near two hundred were absent. The new speaker was probably the youngest man who had attained since the reign of Edward the Third to so honourable an eminence, having scarcely accomplished his twenty-ninth year. This proof of ministerial influence being exhibited, the chancellor of the exchequer announced that on the following day he should open to the house the restrictions which he intended to propose as necessary to be annexed to the office of regent.

I have already stated, that Pitt having

established, by the votes of both houses, the principle of the *right* inherent in them to confer the regency, in contradiction to Fox's and Lord Loughborough's assertion of the Prince of Wales's *right* to assume the regency, was now about to address his royal highness on the subject. He fulfilled that intention a very short time before the close of the year 1788. His letter was brief, if we consider the important nature of its contents; but free from all ambiguity, and respectful, without any mixture of unbecoming submission. It enumerated the leading restraints proposed to be laid on the future regent:—restraints unquestionably severe, if they had been calculated for duration; but Pitt expressly added, that “they were formed on the supposition that his majesty's illness would be only temporary.” The prince, if he had chosen to adopt for his guidance the same assumption; and if, acting in conformity to it, he would only have allowed the existing government to remain untouched till it could be ascertained whether Warren or Willis was best founded in his conjectures; might have avoided all collision with the administration. Three or four months would have sufficed to make the experiment. A patriot heir-apparent would have so acted. Patriot advisers would have so counselled him. Or, if those words have no prototypes,—if patriot kings and ministers never existed except in the writings of Lord Bolingbroke; yet, wise, decorous, judicious counsellors would not have consented to take office till the lapse of a few weeks had enabled them to form some solid opinion respecting the continuance, or the cessation, of the king's malady. The gratitude and the approbation of the country would have repaid them for their delay in taking possession of power. Nay more, as soon as parliament and the nation had been convinced that no reasonable prospect presented itself of the full restoration of the royal faculties, they would have forced ministers to confer the prerogatives of the sovereign on his representative, without limitations. It was the belief, or at least it was the hope and wish generally cherished, of the king's speedy recovery, that justified the chancellor of the exchequer in lay-

ing down restrictions, and enabled him to carry them in parliament.

The prince's answer to Pitt's letter was long, when compared with that of the minister. Concealed resentment, or rather, half-suppressed indignation, pervaded every line. Its composition was attributed to Fox; approved by Lord Loughborough, and if considered merely as a production of the pen, might merit praise. But, instead of accepting cheerfully the limited powers offered by ministers, and acquiescing in their supposition that a few weeks or months would replace his father in the exercise of his functions, the prince saw only “the weakness, disorder, and insecurity, that would pervade every branch of the administration.” He beheld the sovereign consigned to a perpetual *strait waistcoat*, while Pitt confidently anticipated his resumption of the *sceptre*. He complained that “a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which government must be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in his hands.” He stigmatized it as “a project for dividing the royal family from each other.” He denominated it “a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, or benignity.”

Yet, after thus strongly censuring, and almost criminating the fabricators of such a proposition, he finally consented to accept “the painful trust imposed on him,” from considerations of a public nature. His letter was dated from Carlton House, on the 2d of January. It may perhaps excite surprise that Fox should not himself have advised the prince to retain Pitt and the other ministers in office for two or three months, rather than seize on a government thus curtailed, the tenure of which was so precarious. But ambition, sharpened and impelled by poverty, could not listen to reason. Fox was already forty: Burke verged towards sixty. Neither the one, nor the other, possessed the means of comfortable independent subsistence. If once installed in office, they trusted to events, and to their own ability, for prolonging the duration of their power.

Nor is it possible to assert that, putting public opinion out of the question, they reasoned on fallacious grounds. If the prince had been declared regent, and proceeded to exercise his authority, who can pretend to say what events might have taken place? It opens a wide field of speculation, on which I do not think proper to enter, for many reasons.

6th January. — Meanwhile, the state of the king became a subject of the most anxious contemplation. He had already remained during a period of nearly ten weeks wholly deprived of reason, subjected at times to the most coercive treatment which it is necessary to use towards individuals in his calamitous situation. Many persons, even among those who most ardently desired his recovery, yet began to consider it as very doubtful. Every additional day seemed to diminish its probability; and the operation of that fact on the members of both houses who had hitherto supported administration, might be most injuriously felt, unless some favourable symptoms speedily manifested themselves. Willis, who displayed great professional skill in his treatment of the royal patient, invariably and confidently predicted the complete restoration of his intellect. But these assurances made little impression on the public mind. In every demand compatible with propriety, Willis indulged him. During one of his tranquil intervals, about this time, the king desired that a volume of Shakspeare's plays might be brought to him. Willis ordered it to be put into his hands, without previously adverting to the contents. It contained, among other tragedies, "*King Lear*." His insanity too, like that of *Lear*, exhibited all the characteristics of royal lunacy. He still felt and expressed himself as a *sovereign*, retaining a perfect consciousness of who he was, even amidst his privation of all intelligence. On or about the last day of December, 1788, some circumstances occurred in his malady, which, though unobserved by the other medical attendants, or not considered as forming grounds of hope, yet emboldened Willis to communicate them to the chancellor, with the gratifying assurance that he regarded them in a most favourable point of view. He added, at the same time,

that he did not expect the recovery to be near at hand. The information thus given, Lord Thurlow mentioned on the following day, when addressing the Duke of Norfolk in the house of peers, without however expressly naming Dr. Willis as his authority. Nevertheless, such an allusion, coming from so high a quarter, did not fail to produce a corresponding sensation throughout the metropolis, and operated as a support to ministers.

In order to counteract that impression, the leaders of opposition determined, if possible, to set on foot a new examination of the physicians; hoping that the result would tend to invalidate, if not wholly to overturn, Willis's prognostics. But, as a *motion* for the purpose would come with more effect from a country gentleman of independent character and fortune than from Fox or Sheridan, Mr. Loveden undertook to bring it before the house. I knew him well, and I believe he is still alive at the present time in March, 1820, though far advanced in life. He represented the borough of Abingdon in the county of Berks, near which place he possessed a fine landed property. His figure, manners, and address, all bespoke a substantial yeoman, rather than a person of education and condition: but he did not want plain common sense, nor language in which to clothe his ideas. He, such as I have described him, starting up unexpectedly, as the chancellor of the exchequer was preparing to open, in a most crowded house, the nature of the *restrictions* intended to be annexed to the regency, drew attention from the singularity of his interposition at such a moment: for I believe he had never, or scarcely ever, before risen to speak in that assembly. Commencing by a declaration that he was

* Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,"

though he had voted with the minority on one, and, I believe, on both the divisions of the 16th and of the 22d of December; he proceeded to observe, that before the terms on which the regency should be conferred became matter of discussion, it imported to know accurately the *present* state of his majesty's health. A month having elapsed since

the last report of the physicians, the house ought to be informed whether subsequently the probability of a recovery had increased or diminished, as rumours of a contradictory nature were circulated. Limitations of the regent's power *might*, he added, be proper to a certain extent, if the suspension of the royal authority should prove merely temporary; but such a proposition would be very differently received, if little expectation existed of his majesty's restoration to reason. Finally, he moved to re-examine the physicians, for the purpose of ascertaining whether "the present symptoms afforded ground to hope for the king's *speedy* recovery."

Pitt, thus taken by surprise, exhibited, as he always did when pressed on any occasion of magnitude or difficulty, that calm, collected, prompt, sound judgment, which distinguished him from Fox throughout his political life. He opposed Loveden's *motion* as unnecessary; all the physicians concurring in the probability of the king's recovery; and expressed his great anxiety to restore the government, with as little delay as possible, to a state of energy and effect. Fox, while he concurred with the chancellor of the exchequer in the concluding sentiment, nevertheless urged the propriety of re-examining the physicians, because four weeks had elapsed without any alteration whatever in his majesty's health. The declaration made by Lord Thurlow in the other house, he censured in strong terms, as unsubstantiated by evidence or facts; and therefore as only calculated, by holding out fallacious hopes, to gain votes. Burke did not limit himself to these remarks, but gave the reins to his irritable temper. Having congratulated the house on the minister's declaration that he wished to restore energy and effect to the government, Burke observed that "those expressions ought to be realized; not to set up a maimed, crippled, and impotent mockery of government." Then diverging to the state of the sovereign's malady, he proceeded to read from the examination of one of the physicians, who had been examined before the committee of the house of peers, some answers which were unfavourable to the expectation of his majesty's recovery. Per-

ceiving that the citations thus made excited marks of disapprobation from the ministerial benches, he burst into one of those transports of classic rage in which he frequently indulged. "It is," exclaimed he, "the duty of those who sit opposite, to pay due attention to the opinions delivered respecting the king's state, before they cut and carve the government as they would a carrion carcase for hounds, instead of immolating it as a sacrifice to the gods!"

George Vansittart, member for the county of Berks (whose seat of Bisham Abbey lay in the vicinity of Windsor; who had always received distinguishing marks of royal regard, and whose sister had performed no ordinary part in the household of the late Princess Dowager of Wales);—this gentleman asking across the floor to be informed of the physician's name whose opinion Burke had read, he answered that it was the examination of Dr. Warren. A loud cry arising among the friends of administration at the mention of a person regarded as so partial to the heir-apparent, Burke renewed a second time his exclamations. "Were their projects so soon ripe," he demanded, "that they ventured already to disclose their sentiments; meaning to construct a miserable machine of mutilated government on a foundation of falsehood, of fraud, and of calumny? Were they about to rob the first physician in England of his character?" Lord North, who was present, and seated near Burke, mindful of his former obligations to Warren, rose likewise, in order to do justice to his moral qualities and integrity, no less than to his medical skill; which he did in terms of high encomium. On the other hand, Pitt proved from Warren's own admission while on his examination, that however recognized might be his professional ability, yet, in the particular disorder under which his majesty suffered, his skill was comparatively little, as he owned that he always thought it necessary to call in others, to supply his own want of experience in that line of practice. Adverting next to Burke's violence, Pitt expressed his concern at the injury which such warmth must produce to Burke himself, "as it seemed to arise from his entertaining wishes un-

like those felt by the rest of the house." Finally, he admitted that after the assertions which had been made, and the inferences which had been drawn, in the progress of the evening's debate, he found himself reduced to agree to a further enquiry. He hoped, however, that it might be terminated in a day or two, and he should therefore make no opposition to the appointment of a select committee for the purpose.

Burke, now starting up a third time, attacked Pitt in the most personal manner. "I am necessitated," cried he, "to repel a malignant and unmerited imputation. When I fly from inquiry, then let the minister aim at me his envenomed shafts." "If a difference of opinion exists among his majesty's medical attendants, why is not Dr. Munro called to give his advice? The keeper of one madhouse ought to be set against the keeper of another, and by their collision we shall arrive at the truth. Let the keeper of a madhouse with only thirty patients be opposed to one who has three hundred under his care! Thus will the house attain complete intelligence." Fox expressed himself with equal animation, but with more self-command. While he let loose his indignation at the motive attributed by the chancellor of the exchequer to Burke, Fox did not the less clothe his emotions in measured language. Relative to the king, he declared that he had not the least doubt of the hopelessness of the case. Such was then, indeed, I believe, the general opinion. The debate being terminated, Pitt moved for the appointment of a committee "to examine anew the physicians." But Sheridan, not satisfied with those words, attempting to substitute others of a more comprehensive import, giving powers to the committee "to send for persons and papers, as well as to inquire into the probability of the king's speedy recovery," a division took place. Administration, on this trial of strength, fully sustained, and even exceeded, its former numbers; carrying the question by a majority of eighty, in a very full house, where four hundred and sixty-two members voted.

7th—13th January.—In consequence of Pitt's compliance with the object of Loveden's motion, the deliberations and

proceedings of both houses of parliament became suspended during ten days. The prince's adherents, in thus supporting a new enquiry respecting the king's state, hoped to prove two points;—first, the augmenting improbability of his complete recovery; and next, that the probability of such an event became diminished from day to day, by the duration of his malady. If a general impression of these facts could once be established, they well knew that Pitt's majority would be sapped at its foundation. That majority, it appeared from the results of three successive divisions in the house of commons on the late questions, might be calculated at from sixty to seventy; *above* the former, but *below* the latter number. Consequently, *thirty-five* members passing over from the ministerial side, to the other party, would give his royal highness the command of the assembly. In the upper house, the administration had indeed been supported, on the only division which had as yet taken place there, by ninety-nine peers, while their opponents could only reckon sixty-six. But Pitt's superiority of numbers, on which he could rely, might be estimated *under thirty*. *Fifteen* votes therefore withdrawn from government, and added to the opposition, might turn the scale. The lords of the bedchamber alone, *eleven* of whom had supported ministers on the 26th of December, if joined by three or four bishops, would suffice to overturn all Pitt's machinery. But, on the other hand, Fox and Lord Loughborough never seemed to recollect that the operation of time might save, as well as destroy, the minister. By preferring the *claim* of the heir-apparent to assume the regency, they had already lost about a month. They now set on foot a new examination of the physicians, instead of propelling the election of a regent. Pitt was thus saved by his opponents.

Let us suppose that they had adopted opposite principles, had avoided every possible subject of contest or delay, simply accepting the regency as the donation of the two houses; and however they might condemn or lament the restrictions imposed on the prince, yet had advised him cheerfully to submit to them making ministers responsible for any in-

efficiency of the new government. If Fox had so acted, he would have speedily placed the heir-apparent in the regent's chair, invested with the insignia of royal power. A new administration would have been formed on the basis of the *coalition* of 1783, with some variations; Lord Stormont succeeding Lord North as secretary for the home department, and the great seal being virtually entrusted to Wedderburn, as first commissioner. The newly-installed regent would have opened the session with the accustomed forms, Lord Loughborough occupying the woolsack. In the other house, Fox and Burke would have addressed an audience always favourably disposed towards the individuals speaking from the treasury bench: while Pitt and Dundas, removed to another quarter of the assembly, must have experienced the chilling influence of departed power. Ireland would have been placed under the absolute dominion of the new government. Such must have been the circumstances under which the royal *Epimenides* would have *awoke* in February. Might not the very consciousness of his son's being actually regent, and the information that his first act of authority was to displace the ministers, have tended to plunge the king's mind into new disorder? Is it quite certain that, after having been declared a lunatic by both houses of parliament, — a fact which must have been communicated to every European sovereign, by the British envoys at their respective courts, — George the Third would have resumed the functions of government? I know that he said to a nobleman who enjoyed much of his confidence, — I mean, the late Lord Walsingham, — who related it to me: "If a regency had been established, I would not have come forward to overturn it." And though I make no question that his repugnance on that point would have been easily surmounted; — (for he loved power and the exercise of it; — he was no voluptuary, nor votary of letters, who would have been content with a splendid retirement at Windsor, while his son governed;) — yet if the Prince of Wales had once occupied his vacant seat, it might not have been easy to restore things to their former situation.

While the select committee, to the

number of twenty-one, — where Pitt presided as chairman, and of which Burke, Sheridan, and other opposition leaders, were members, — remained in constant examination of the physicians; the two parties exerted their utmost efforts, the one to retain, and the other to augment, their respective adherents. Female auxiliaries were called into play on both sides. The Duchess of Devonshire, whose blandishments had so eminently conducted to Fox's success as representative for Westminster in 1784, renewed her powerful applications in favour of the heir-apparent. Pitt and Dundas opposed to her the Duchess of Gordon. Far inferior to her rival in feminine graces, in accomplishments of mind, and in elegance of manners, the last-mentioned duchess possessed qualities not less useful, — pertinacity which no obstacle could shake, masculine importunity, emancipation from ordinary forms, — propelled by the hope of place, and by views of interest. Surrounded by five daughters, three of whom were already marriageable, their establishment in life occupied all her thoughts. Inhabiting at the time the splendid mansion belonging to the Marquis of Buckingham in Pall Mall, she there assembled on evenings a crowd of the most distinguished persons of both sexes, composed mostly of those attached to administration. I was one of the number. She even acted as a *whisper-in* of ministers. Confiding in her rank, her sex, and personal attractions, she ventured to send for members of parliament; to question, to remonstrate, and to use every means for confirming their adherence to government. The duke, her husband, who wanted her energy of character, did not on that account derive less benefit from her exertions. He received in due time the great seal of Scotland as his remuneration; while Lord William Gordon, his brother, vice-admiral of the same kingdom, had long been made deputy ranger of St. James's and of Hyde Parks, — one of the most enviable sinecures in the gift of the crown.

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, on the other hand, brought into action more solid and substantial means of seduction than female charms or solicitations. About this time, dinners

began to be given at Carlton House on the Saturday and Sunday of every week; to which entertainments, thirty or more members, composed of both houses, were usually invited, and at which their royal highnesses presided in person. Wine, attentions, and promises were not spared. Governments, regiments, offices, preferments, titles, held out in prospect, retained the wavering, and allured the credulous or the discontented. Private negotiations were likewise set on foot in order to gain over the supporters of government. A man of high rank made me propositions of that nature. But the object which he had in view extended much beyond my single vote. The nobleman to whom I allude, the late Earl of Clermont, well knew that the Duke of Dorset, then our ambassador at the court of France, maintained with me a most unreserved correspondence. Through me, they hoped to reach him, who likewise brought in two members for the borough of East Grinstead. I consented to lay before the duke his royal highness's offers, which were of the most flattering nature, leaving him to appreciate them as he might think that they deserved. In his reply to me, he expressed a grateful sense of the prince's intentions; adding, however, at the same time, his determination to take no political step whatever without his uncle the Marquis of Stafford's participation and approval. His answer terminated the negotiation, or rather, overture. The kingdom at large unquestionably gave its sanction to ministers. So did the city of London; but in Westminster, Fox's party predominated. Such was the aspect of public affairs towards the middle of the month of January.

13th January.—At length, after a week of incessant labour, Pitt as chairman of the committee for re-examining the physicians, appeared at the bar of the house, holding in his hand the *report*. But scarcely had he brought it up, when Burke moved for its recommitment, arraigned the conduct of the committee, and accused them of unfaithfully discharging their duty. "Why," he exclaimed, "had not the surgeons, apothecaries, and others, who had attended on his majesty, been summoned before them to give evidence! There were,

moreover, additional grounds of complaint; consisting in the omission or concealment of many circumstances necessary for forming a just estimate of the king's state, and the probability of his cure." Against Willis, Burke directed the most acrimonious remarks; averring that, in his own opinion, and he believed, in the opinion of other members of the committee, "*his majesty's life was not safe in such hands.*" He added, however: "I do not mean to impute bad intentions to any individual. It is of the rashness of those to whom the care of his royal person is entrusted that I complain." Pitt treated him with some degree of levity, not to say of ridicule, these charges. "The house," he said, "would not probably think the enquiry had been improperly *narrowed*, when the bulk of the *report* laid on the table, consisting of nearly four hundred folio pages, was duly considered. Every one of the physicians had undergone the most rigorous, as well as repeated examinations." Relative to the accusation of the king's life not being safe in such hands, "it arises," continued Pitt, "from the fact having been disclosed and avowed, that Dr. Willis had trusted a razor in his majesty's hand;" an experiment which Willis justified by reasons founded on his long experience, and knowledge of the disorder. Windham attempted to sustain Burke; but they did not venture to divide on the *motion* for re-committing the *report*. It was therefore ordered to be printed, the 16th of the month being fixed for taking into consideration the state of the nation.

16th January.—Never perhaps was greater and more general expectation excited than when the chancellor of the exchequer rose for the purpose of disclosing the conditions on which he proposed to offer the regency to the Prince of Wales! And never did that eloquent minister acquit himself with more consummate ability than on the evening in question. Blending the details of every feature of his plan with admirable brevity, Pitt began by observing, that though the *report* recently laid on the table disclosed a vast mass of information on the subject of his majesty's disorder, yet in his opinion, it afforded little new matter for deliberation; and no grounds what-

ever for impeaching the propriety and prudence of those measures which, ten days earlier, he had been prepared to submit for their consideration. He followed up this remark by another, applied personally to Fox, who had argued that the probability of the king's cure was diminished, because a month had elapsed since the *first* inquiry, without any perceptible amelioration of his health; whereas, all the physicians, however divided they might be on other points, coincided in asserting that the ultimate cure rested precisely on the same foundation as it had done in December. Then discussing the depositions of the different medical attendants, comparing and contrasting them, he endeavoured to impress a conviction that, at least in the opinion of two, — namely, Willis and Sir Lucas Pepys, — there was an *abatement of disorder*, though as yet no resumption of reason. Finally, he entered into a defence of the queen, who had subjected herself to some animadversions, for having attempted, through the medium of the diurnal reports, or bulletins, to convey a more favourable impression of his majesty's condition than was quite warranted by fact.

Pitt next proceeded to repeat the principles and bases on which he had already proposed to invest the heir-apparent with a considerable portion of the royal authority. Yet, in so doing, he conjured the house "to provide only for the necessity of the case, not to exceed it; and, above all things, to recollect that they were not placing a king on the throne, but to bear in mind that the throne was full." Having reasoned, with great historical knowledge of the subject, on the immutable distinction between a monarch and a regent, he then enumerated the four principal restrictions necessary, as he conceived, to be imposed on the Prince of Wales. The *first* restraining him from granting peerages, except to his majesty's sons, if they should previously have attained the age of twenty-one years. In order to impress the propriety of this regulation, as drawn from past experience, Pitt did not hesitate to urge "the possibility of such another confederacy and cabal forming in the state, as had attempted to overthrow the constitution in 1782." "They," continued

he, "might offer advice to *the regent* of a nature which would probably be rejected by *the crown*. Such a number of peers might in consequence be created as must greatly embarrass the sovereign in carrying on the government, whenever he shall be restored to health." It cannot be denied that the danger here depicted was founded in reason.

To the *second* restriction, by which the regent was prevented from bestowing annuities or patent places *for life*; as well as to the *third*, which withheld from him all power over the king's *personal property*; little or no objection could be urged. On the *fourth* and last restraint, by which the care of his majesty's person was to be consigned to the queen, Pitt expatiated with more animation; "it being," he said, "his intention to put the whole royal household under that princess's authority, investing her with full powers to dismiss, or to appoint, at her pleasure." Conscious that such an independent control placed her in a sort of opposition to her son, and might even lead to collision between them, the minister entered into some justification of its principle. In language of energy, he depicted the emotions which must painfully rend the bosom of the king, when "*waking* from his trance of reason, and asking for his usual attendants, if he should be told that his subjects, taking advantage of his temporary privation of intellect, had dismissed and changed them."

Having thus enumerated the restraints which he was desirous of imposing on the future regent, Pitt candidly admitted that a retinue adequate to his high station ought to be provided for him by parliament. Before the minister concluded, he stated likewise his intention of proposing a council for her majesty, to the members of which body she might have recourse in cases of difficulty; limited, however, to the power of merely offering her their advice. Neither Fox nor Burke rose to answer him. They well knew how much more forcibly the house would be affected by the appeal of a county member, who united independence of mind to distinguished talents, than by any display of oratory or eloquence. Powis combined in himself all those qualities. Almost every feature of the pro-

posed plan he held up to condemnation, as "a monstrous fabric, calculated to mutilate and dismember the constitutional prerogatives entrusted to the crown. — Gracious Heaven!" exclaimed Powis, "is it necessary that the government should be entirely new-modelled? Are the regal rights inherent in the *person* of his majesty? Or, are they not annexed to the kingly *Office*? Has the heir-apparent acted unbecomingly during his father's illness? Has he attempted by cabal or intrigues to wrest from the king his sceptre? Has he been guilty of the crime of treason?" "It is asserted that he may have bad advisers. May not the queen too have bad advisers? The country will regard their conduct with peculiar jealousy." "I consider these *resolutions*," pursued he, "as likely to excite animosities, not only throughout the kingdom, but in the royal family, and to arm the mother against her son. I regard them as equally subversive of the constitution with the *East India Bill* of 1783; and as I cannot consent to parcel out the prerogatives of the British crown at the pleasure of an individual, I will move an *amendment*."

Lord North and Sheridan both attacked the minister; the former with the arms of reason, exemplified and illustrated by appeals to history. Sheridan called in as auxiliaries not only his characteristic weapons of wit and ridicule, but he preferred personal accusations against Pitt. Lord North depicted with force the calamities that would infallibly arise from a violation of the constitution. Sheridan charged the chancellor of the exchequer with duplicity, arrogance, and calumny; repelling with scorn all the imputations which he had thrown on the *coalition administration*. After holding up Dr. Willis to universal reprobation, as an empiric, if not as an impostor, on account of the favourable symptoms which he pretended to have discovered in the king's malady (every one of which became verified within a few weeks)† Sheridan directed his next observations to a higher quarter. The manner in which the queen had been mentioned appeared to be, he said, the result of premeditated design to provoke a discussion respecting her majesty's conduct. Those persons only who wish-

ed to give her responsibility by taking her out of that domestic station in which she had acted so irreproachably, manifested a want of delicacy towards her. "The true motive," continued Sheridan, "of the minister's line of policy, is his belief that the regent will change the administration, and will place it in the hands of those who, as he dares to assert, have been convicted of a confederacy to overturn the constitution. Yet with *them*, after they had completed their coalition, he had professed his readiness to form a junction." Towards the conclusion, he drew an animated picture, or rather caricature of the ex-minister, as he designated Pitt, coming down in state, under the future regency, to the house, preceded by the lord steward, the lord chamberlain, and the master of the horse, clearing his way through the lobby, — with the cap of liberty borne before him on the end of a white staff.

Fullarton, strongly attached to the heir-apparent, and equally averse to Pitt, attempted to draw a parallel between the reign of Charles the Sixth, king of France, and that of George the Third. Both sovereigns had been rendered incapable of conducting public affairs by a privation of intellect. Fullarton endeavoured to show that Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France, and her confidential minister, Morvilliers, — the former, one of the most vicious as well as unnatural princesses commemorated in history; the latter, an ambitious and unprincipled politician, — were realized and resuscitated before their eyes. He depicted the queen of Charles the Sixth as "a woman attached only to her treasures, influenced by the *chancellor*, the *prime minister*, and other principal officers of the court; who apprehended that if the government should be entrusted to the *heir-apparent* during the king's incapacity, they would lose their employments." Morvilliers was described by Fullarton as "commencing his career in the profession of the law, but speedily opening for himself a nearer road to greatness by the more productive path of politics." Finally, he portrayed the prince, afterwards Charles the Seventh of France; "who possessed," he said, "not only the most interesting qualities and the most fascinating manners, but who

had attached to his cause the noblest spirits and the best abilities of his country." Some striking points of similarity unquestionably existed between the two periods of time, as well as a faint resemblance in the leading personages of each country, sufficient at least to furnish matter for parliamentary declamation.

A division took place on Powis's amendment to Pitt's *first resolution*, which proposed to confer the regency on the heir-apparent, "subject to such limitations as should be provided;" Powis's object being to emancipate him in great measure from those restraints. Government carried the question by *seventy-three* votes. Fox, who suffered at the time under severe indisposition, which soon compelled him to discontinue his personal attendance, took no active part throughout the whole discussion. But when, after its decision, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the next *resolution*, which precluded the future regent from creating peers, Fox endeavoured to limit the *duration* of the restriction. A second division ensued, which administration again carried, though with reduced numbers. The opposition rose from 154 to 159; while government fell from 227 to 216; leaving a majority of only *fifty-seven*. I voted with ministers throughout every stage, and on every question, of this great conflict. Pitt's two subsequent *resolutions*,—the first of which regarded annuities or patent places *for life*, and the latter withheld from the regent any power over his father's *personal* property,—were not contested. The house then adjourned, each side anticipating with anxiety the next proposition which would be agitated: namely, that of committing the king's person to her majesty's care, and at the same time putting the whole royal household under her control. Fox postponed his departure for Bath until the event should be ascertained.

19th January. — When the house met, Pitt immediately opened his proposition relative to the queen. On the propriety of committing to *her* care the person of his majesty, the minister said that he would not anticipate an objection, because he did not believe a difference of opinion to be possible on the subject. But he argued at considerable length the sound policy, propriety, and other motives con-

bining to allot the direction of the royal household to the same hand. Pitt was powerfully supported on that night from various quarters. By Dundas, who, for the first time since the commencement of the session, took part in the debate; and who not only defended with his characteristic boldness the measure under deliberation, but accused the opposite party of bringing forward such dangerous doctrines as rendered it necessary to counteract them, thus occasioning all the delay that had intervened. By Scott, the solicitor-general, whose conspicuous parliamentary, as well as professional talents, already opened to him a prospect of attaining the highest dignities of the law. Perhaps, nevertheless, ministers derived more efficient service from Pulteney. His figure and dress, which always brought before my imagination Pope's *Sir John Cutler*,—his whole wardrobe being threadbare,—did not detract from the vigour of his understanding, nor from the perspicuity of his arguments.

Throwing the whole force of his reason into the ministerial scale, he treated with contempt the supposition, either that the actual administration would factiously oppose the prince's ministers; or that these latter, if they conducted themselves well, could possibly fail of receiving general support. "What!" observed Pulteney, "cannot they govern without having the nomination of every butcher and baker belonging to the royal household! If they act uprightly, they will stand in need of no such patronage. Even if a faction should arise, a dissolution of parliament is a remedy to which they can always have recourse. I was not present when the *right* of the two houses to provide for the deficiency of the executive authority, and to name a regent, became matter of debate. But on such an occasion I would have given my hearty vote in its support; and I shall now vote as heartily in favour of the restrictions. Never will I admit the probability of a cabal being formed in the house of peers hostile to the regent's ministers. If, indeed, another measure as unconstitutional as the memorable *East India Bill* should be again introduced, I readily allow that the bedchamber lords may

form a powerful obstacle to its progress." Fox did not rise till a very late hour; and as his design of quitting the scene of politics for a short time, in order to recover sufficient health for undertaking the charge of the foreign department, was well known, he drew more than ordinary attention. Addressing himself first to Scott, the solicitor-general, whom Fox accused of "endeavouring to entangle the understanding of his hearers in the sophistries of legal metaphysics," he successively adverted to the arguments of Dundas and of Pulteney. Conscious that the present occasion would be the last in which he should personally take any part before the decision of the regency question, he seemed to put out all his intellectual strength.

Scott having laid down as an incontrovertible proposition, that "the king's political character was in the eye of the law inseparable from his *personal*, and so would continue until his demise," Fox turned against this doctrine all the artillery of reason and of ridicule. "I consider such a tenet," said he, "as fitted only for ages of ignorance, when human institutions were deified, and declared to be of divine origin. That a sense of duty, loyalty, and affection will animate the breast of every Englishman, and will lead him to protect his majesty's sacred person, however long his malady may prove, is unquestionable. But, when this is stated to be the definition of *allegiance*, I enter against it my protest. *Allegiance* is a reciprocal duty, arising in the heart, emanating from the mind, as a consequence of receiving protection; and it is only of equal existence. If the definition of allegiance given from the treasury bench was well founded, whether the king's malady should continue for one year, or for thirty, the legislature could never vest the full powers of the crown in any other hands while the person of the sovereign remained on earth. That such is the latent design of ministers I have no doubt, though at present they may think it prudent to conceal their intention."

Having depicted the hardship of precluding the regent from the prerogative of creating peers, while it was intended to place the household under the queen's exclusive control; "To all this

series of paradoxes," exclaimed he, "there can be only one solution. Ministers wish to insinuate the scandalous idea, that a division may take place between the mother and the son. I cannot utter in language of adequate indignation my abhorrence of such a plan. Yet I confess that the machination is artfully laid for accomplishing the intended purpose. I trust, however, that it will be prevented."—"It has been asked," continued Fox, "what would be the consequence of the queen's demise? If the prince regent should die, the mode of proceeding would be easy and simple. The next prince in succession, the Duke of York, if alive, or Prince William Henry, would be appointed to the office. But, if the queen should die, in whose hands would they entrust the custody of the king? In those of the Duke of York? Would ministers endeavour to divide the royal brothers? The attempt, I believe, they will find as difficult as to remove the planets from their orbits!" We have lived to see this supposititious case realized, thirty years after it was stated in parliament.

Fox concluded his speech, many parts of which were unanswerable, by putting two questions to the minister. First, if the custody of the royal household was to be given to the queen, *when* was the provision intended for the regent to be settled, and *what* was to be its extent? Secondly, if the intended restrictions were to have a *limited* duration, *what period* of time should he consider as proper for their continuance? To these inquiries the chancellor of the exchequer answered, that it was difficult to fix any precise term for the duration of the restrictions. "Should, however," continued he, "contrary to my *sanguine expectation and belief*, the king's recovery, *after some time*, be protracted, and should it be pronounced by medical attendants, unlikely to take place *soon*; my opinion would be to withdraw altogether the restrictions, including the prerogative of creating peers. The establishment of the royal household *may likewise then* be revised and new-modelled." A more undefined and vague reply probably never proceeded from ministerial lips. Desirous nevertheless to give some satisfaction on another very

interesting point, Pitt added, "Whenever the act of the two houses shall have passed constituting his royal highness regent, a proper retinue ought to be immediately provided for supporting his station with becoming splendour. Of what precise extent the provision should be, I have not yet fully determined. The declaration made on the prince's part, expressive of his reluctance to increase the national burthens, is most magnanimous. But no dread of unpopularity shall deter me from proposing a new establishment, suitable to the illustrious rank and character of the regent. *I know not whether I shall be left to propose this matter, or whether it may not devolve to other hands. In either case, in or out of office, I am ready to stand up in my place, and to lay the additional expense where it ought to fall, on the public purse of the country.*"

By this guarded disclosure of his intentions, without naming any particular time for carrying them into execution, Pitt still kept his opponents in ignorance of his ultimate plans. If he had possessed a prescience of the king's speedy recovery, he could not have taken his measures with more consummate ability. Irritated at the obscurity of the minister's replies, Sheridan reminded him that he had given no answer whatever as to the intended *duration* of the restrictions, while he had totally omitted to explain the nature and constitution of the *council* which was to be provided for the queen. Thus pressed, he somewhat reluctantly owned that it was impossible for him to state *any fixed period* for taking off the restrictions; but he added, "Parliament will always possess the power of removing them." To the other object of Sheridan's enquiry, he gave a much more explicit reply. "It would only be a council of advice, and in no degree of control. The great officers of state, with some dignified prelates, were intended to compose it." After a debate of full twelve hours, a division at length took place on the question of giving to her majesty the power of removing, and of appointing, at her pleasure, the officers of the king's household. One hundred and sixty-five votes negatived the proposition. The minister was supported

by two hundred and twenty-nine; leaving him a majority of *sixty-four*. But Lord North immediately afterwards moving to add the words, "for a limited time," the house divided again; when Pitt's followers fell to 220, while the opposite side lost one vote, being 164. Consequently government carried the point only by *fifty-six*.

The debate was now terminated, when Pulteney offered a clause for limiting both the duration of the proposed restrictions, and of the powers to be conferred on the regent by parliament. But Pitt, who while he affected to propel the decisions of the house, nevertheless proceeded with measured steps, like a man desirous, as far as he was able, of allowing time its full operation; though he professed his general coincidence of sentiment with Pulteney, and a readiness to adopt the proposition itself, yet dexterously evaded its immediate acceptance. Fox contented himself with observing, that such repeated elections of the chief magistrate, however he might be denominated regent, in fact changed the constitution from a limited monarchy to a republic. The various *resolutions* successively moved by Pitt being finally passed, were ordered to be communicated to the lords, at a conference between the managers of the two houses, on the following day. To that assembly all eyes were directed; and the commons, in order to allow time for their deliberations, suspended their own, by an adjournment of a week. Fox, extenuated by exertions, and enfeebled by a complaint the seat of which lay in the liver, after vainly contesting against administration, set out for Bath; Burke and Sheridan remaining at their posts, to dispute the ground with Pitt.

20th — 26th January. — Two debates, each marked by circumstances of much personal asperity, took place in the upper house on the 22d and 23d of January. The former was opened by Lord Camden, then in the seventy-fourth year of his age; who, after the first *resolution* sent up from the commons had been read, observed, that "his advanced period of life furnishing the strongest reason for his retirement from public business, he trusted the present act would form the last effort of his political existence."

Throughout his whole speech he displayed all his characteristic intellectual superiority, though the great energies of character which had distinguished him during the early part of George the Third's reign, in the cause of freedom, appeared to be sinking under the pressure of time. Not so the chancellor; who, as he designed to atone for his meditated defection at an early stage of the king's malady, unfolded all the powers of his capacious and vigorous intellect. But the most conspicuous exhibition of parliamentary eloquence made on that night, was by Watson, bishop of Ilandaff; a prelate of no ordinary ability or ambition, who has left us memoirs of his own life. His speech, which occupied nearly two hours in the delivery, would unquestionably have secured him an English mitre of the most solid description, and probably have translated him to Durham, or to Winchester, if the regency had been consummated, and its supporters had remained permanently in possession of power. The king's recovery chained him down for life to an obscure Welsh diocese. On the *resolution* being read which restricted the regent from the prerogative of creating peers, the Earl of Sandwich moved to add the words "for a time to be limited." A division taking place, the *motion* was negatived by a majority of *twenty-six* peers; the respective numbers being 93 to 67. And the house dividing a second time, on the main question, ministers carried it by *twenty-eight* votes.

The discussion was renewed on the subsequent evening, chiefly relative to the *resolution* committing to her majesty the custody of the king's person, accompanied with the control and management of the royal household. Towards its close, the chancellor might be said to sustain and to repel, almost unassisted, the whole weight of opposition, conducted by Lords Loughborough and Stormont. Thurlow standing as it were over the prostrate body of his sovereign, claimed for him the respect due to his lamentable situation: — "a misfortune," he observed, "equal to any which had ever fallen to the lot of man, since misfortune was known on earth!" — "I cannot conjecture," exclaimed he, "upon what principle it is possible to place the

king in her majesty's hands, without committing to her the superintendence of the household; nor how the dignity of a sovereign can be preserved, unless he retains his attendants. Let it be remembered that he is not a destitute individual, friendless or obscure; but a monarch to whom his people look up with anxious wishes that he may speedily reascend his throne. Any other treatment must manifest a total want of compassion for that royal sufferer, who then would be

"Deserted in his utmost need,
By those his former bounty fed!"

The sensibility which the chancellor displayed throughout this part of his speech, and which was not confined to himself, excited Burke's spleen, who treated it as hypocritical grimace. When the house of commons met, a few days afterwards, he compared "the tears shed in another assembly to the iron tears that ran down Pluto's cheek;" protesting at the same time, that "they were not tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for their expiring places. They were tears for his majesty's bread."

Lord Stormont touched at Thurlow's citation, immediately rose, and observed that however general might be the application of the words just quoted, yet he could not avoid considering them as peculiarly addressed to himself. "I have, indeed, my lords," continued he, enjoyed the highest honours, and passed the greatest part of my life, in the enjoyment of emoluments, conferred by his majesty. I come, therefore, under the description of those individuals who have largely shared in the royal bounty. But I trust that I have not repaid them with ingratitude. I love his majesty, I love the Prince of Wales; but I love still more the constitution. This declaration I now make in presence of some members of the royal family, and I shall not hesitate to repeat it before my sovereign himself, if I am ever restored to his presence." Reverting to the subject under deliberation, he reasoned with force, sustained by examples drawn from history, against a system which might oppose the mother to her son. "Recollect, my lords," said he, "the instance of Mary of Medicis

and Louis the Thirteenth, where an artful minister set them at variance. In my opinion, the person who is entrusted with the king's custody ought *not* to have control over the household. It is cruel thus to throw her majesty on a stormy political sea, without a rudder, chart, or compass." — "Who may be her advisers, I know not; but she may have counsellors who may persuade her, that she cannot render a greater service to her son, and to the country, than by attempting to rescue him from the pernicious hands in which he has reposed his confidence. From the division of power contemplated, I expect to see the standard of opposition erected in the centre of the queen's palace." It must be admitted that if the regency had permanently taken place, these apprehensions were not altogether destitute of foundation, nor of probability. Lord Loughborough not only maintained the same propositions, but declared in terms the most precise, that far from abandoning his assertion of the Prince of Wales's *right* to the regency during his father's incapacity, he was ready to defend it against the chancellor. On the division, 96 peers supported ministers, while only 68 voted with their opponents.

26th and 27th January. — Pitt's numerical superiority being now incontestably ascertained by repeated divisions in both houses, and Fox having personally withdrawn, the contest might in some measure be considered as terminated. But altercation and reproaches survived the struggle for power. The chancellor of the exchequer informing the house at its meeting, that he should propose to lay *the resolutions* before the Prince of Wales, in order to know whether his royal highness would accept of the regency on those conditions, Burke started up under violent agitation. Every part of the minister's conduct, he said, was despotic in the extreme. He had forced the discussion on the question of *right*, merely for purposes of delay. He had in fact thus addressed the house: "Slaves, do you presume to hesitate, or hint a doubt on the point? I will satisfy your scruples. The question *shall* be debated and decided." Unintimidated by the indecent severity of these remarks, Pitt

did not the less *move* on the subsequent evening, "for appointing a committee to communicate to his royal highness *the resolutions* of the lords and commons; expressing at the same time their hopes that he would comply, by taking on him the office of regent as speedily as an act of parliament could be passed." This proposition called out all the leaders from the opposite benches. Sheridan observed, that *the resolutions* appeared to be final and permanent, not as if calculated to answer a temporary emergency; though upon that single ground, urged repeatedly by the minister himself, had they been voted. Another matter, Sheridan added, which still remained wholly unexplained, was the degree of state and attendance intended to be annexed to the office of regent, as a substitute for that power and patronage taken from him by the last *resolution*. He concluded by moving to add, that "the restrictions were formed on the supposition that his majesty's illness was only temporary, and might not prove of long duration." It seemed difficult to suppose that Pitt could make any objection to insert these words, they being extracted from his own letter addressed to the Prince of Wales on the preceding 30th of December.

Grey rising next, accused the minister of having manifested a want of respect towards the heir apparent throughout every stage of his intercourse with Carlton House; a charge which Grey laboured to prove by an enumeration of various particulars. There seemed, however, to be more of enmity than of justice in these details as they amounted, even if well founded, rather to breaches of etiquette or omissions of form, than to any disrespectful intention. But Burke far exceeded both his friends in violence. The question, he maintained, was obviously an endeavour to create unnecessary delay; as was the whole ministerial system, to convert the constitution into a republic, by the annual election of a regent. "If," continued he, "it is intended to erect a republic, why is it not avowed? Should I be asked whether I dislike a commonwealth, I would answer, No. I am however aware that, according to our frame of government, we cannot speculate on a republic." Having then

eulogized, in language the most picturesque and classic, the true republican principles as transmitted down to us from antiquity, which he declared were objects of his utmost reverence and idolatry, he burst at once into a paroxysm of rage at "the phanton, the fiction of law," as he denominated it, by which Pitt intended to open the session of parliament. "So far is it," vociferated he, "from representing faithfully the forms of our admirable constitution, that it is a mere mummary, a piece of masquerade buffoonery, formed to burlesque every species of government! A hideous spectre, to which, with Macbeth, when addressing the ghost of Banquo, we may exclaim,

'Avaunt, and quit my sight! Let the earth
hide thee!
Thy bones are marrowless: thy blood is cold,
Thou hast no speculation in those eyes
That thou dost glare with.'

So is it with this ministerial political spectre. Its bones are marrowless, its blood is cold, and it has no speculation in those eyes. I reprobate it as a chimæra, a monster summoned up from the depths of hell!" This beautiful picture, which seemed to electrify the house, excited great admiration, even on the treasury bench.

Pitt repelled with temperate composure his numerous and eloquent assailants. To Sheridan he replied, that the proposed *amendment*, though consisting of words taken out of his own letter to the Prince of Wales, yet was only a *partial selection* of them, omitting other words which followed, and formed their explanation. He therefore should object to any such insertion. The delays which had hitherto impeded the progress of the Regency *Bill*, he demonstrated to have originated, not with ministers, but with their opponents. Turning next to Grey, he recapitulated the various acts, either of omission and neglect, or of positive disrespect towards the heir-apparent, with which he stood charged; justifying himself on each, as it appeared to me, in a manner the most satisfactory to any candid mind. "The highest tribute of respect," continued he, "that I can offer to every branch of the royal family, is to cultivate the interests of

the nation which their ancestors were called to govern; and to watch over the safety of that constitution, in the protection of which the prince himself will be eventually interested." Having thus answered two of his opponents, he omitted any reply to Burke; whose arguments, though fabricated by genius and illuminated by fancy, produced no solid impression. Sheridan still persisted in his *amendment*; the objection made to which by the chancellor of the exchequer he endeavoured to obviate by adding to his *motion* the remaining words of the sentence contained in Pitt's letter to the Prince of Wales. But the question being carried without a division, for communicating to his royal highness the *resolutions* of the two houses, Pitt then moved an address to the queen. Its object was to ascertain whether she would accept the care of his majesty's person, together with the management and control of the royal household. No opposition was attempted.

28th — 31st January. — The minister's situation during the last days of January was nevertheless peculiarly arduous and critical. From the summit of power, he beheld himself suddenly about to be precipitated by an event of the most unexpected nature, against which he neither had taken, nor could take, any measure of precaution. Three months had already elapsed since the king's seizure, and no indications of restoration to intellect were as yet perceptible. The violence of the delirium or frenzy had, indeed, greatly abated, and Willis confidently anticipated his speedy resumption of reason. But Warren as confidently maintained the contrary position. Pitt possessed no landed estate, no funded property, nor even life annuity. He had disdained to bestow on himself the clerkship of the pells, and it was not till some years later that he was made lord warden of the Cinque Ports. His brother, Lord Chatham, as necessitous as Pitt, could afford him no relief. I doubt whether the first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, when his debts were discharged, possessed a thousand pounds. Europe might then have witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of a prime minister not yet thirty, who after distributing nearly forty British peerages,

besides fifteen Irish; after creating a sinking fund of a million sterling, humbling France, and by the vigour of his councils extricating Holland from subservience to the house of Bourbon; was reduced to return for support to the bar, as in antiquity Cincinnatus went back to the plough. Pitt unquestionably meditated to resume his original profession. By what other means, in fact, could he have maintained his personal independence? Fox, destitute of any such resource, found himself compelled to accept the assistance of his friends at a subsequent period of his life, however painful it might be to his feelings. Dundas's situation was scarcely less destitute, in a pecuniary point of view, than that of Pitt.

Nor were the embarrassments of the minister by any means merely future and prospective. In his own cabinet he had to encounter daily impediments, or modifications, arising from the rugged, intractable temper of the chancellor, who frequently would neither advise, dictate nor comply. These internal agitations, which could not always be concealed from the public ear, served to invigorate opposition. I remember, Sir Grey Cooper, when alluding, on the 27th of January, to Pitt's assertion, that "the two houses of parliament constituted the only *legal organs* through which the voice of the people could be heard during the king's indisposition," observed that "perhaps, by some accident, one of those *organs* might be out of tune. Whispers of such a discord had been heard; and, therefore, till that instrument was again restored to order, and the great leaders of the band should have settled their respective parts in the concert, an interlude might probably be played off to amuse this house." Burke, in the course of the same evening, spoke out even more plainly on the subject. "I know not," said he, "whether the postponement of the present measure in the other house, which was intended to have come on last night, arose from any difference among ministers; but a little bird, a small robin-redbreast, has sung that something of the kind has taken place. The same bird has whispered in my ear, that certain secret reasons have suddenly induced the house of peers to shift the business from their own, to our shoulders.

Perhaps that dignified assembly has not yet recovered from the effect caused by the burst of the pathetic lately exhibited. They probably have not yet dried their eyes, and may be therefore at present incapable of attending to new business."

Pitt, it is true, denied the truth of these painful reports. "I can assure the house," said he, "notwithstanding the mysterious insinuations of a want of harmony among ministers, that there has arisen no such difference of opinion." The chancellor did not, however, confirm the declaration thus made; for on the following evening, the 28th of January, during the debate which arose in the upper house, relative to the two proposed addresses to the prince and to the queen, he said, while replying to Lord Stormont,—"I own that I could have chalked out a plan which I should have approved in preference to the line that has been adopted. But, when I consider that other men's opinions must be consulted, the present measure is perhaps the best that could be brought forward during the agitation of the moment." He could not more unequivocally avow the dissensions that prevailed in the ministerial councils. Meanwhile, the peers having concurred in the *resolutions* adopted by the commons for addressing the prince and queen; Earl Camden and the Marquis of Stafford were ordered to wait on his royal highness, in order to receive his answer. Pitt, accompanied by the master of the rolls, Lord Frederick Campbell, and Sir George Yonge, performed, on the part of the commons, the same function. The heir-apparent received this deputation at Carlton House on the 30th of January; an anniversary on which, as commemorative of the decapitation of Charles the First, neither of the two houses met for the despatch of public business. The imperious necessity of restoring the executive government superseded, however, every other consideration. On the same day the address was carried up to her majesty at Kew, by two members of the upper and four members of the lower house.

31st January.—The prince's answer, of which Sheridan was considered the composer, manifested great discontent at the manner of offering him the regency, and at the conditions annexed to its ex-

ercise; though he added, that "his anxious concern for the public safety, and his respect for the united desires of the two houses, determined him to undertake the trust." He contrived, however, to embody in his reply the very words which Sheridan had vainly endeavoured to insert in Pitt's *motion* of the 27th of January, for communicating to his royal highness the *resolutions* of the lords and commons. "Confiding," said he, "that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority have been approved only as a *temporary measure*, founded on the hope that his majesty's disorder may *not be of long duration*, I accede to your wishes." The queen's reply was brief, but mingled with testimonies of her respect for the desire manifested by parliament to commit to her care the king's person. As soon as the peers met, after the answers of the queen and prince had been read, Lord Camden stated that the next necessary step was to determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to such *bills* as should have been passed by the two houses respecting the exercise of the powers of the crown. "I am aware," observed he, "that the means by which it is intended to open the parliament have been contemptuously stigmatized elsewhere as a *fiction* and a *phantom*. But it is a fiction admirably calculated for preserving the constitution. The king must be upon his throne in this assembly, or by some mode he must sanction our proceeding. Otherwise parliament is a mere headless trunk, incapable of legislation. The legal and constitutional expedient is by issuing letters patent under the great seal, authorizing a commission to open parliament in his majesty's name."

"If there exist any other means of accomplishing this national object," continued he, "I hope those who so think will suggest them. But I venture to assert, that whoever treats as matter of ridicule the mode that I have proposed, is ignorant of the laws of his country. The commission must be issued by authority of some kind. Can the Prince of Wales command the chancellor to put the seal to such a commission? Certainly he cannot. Both houses have recently voted that he possesses no such

right. Would the chancellor himself, unauthorized, venture to do it? Undoubtedly he would not. The great seal is the organ by which the sovereign speaks his will. An act of parliament, passed by authority of a commission issued under it, must be received as a part of the statute law of the land." Having thus explained the intended mode of proceeding, as well as the principle on which it was founded, Lord Camden added, that when the *bill* appointing a regent should have gone through all its forms, it would become necessary to affix the great seal to a second commission, giving the royal assent to such a *bill*. He concluded by moving, that it is expedient and necessary to issue a proper commission for opening the parliament under the great seal." The Duke of York, who was present, in few words protested against the whole system; but, in particular, against the measure proposed, as unconstitutional and illegal. "I therefore request," added he, "that my name may be left out of the commission; and I am authorized to express a similar desire on the part of the Prince of Wales." Rising in his turn, the Duke of Cumberland intimated the same wish, both for himself and for his brother the Duke of Gloucester.

Severe indisposition having prevented both the chancellor and Lord Loughborough from attending in their places on that evening, Lord Stormont replied to the arguments of Earl Camden. "We might," said he, "my lords, have appointed a regent full six weeks ago, if the discussion of the question of *right* had not been obtruded on us. With respect to the two commissions intended to be issued under the great seal, the first is informal, the second is illegal. It has been asserted that necessity warrants the mode of proceeding, and that necessity justifies it. I subscribe to the doctrine, but I deny its application in the present instance. What impediment has prevented ministers from addressing the Prince of Wales, to take upon him the exercise of the whole legislative authority of the crown?" — "The proceedings of the two houses within the last three months have conducted more to introduce and to sanction republican principles, than all the public acts done in my time.

I rail not at republican principles. I know how beautiful they appear in theory ; but they are not the less repugnant to the genius of our constitution." In the absence of Lord Thurlow, rose Lord Hawkesbury. While a member of the house of commons, he spoke rarely, always with brevity : and since his elevation to the peerage, except on questions connected with trade or manufactures, scarcely had his voice been heard in that assembly. With great force of reason he combated the propositions of Lord Stormont ; demonstrated that the measure under consideration was governed by the necessity of the case, without exceeding it ; while he pointed out the total dissimilarity between the Revolution of 1688, when the two houses of parliament addressed the Prince of Orange to assume the sovereign authority on a principle of necessity, and the contrast presented by the present position of affairs. The throne, he observed, was then vacant, and all the functions of government suspended ; whereas the throne was now full, the courts of law open, and parliament assembled.

2d and 3d February. — The debate having terminated without any division, it was moved to report the resolution immediately to the house, in order to accelerate its progress, through on a *Saturday* : which being done, the commission for opening the parliament was instantly filled up for the subsequent *Tuesday*, the 3d of February. A conference with the commons was requested to be held on *Monday*, the 2d, for the purpose of communicating to them the resolution, and desiring their concurrence. It took place accordingly on that day ; the whole proceeding of the two houses forming an instance of legislative despatch probably not to be exceeded in the British parliamentary annals. The conference being ended, and the resolution of the upper house read, together with the answers of the Prince of Wales and of the queen to the deputation from both houses, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to agree with the peers in their resolution. Lord North, who, notwithstanding his want of sight, performed an active part throughout all the debates during the course of the king's malady, warmly attacked the minister on this occasion. Having cen-

sured the spirit of distrust and jealousy which pervaded every feature of the proceedings relative to the heir-apparent, Lord North added : " His royal highness's answer must diffuse universal satisfaction. It must even create an agreeable *surprise* throughout the kingdom, and extinguish those false alarms which have been so industriously circulated, that the prince had asserted his *right* to assume the sovereign authority independently of the two houses of parliament."

Pitt was not formed tamely to endure such a reprehension, which he repelled with great promptitude and equal force. "The noble lord," said he, "observes that a general, though false alarm, has been diffused through the country lest the question of *right* should be supported. I deny the truth of his proposition. I allow, indeed, that it was not claimed by the Prince of Wales ; but it was asserted by others. That no person has been bold enough to advise him to assert such a right after the solemn decision of the two houses of parliament, cannot form matter of *surprise*. Even if any man could be found so bold, it is very improbable that a prince of the house of Brunswick would allow such advice. I readily admit that his royal highness's acceptance of the regency will furnish subject of *joy* to the people, but not that it can prove a matter of *surprise*. They will not be disposed to censure parliament for reprobating unconstitutional doctrines, started by men who now lament their own assertions, which they are ashamed to avow, and seem desirous to retract."

If Lord North's observations had roused Pitt, the pointed sarcasms of the latter against Fox irritated Burke almost to a degree of madness. "I assert," exclaimed he, "that the Prince of Wales's *right* to the regency is as clear as the sun ; and that it is the duty of this house to appoint him regent, with the full powers of sovereignty. His royal highness's *right* is founded in law, in justice, and in equity." Then bursting into one of his grand and eccentric appeals to the fancy, "The ministers plan," continued he, "merits a worse name than to be called a *phantom*. Ministers are preparing to create the monster of Sin and Death described by Milton ; death to the constitution, sin to the feelings of the

country. They are giving birth to innumerable barking monsters, eager to destroy every principle of our constitution. They are about to purloin the great seal, to commit an act of forgery and of fraud, to support violence, and to consummate their climax of villany. Their delays keep pace with every other part of their system. How unlike the convention parliament in 1688, who completed all their objects of national benefit between the 26th of December and the 12th of the ensuing month, finishing the whole work in sixteen days!"—"I contend that the house has no right to authorize the lord chancellor to put the great seal to forgery, thus giving it the form of royal authority instead of the substance. Such violations of law are delusions. They are only the sweepings of the cobwebs of Westminster Hall; the smoke of the dish, not its nourishment."

With more temper, Sheridan denied that Fox had ever maintained the prince's right to assume the exercise of the royal authority without the adjudication of the two houses of parliament. "The question of *right* was therefore," added he, "unnecessarily agitated, because the right of the two houses to provide for the defect in the exercise of the sovereign power never was contested."

Powis sustained Burke's opinions. "In order," said he, "to open a parliament, there must exist a person competent to authorize the act; either the king himself, or his representative. In the present case, there can be neither; and the place will be filled by a fictitious, imaginary phantom." *The resolution* to agree with the lords being nevertheless carried without any division, a *motion* was made and voted, to request another conference with that house. Before the adjournment took place, Pitt, in answer to a question made from the opposition bench, demanding "what measure was next to ensue," explained, in the most explicit terms, his intentions. "I trust," said he, "that we may carry up the *resolution* to the conference early on *this very day*. The commission being ready sealed, parliament may be opened forthwith; and as soon as we are returned, I shall instantly move for leave to bring in a *bill*

for appointing a regent, founded on those *resolutions*."

3d February.—The time was now arrived when the two houses, who had hitherto acted as a convention, were to assume the *form* of a parliament assembled according to the established usages of the constitution. Every impediment and delay, which during nearly two months had prevented a change of administration, being at length removed; new ministers, together with a new order of things, might be speedily and confidently expected. Pitt, who had so long, and with so much general approbation, occupied the first place in the state, beheld in prospect a private station: while Fox, twice driven by his own errors from the cabinet, prepared to re-enter it under better auspices. The queen, selected by parliament not only to have the custody of the king's person, but the control of the whole royal household, was about to be invested with extensive power, patronage, and influence. Among all the legislative dispositions made by Pitt for conducting the government during his majesty's incapacity, the wisdom, as well as the necessity, of thus arming the queen with a degree of independent authority in the state might appear the most doubtful. I am nevertheless of opinion, that her good sense, experience, moderation, and the strong maternal affection which animated her throughout her whole life towards her eldest son,—an affection amounting to predilection, and which he as warmly returned,—would have secured the country from any personal collision between them. Mary of Medicis was a violent, implacable, weak, misguided woman, destitute of attachment to Louis the Thirteenth, the most unamiable of princes; who had likewise imbibed an early conviction that she was not wholly unacquainted with his father's assassination. There could not, therefore, exist the slightest degree of real analogy between the two cases, though Lord Stormont had recently compared them. Yet, if we consider how much power corrupts the heart, and how much party inflames the passions, we shall probably think it equally fortunate for herself, and for the nation, that she should not have

been placed in a situation so trying to human nature.

Among the political caricatures which appeared in the shops of the capital about this time, was a print representing the chancellor, Pitt, and Dundas, in the characters of the "three weird sisters," wildly but characteristically attired, standing on a heath, intently gazing on the full moon. Her orb appeared half enlightened, half eclipsed. The part averted, which remained in darkness, contained the king's profile. On the other side, resplendent with light, and graciously regarding the three gazers, was portrayed a head of the queen. The circumstance of Dundas being thus ranked with Pitt and Thurlow sufficiently indicates the degree of political consideration which he attracted, and how much higher he stood in the public estimation, as a man possessed of power or influence, than any of the remaining cabinet ministers. He was, in fact, far superior to either of the secretaries of state in real weight and consequence. So certain, and so imminent, appeared the Prince of Wales's appointment to the regency during the first days of February, that medals were struck and sold commemorating the event. One of them, which I purchased at the time, lies now before me. It is of mean execution, presenting no favourable specimen of the arts in that line. The size is between a shilling and a half-crown piece; the composition, a base metal, designed to imitate silver. On one side appears his royal highness's side face, the hair dressed in small curls, as then worn; which might easily be mistaken for a tie-wig, loosely floating down his back. The resemblance of his countenance is bad and vulgar. He wears a coat embroidered at the button-holes, a part of his *star* just appearing; with a prodigious *jacket* or frill of lace at the breast. Such was the costume of that time. Round it is this legend or inscription :

"PRINCE REGENT OF GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND IRELAND," ETC.

On the reverse are engraven the *ostrich plumes* of the Princes of Wales, with the "*Ich dien*," on a label, surrounded by the words,

"BORN AUGUST 12, 1762.
APPOINTED FEB. 1789."

This medal, struck in order to perpetuate a fact which never was realized, is now probably become very rare.

Carlton House, to which residence the destinies of Great Britain were apparently about to be transferred from St. James's, presented in its interior, during the first days of February, as may well be supposed, a scene of political intrigue and contending interests. The place of first lord of the treasury was of course reserved for the Duke of Portland; but relative to the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and its future possessor, there prevailed much uncertainty. Lord John Cavendish had indeed been named to it by the public voice, though he neither emulated to resume that situation, nor in truth were his talents, either financial or parliamentary, adequate to conduct it with becoming dignity and credit to himself. Common report asserted that Sheridan aspired to fill it, the prince approving and supporting his pretension. Absurd or improbable as such a story may appear, many circumstances conduced to diminish its incredibility. During Fox's absence and Lord Loughborough's indisposition, Sheridan occupied a very high, if not the first rank in his royal highness's confidence and councils. Nor ought we to wonder at the fact. His talents, as a member of the house of commons, yielded to none within those walls. I believe, Pitt stood more in awe of them, if he could be said to stand in awe of any thing, than he did of Fox himself. Sheridan moreover possessed other qualities not less calculated to acquire the favour of the heir-apparent. His convivial powers rendered him equally delightful in society, as his vast intellectual endowments qualified him to shine in parliament, or in the cabinet. Fox's predominant passion, to which he had devoted his youth and sacrificed his fortune, was play. Sheridan supremely loved wine, of which he swallowed vast quantities: a recommendation of no common order in the court and at the table of a prince who in *that* respect emulated the youngest Cyrus, if in no *other* feature of his character. Neither Lord Rawdon, who de-

servedly stood high in his royal highness's personal regard — nor Grey, nor Windham, nor Erskine, though all partaking of his confidence, and frequently the companions of his private hours, were able to maintain a conflict over the bottle with an antagonist like Sheridan. His face, even at this period of his life, when he had not long completed his thirty-seventh year, began to exhibit eloquent proofs of his intemperance.

But there still remained a third cause of the ascendant which Sheridan exercised at Carlton House. I mean, the prominent part that he had always taken in defence of Mrs. Fitzherbert's interests, honour, and character. When Fox came forward in the house of commons to disavow and to deny from authority, in the most formal terms, the asserted matrimonial ceremony between her and the heir-apparent, we have seen that Sheridan contrived, without contradicting his friend, to do away in a great degree the effect of his assurances. The words chosen by Sheridan on the occasion were admirably calculated to throw a mysterious veil over the transaction, and to give it a sort of sanctity; while he paid the highest testimonies to the distinguished merits of the lady herself. She still continued to enjoy the first place in the prince's affections, and her future destiny formed at this time an object of general curiosity. What would she *become*, it was asked, under the approaching regency? Many persons believed, that as soon as the restrictions should be taken off, a very high rank of the peerage would be immediately conferred on her. But though George the First made one of his two mistresses Duchess of Kendal — the other, Countess of Darlington; and though George the second imitated his father's example, by creating Madame de Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth for her life; — yet I doubt whether any minister in 1789 would have advised or sanctioned the adoption by the regent of a similar measure.

Sheridan's want of high birth and connexions could not of itself form an insurmountable impediment to his being placed at the head of the exchequer, if there had existed no greater obstacle. Have we not, in fact, beheld a provin-

cial physician's son, of very moderate abilities, raised, in 1801, to the post of first minister; presiding over both the treasury, and the exchequer, during more than three years? Canning's descent, who has so ably filled, and continues at this hour to fill, cabinet offices, was not more illustrious than that of Sheridan, which produced, during three successive generations, men of eminent talents. Nor could Sheridan's want of property have excluded him, since Pitt, as well as Fox, shared with him that defect. But among *us*, morals, no less than talents, are indispensable to ensure political elevation!

3d—6th February.—The month of January had expired under the most gloomy presages respecting the king's restoration to reason. Having remained more than three months in a state of total alienation of mind—or rather, of decided lunacy,—the daily reports issued by the medical attendants, which at first were eagerly read, no longer excited the same emotions. Varying little from one day to another in their nature and contents, they ceased to awaken any lively hope, or almost to inspire strong curiosity. All the delays that had hitherto impeded the formation of a regency being at length surmounted, men of every description looked forward to the transfer of the sceptre from George the Third to the hands of his son; when, to the astonishment of all, to the joy of the bulk of the nation, but to the unspeakable disappointment of many individuals, a salutary change began to manifest itself in the disorder. It commenced early in February, advancing progressively with the month, and indicating an imperfect return or resumption of reason. One of the first symptoms that he gave of it happened in the following manner. Either on the 4th or 5th of February, a friend of mine, Mr. Robert Greville, brother of the late Earl of Warwick, then one of his majesty's equerries, and in waiting at the time, happened to be standing near the king's bed at Kew, engaged in conversation with Dr. Willis. Both of them were unprepared for, and unapprehensive of, his either listening to or understanding their discourse. Greville observed to Willis, that Lord North had made many inquiries after his ma-

jeasty's health. "Has he?" said the king. "Where did he make them? At St. James's, or here?" On their replying to his question, "Lord North," said he, "is a good man, unlike the others. He is a good man."—The king formed a perfectly just estimate of Lord North. Party and politics had driven him to take refuge under the shield of *the coalition*; but an early and deep-rooted affection for his old master survived in his bosom. Throughout the whole progress of the royal disorder, Burke, on the contrary, displayed little concern or sympathy for him; but much indecorous impatience to arrive at power.

The commons having met on the 3d of February, and agreed to *the resolution* of the lords, a message was sent down from the upper house, desiring their attendance at the act of reading the commission. Lord Bathurst, as the representative of the chancellor, who was still absent from indisposition, briefly stated the causes of convoking parliament. Every form incident to opening the session in the accustomed manner having been observed, as soon as the Speaker and the members present were returned from the bar of the lords, Pitt moved for leave to bring in a *bill* consonant to the purposes enumerated by Lord Bathurst. No objection being made, he introduced it on the 5th, when it was read a first time, with little other interruption than a few indignant comments from Burke: but upon the subsequent evening, that extraordinary man unlocked all the stores of his eloquence to oppose its further progress. "The duration of his majesty's malady," said Burke, "lies hidden in the secret recesses of the dispensations of Providence. He is insane; but his disease is not intermittent; nor has it any lucid intervals, and partial visitations of reason. *His faculties are totally eclipsed. Not a partial, but a total and entire eclipse.* The present *bill* is indefinite in its duration; because that bold promiser, Dr. Willis himself, cannot venture to fix a time when the king may be able to resume his functions. And as he, whose temerity would impel him to decide on that point if the thing were possible, does not hazard an opinion on it, we may well presume that physicians of cooler

judgment will not even pronounce a conjecture on the subject."

"The *bill*," continued Burke, "is intended not only to degrade the prince, but the whole Brunswic family; who are to be outlawed and attainted, as having forfeited all claim to the confidence of the country. This house is now scattering the seeds of future dissensions in the royal family, verging to treasons; for the perpetration of which acts, public justice will one day overtake and bring ministers to trial. According to the provisions of the bill, as it is drawn up, until the queen shall think proper to assert that the king is recovered, the people possess no means of knowing the fact. If, therefore, *her council* should declare it, and that his majesty shall be able to sit in a chair at the head of that council, *the bill* provides that he shall be declared capable. What is this enactment, except putting into the hands of Dr. Willis and his keepers the whole power of changing the government! A person who has been insane may be subdued by coercion as to become capable of submitting to act the farce appointed, and of appearing for a short period to have resumed his intellects. I maintain the utter impossibility of adducing proof whether a person who has been insane is perfectly recovered or not. The whole business is a scheme, under the pretence of pronouncing his majesty recovered, to bring back an insane king."

However indecorous and censurable some passages of this speech may appear, and whatever condemnation they excited at the time when they were pronounced, yet Burke's observations were not destitute of justice. If the king's restoration of reason had proved partial and temporary, instead of complete, many of the predicted or supposed evils might have been realized. Happily, in 1789, his recovery was rapid and total. So was it in 1801. But, throughout the whole spring of 1811, I know that he floated between sanity and insanity, till finally his mind seemed to become effete and extinct. Fortunately, his eldest son, then instructed by time and the progress of events, allowed the existing frame of government to remain untouched; as he unquestionably ought to have done in 1789, till the probable event of the

king's malady could have been ascertained. Burke concluded by again alluding to the position of the queen. "I do not suspect her," observed he, "of ever intentionally acting with impropriety. But situations and temptations may pervert the purest mind, and draw it aside from the path of rectitude. This house, proceeding step after step, has imperceptibly been led on to commit acts, which, if they had been proposed at once, would have been rejected by every man of principle. Like Macbeth, who, after having murdered Duncan and Banquo, exclaims,

—————"I am in blood
Stept in so far, that should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er;"

so *they* find themselves inclined to proceed, from a want of courage to retrace their steps." No fact can more forcibly prove the degree of unpopularity to which Burke had sunk at this period, than the circumstance of a speech containing matter so impressive, and so much calculated to awaken deep reflections in the minds of his hearers, eliciting no reply. Not a word of answer was made to it, either by Pitt, or by any member of administration.

9th February.—Already the king began to exhibit unequivocal symptoms of returning reason; information of which fact, however guardedly expressed it might be in the medical reports, yet becoming rapidly diffused throughout society, contributed to sustain the administration. All coercion of his person having long been withdrawn, as early as the 4th of February his majesty not only shaved his beard, but part of his head; Willis being present during the operation. His body seemed to sympathize with his mind, and to aid its restoration; an abscess forming in his neck, which suppurated, and afforded relief. Ever since the last week of January he had been allowed, as often as the weather permitted, to walk out in the royal gardens of Kew, or of Richmond, accompanied by Dr. Willis, and one of that physician's sons. Though much emaciated in consequence of his confinement, together with the medical treatment that he had undergone, he was capable of great ex-

ercise and exertion. Not only the queen, but the princess royal was brought into his apartment of evenings, and remained with him a considerable time. Notwithstanding, however, these apparently favourable indications, as no reliance could yet be placed on their continuance, the parliamentary proceedings advanced; and it was supposed that the lapse of a few days must place his royal highness in the regent's chair. Each side of the house of commons seemed alike emulous to expedite the progress of the *bill* by which he was to be invested with that office. But impediments to despatch arose at every step. Divisions even occasionally occurred on particular regulations, in which ministers were usually supported by a majority fluctuating between fifty and sixty. The clause giving to the queen a power over part of the privy purse, and locking up the remainder, being carried by fifty-five votes, a most obstinately contested debate followed on the next enactment, which vested in her majesty the care of the king's person, and the government of the household. Against so vast an accession of strength in that quarter the opposition concentrated all their force.

Lord North demanded of Pitt if he was fully aware of the parliamentary influence which it must confer. "Eighteen peers," continued he, "belong to the household. Do gentlemen consider that eighteen peers voting on one side, make the difference of thirty-six on a division?" It was stated, without receiving any contradiction from the treasury bench, that the number of officers in the royal household amounted to nearly one hundred and fifty; whose places were respectively worth from sixty, up to eighteen hundred pounds a year. Powis reprobated the measure, and Marsham maintained that the aggregate number of members of the two houses holding employments, either in the king's or in the queen's household, approached nearer sixty than thirty. Sheridan was most pointed in his observations on Pitt's avowed intention to propose a new establishment for the regent. "How does he dare," asked Sheridan, "to suggest such an idea, after having heard the declaration made from authority, that the prince desires to have no such establish-

ment created as must occasion fresh burthens on the people? Does he not mean to leave his royal highness the power of exercising his own free will upon the point? The minister must possess a pretty considerable share of presumption, who can take it for granted that his majesty, whenever he recovers, will be pleased to hear of a new and unnecessary tax having been imposed on his subjects for such a purpose, in addition to their present heavy load."

All these attacks were nevertheless conducted with some degree of temper. But Burke, whose impatience to attain possession of office, and whose irritable formation of mind led him to spurn the ordinary restraints of prudence, let loose his indignation on the chancellor of the exchequer. "He demands," exclaimed Burke, "whether we would strip the king of every mark of royalty, and transfer them to the regent? No! Heaven forbid, while the person wearing the crown can lend a grace to those dignities, and derive a lustre from the splendour of his household! But have we forgotten that we are debating relative to a monarch smitten by the hand of Omnipotence? Do we recollect that the *Almighty has hurled him from his throne*, and plunged him into a condition that may justly excite the pity of the meanest peasant in his dominions!" — Expressions so indecorous exciting very general disapprobation, and a loud cry arising from the ministerial ranks, of "Take down his words;" the Marquis of Graham, who was seated near Pitt on the treasury bench, started up, and declared that "no individual within those walls should dare to assert that *the king was hurled from his throne*." A scene of great clamour and disorder occurred during some moments, Burke vainly attempting to obtain a patient audience. No sooner had he, however, surmounted the tumult, than, without displaying any embarrassment, he assured the house that he would give them a full opportunity to take down his words. "I was interrupted," continued he, "in the middle of a sentence; and Scripture itself, so mangled, may be rendered blasphemy. But when in our very churches it is asserted that the king is afflicted for our national sins, shall I not be permitted to say that he is

struck by the hand of God? What when we are putting up prayers for the restoration of his intellect, and declaring that it is in punishment of our iniquities the sovereign is deprived of reason, shall I not be allowed to assert that Omnipotence has smitten him? His illness is caused by no act of ours. But ought we, in this his hour of sickness and calamity, to clothe his bed with purple, to make a mockery of him, to put on his head a crown of thorns, to place a reed in his hand, to array him in royal robes, and to cry 'Hail! King of the British!'"

This elegant and ingenious apology clothed in the language of Scripture, which, with the single exception perhaps of Erskine, Burke alone could have applied with so much felicity and promptitude to the case, produced its full effect. He improved it to inveigh with equal force, but in less intemperate terms, against other features of the *bill*. "How," demanded he, "will the king be pleased on his recovery, at finding the patronage of the household transferred from his son and representative to the queen? He must be shocked at such an act, unless on the monstrous supposition that his majesty is a good husband and a bad father. The royal family are in fact totally excluded from the present measure, while power of an enormous description is withdrawn from the king's eldest son, and vested in a person not of his majesty's blood. No one grateful function is left to the regent which may balance the dreadful attributes of sovereignty. He can make no peers. He can grant neither pensions nor offices. He can exercise no charities. We are about to confer on him a mock crown, a tinsel robe, and a lackered sceptre."

"In former times," continued Burke, "the road to popularity was by upholding the liberties of the people. The chancellor of the exchequer is born for the age in which he lives. He takes another path. The present *bill* is contrived to fortify himself when out of office. His majesty may continue insane for twenty years. And in such case, what a state of anarchy are we creating, when we thus set up a divided government!" Highly coloured as were some parts of this picture, it must be admitted that there was truth, as well as talent, in

its composition. If the king's recovery had been delayed, or had only been doubtful in its nature, a struggle for power would have ensued between Pitt and Fox; between the regent and the queen; which was obviated by his prompt resumption of the reins of government. Sheridan having moved a clause limiting her majesty's control over the officers of the household "to such as should be deemed necessary for attending about the king's person," ministers carried the question again by the same majority as the preceding, — namely, fifty-five votes.

10th February. — On the subsequent evening, the minister proceeded to name the eight individuals whom he proposed to form her majesty's council. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, together with Lords Thurlow and Kenyon, as the two chiefs of the law, naturally occupied the first place. Pitt joined with these dignitaries of the church and the bar, the four heads of the departments constituting the royal household; namely, the lord steward, and lord chamberlain; the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole. Lord North, who from his anxiety to supply the void occasioned by Fox's absence took part in every discussion, immediately intimated his intention of moving to insert the names of the princes of the blood, being of full age, his majesty's sons; as well as those of the Dukes of Gloucester and of Cumberland, his brothers. Other eminent public functionaries were pointed out likewise from different quarters of the house, as proper for the same distinction. Sheridan ingeniously treated the ministerial proposition of excluding the princes of the blood as unnatural; "because parliament became thereby the instrument of infusing into her majesty's mind a suspicion, that her sons were not proper persons to advise her, which was an outrage on the feelings of nature." The eight names enumerated by Pitt having been severally carried without any division, Lord North then moved, that "the Duke of York be a member of the council." It was opposed not only by the chancellor of the exchequer, but by Addington, then scarcely known as member for Devizes; destined nevertheless within two years to fill the Speaker's chair, and within twelve, to

succeed Pitt himself at the head of the treasury and the exchequer; — one of the most extraordinary political transmutations which we have witnessed in our time!

The minister resisted the Duke of York's nomination on those general principles in conformity to which it had been thought improper to allow the Prince of Wales any concern in the care of his majesty's person. If therefore the eldest son was excluded, respect to him made it necessary to extend the same rule to the rest of the royal family. Such a respect, Burke observed, operated as a perpetual disqualification, like the respect manifested by the followers of Epicurus for their gods. Lord North reprobated it as "a barbarous principle pushed to a barbarous extent;" while Lord Maitland exclaimed with his characteristic energy of voice and manner, that "it was not a disrespect, but an insult to the king, to the queen, and to the Prince of Wales." Burke treated the idea as revolting to humanity. "I am myself a father," said he. "So is the noble lord in the blue ribband. How should we feel, on recovering from a malady such as the present, to find that our sons had been precluded from all share in the custody of our persons! I should regard as a murderer the man who had debarred my son all access to me." Denunciations so violent produced no effect on Pitt; and when a division took place, Lord North's *motion* was rejected, though only by forty-eight votes. The Duke of Gloucester, when proposed, had against him forty-nine. It was not attempted to divide the house on the Duke of Cumberland. The two brothers had acted, indeed, a widely different part throughout the whole period of the sovereign's illness. While the latter, as well as the Duchess of Cumberland, approved themselves devoted partizans of the heir apparent, and avowedly canvassed for him, the Duke of Gloucester withdrew in a great measure from society. Secluded from politics and pleasures, he absented himself equally from the house of peers, and seemed deeply to feel the calamity which obscured the throne.

During these parliamentary proceedings, Carlton House presented a scene

of extraordinary agitation. His majesty's progressive advance, not only in bodily health, but in the resumption of his mental faculties, was too steady, regular, and apparent, to remain any longer matter either of doubt or of concealment. Yet Warren, though he admitted a considerable degree of *composure* to have taken place in the king's general deportment and conversation, pertinaciously adhered to his opinion, that no real or permanent amelioration had been operated in his complaint. As Warren stood first in public estimation for medical skill, many persons long accustomed to repose almost unlimited confidence in his professional assertions continued incredulous on the subject. Sir Lucas Pepys, on the other hand, throughout the whole progress of the disorder, had, as I know, entertained a contrary sentiment; and his belief being strengthened by the recent symptoms, he made no secret of his conviction that a speedy and complete recovery would ensue. Information of the circumstance reaching the Prince of Wales, he immediately sent for Pepys, who, on his arrival at Carlton House, being ushered into his royal highness's presence, there found Dr. Warren. A warm expostulation took place between them, though they lived on terms of mutual regard, approaching to friendship. Each reproached the other with deceiving the prince by a false representation of facts. Warren maintained, that however flattering appearances might be, they would prove fallacious, and that the alienation of mind was incurable. Pepys as stiffly supported the opposite belief. At length the two physicians parted, leaving the prince to form his own judgment on their prognostics. But a few days determined the question in Pepys's favour. Warren's political bias unquestionably obscured his usual discernment. All these particulars were related to me by Sir Lucas Pepys himself, within a week after the time when they happened.

11th February. — A publication took place at this juncture, which, however undeserving of serious commemoration it may seem, yet threw no ordinary degree of ridicule on the prince's cause and followers. Hume, the most philosophic historian of the last century, though by

no means the most impartial, has thought even a *song* deserving mention, among the events of a reign. He says, when enumerating the particulars which conduced in December, 1688, to produce the flight of James the Second, "It may not be unworthy of notice, that a merry ballad, called *Lillibullero*, being at this time published in derision of the papists and the Irish, it was greedily received by the people; and was sung by all ranks of men, even by the king's army, who were strongly seized with the national spirit. This incident both discovered and served to increase the general discontent of the kingdom." So happened it in some degree on the present occasion. Among the individuals who filled an important place in the interior of Carlton House, in February, 1789, was Weltjee. He occupied (not the post held by *Bonneau* in the court of Charles the Seventh, king of France, respecting which office Voltaire says,

"Il eut l'emploi qui certes n'est pas mince,
Et qu'à la cour, où tout se peint en beau,
Nous appellons être l'ami du prince;"

but,) the charge of comptroller of the kitchen and cellars of that royal residence; an employment that demanded great gastronomic talents. Weltjee was a German of no ordinary bodily dimensions, not distinguished by the humility of his deportment or manners, and fully impressed with the importance of his post. Though he had resided some years in England, he spoke no language except a barbarous Anglo-Westphalian jargon, which generally provoked laughter. Nor was his English orthography more correct than his enunciation. But amidst his attention to the tastes of his royal highness, Weltjee had not been oblivious of his own personal interests.

On the 7th of February died Sir Thomas Halifax, a city knight, one of the representatives for the borough of Aylesbury. It was imagined that Colonel Gerard Lake, who then filled the situation about the prince of first equeerry and commissioner of the stables, and whose distinguished military services in India have since raised him to the rank of a British viscount, would have started for the vacancy. I believe in point of

fact he did offer himself, but without success; though at the general election in 1790 he was chosen one of the members for Aylesbury.

A very few days after Halifax's decease, a printed letter, addressed to the freeholders of that borough, signed "W. Velshie," was circulated at the west end of the town. Its contents could not be perused by the most splotic man with a grave countenance. I copy the original as it now lies on my table.

"To de Gendelmen, de Abbès, and de Freholders of de Comtè of Ailabri.

"My frind Gerri Lake havin offurd his sarvis's. to reprepresent you in parialialiamment, I presum to tak de friddom to recummind um to you, bein my frind, and grate frind of my master de Prince. He is ver clever gendelmen, and kno de horse ver vell, how to bi for de Prince, and how to sel for himselv. But if you tink him two poor, and send him to de divl, I beg to offer miselv on his intrist, havin got plenti of munny in de honorable stasion I holds undur de Prince. I am naturalise Ingliaman and Wig, and was introduce to de Wig Club by Lord Stormant and Jak Payne. Mi public sentimints are dat I vil give you ver good dinnurs and plenti of munni, if you vil lect me your representatative. My frinds and connuxions are de Duk of Qinsbri, Lord Lodian, Lord Luffbro, Lord Malmabri, Lord Clurmunt, Lord Cartrit, Sheridan, Gerri Lake, Jak Payne, Geo. Hangre, Burke, Singel Spict Hambledon, Eglintown, Master Lee, Trevis de Jew, young Gray, all de Convays, Harri Standup, Tarletun, and Tom Stepni. My principles are God dam de King and de Quin, de Pitt, and de Rustricsuns; and God bles de Prince and all his broders, and de Duk de Cumberland. I say agen and agen dat de Prince be our lawful suvring, and not his fader.

"I am, gendelmen,
"Your friend and servant,
"W. VELSHIE."

The universally reputed author of this

ludicrous production was the present Earl Onslow, then eldest son of Lord Onslow, commonly called in society Tom Onslow. He represented at the time the borough of Guildford. In his person he was low, rather indeed beneath the middle stature, and destitute of any elegance or grace; most fluent in discourse, his words and ideas always seeming to press for utterance. His education had corresponded with his birth; the great compositions of antiquity were familiar to him; and he possessed an infinity of wit, if unfortunately it had not too frequently degenerated into buffoonery. Even then, he was often classical, though not always decorous. Yet her majesty, and the princesses her daughters, delighted in his society, seeming to enjoy his most eccentric flights of humour, fancy and mimicry. They were peculiar to himself, baffling all attempt at description. In order to spare the eye, though he might sometimes wound the ear, he usually performed them behind a screen. His predominant passion was driving *four in hand*. He passed the whole day in his phaeton, and sacrificed every object to the gratification of that "ignoble ambition," as he himself called it when speaking to me on the subject. Nevertheless, while holding the reins and exercising the whip in Piccadilly, his mind was not inactive. If by accident we met, he would sometimes stop, descend from the phaeton, and entreat me to listen to a lampoon, or a couplet which he had just composed; he had in fact a poetic vein, though the stream was shallow. Voluble as he appeared to be in conversation, and abounding with ideas, he possessed no political talent; and I believe he never made an attempt to rise in either house of parliament, where the name of Onslow would have secured him a favourable hearing, at least in one house. On himself, not less than on his acquaintance, he exercised his satire, sparing neither his own defects of mind nor of person. I have already observed that he scarcely attained to middle height. Driving on a certain day, to the Custom-house in his phaeton, while remaining on the quays, a crane which was employed in landing goods, in swinging round, caught his carriage, and had nearly lifted it from

the ground, driver, horses, and all. Onslow, who was an expert coachman, disengaged himself after some time, not without difficulty, from his perilous situation. "Now," exclaimed he, "I can believe in the accounts transmitted to us of the battle between the *pigmies* and the *cranes*."

Among the eminent individuals enumerated in "Weltje's address to the electors of Aylesbury," many have been already mentioned in the course of these memoirs. Indeed, with the exception of three, — namely, the Earl of Eglington, Mr. Lee, and Travis, — I personally knew, in a greater or less degree, all the others. I have elsewhere spoken of the late Admiral Payne, one of the most honest, honourable, and attached servants of the Prince of Wales. Lord Carteret still survives in 1821, at a very advanced age. Having been raised to the peerage by Pitt in 1784, and holding at the time of his majesty's malady the office of joint postmaster-general, his defection in joining the prince's party excited much surprise, while it cost him his place. The Honourable George Hanger, now become an Irish baron in his old age by the successive decease of his two brothers, the Lords Coleraine, might rather be considered as a humble retainer of Carlton House than justly numbered among the friends of the heir-apparent. Poor even to a degree of destitution, without profession or regular employment, subsisting from day to day by expedients, some of them not the most reputable, he was regarded as a sort of outcast from decent society. Yet he did not altogether want a degree of eccentric talent. Like myself, he is an author, having published, nearly twenty years ago, his "Life, Adventures, and Opinions:" a work in which, together with much absurdity, may be found some curious facts and anecdotes of his own time. Sir Thomas Stepney, who has succeeded to the title, but without the estate, of his elder brother, and my friend, the late Sir John, belonged to the Duke of York, not to the Prince of Wales. In the duke's family, Stepney has held for a quarter of a century, and still continues at the present hour to fill, the post of groom of the bedchamber. Tarterton, distinguished in his youth, on

the other side of the Atlantic, as a brave and enterprising partizan during the course of the American war, the Trenck of our time, has been since known in parliament, through many sessions, as member for Liverpool.

Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the *Regency Bill* had advanced through the house of commons, yet one great, delicate, and most important provision still remained for regulation. I mean, the mode and form by which his majesty should be enabled, on his mental recovery, to resume the monarchical power. It formed a point of extraordinary difficulty for legislation. Pitt, with his usual masterly compression of ideas, stated his proposition to the house; enabling the queen, whenever she and *five of her council* should consider the king to be restored to sanity of mind, immediately to convoke the *privy council*, as far as any number not less than *nine*. If *six* of the latter body should coincide in opinion that his majesty's disorder no longer existed, they were authorized and bound to countersign the proclamation informing the public of his recovery. A copy of this instrument was ordered to be immediately transmitted to the lord mayor of London, and to be printed in the Gazette; parliament being totally precluded from exercising any interference or participation throughout the whole transaction. Such was the minister's plan, which he justified by strong, plausible, and solid reasons. "The king possesses," said Pitt, "an undoubted right to resume the personal exercise of the royal authority as soon as he has recovered his reason. That fact must be notified through some ostensible channel. Privy counsellors, responsible for their advice, would form the proper mode of communicating the event to the country; which notification would instantly terminate the regency. The queen and *her council* having stated it to the president of the council, then, on the king's requisition under his sign manual, the *privy council* being assembled, are bound to countersign the royal proclamation calling on parliament to meet without delay. In consequence of such precautions, I conceive it to be impossible that a resumption can take place under doubtful or equivocal circumstances."

Wise, able, and commensurate with the evil, as this measure may perhaps appear to posterity, it excited the general unqualified indignation of the chiefs of opposition. Powis stigmatized it by the epithets of "incongruous, unprecedented, and unconstitutional; an attempt to supersede the rights of parliament, transferring them to a hacknied and garbled junta." Marsham reiterated all these accusations. Francis observed how easy it was to prove beyond dispute the *existence* of insanity, but how difficult to demonstrate the fact of a real and complete *recovery*. Yet parliament," continued he, "having thought it indispensable to establish the king's incapacity to the satisfaction of the whole country, was now called on to refer the question of his resumption to an inferior tribunal." Sheridan pointing these remarks against the minister with his accustomed talent, Dundas came forward to Pitt's support. "The proposition," said he, "submitted to the house, is for enabling the king, on his recovery, to meet his parliament in his own right as sovereign. (On the contrary, the alternative held out would humiliate him to the character of a suppliant for his throne, while he must witness his authority exercised by a regent. But there still remains an additional check, and which I by no means regard as feeble in its operation. It is the pause allowed to his majesty, during which he may exercise his philosophy and his religion, by revolving deeply his situation, previous to issuing the proclamation which will say to his people, *I am again your king*. Can it be suffered, that when he is recovered, the regent appointed to exercise his functions shall come down to parliament with the pomp of royalty, while the sovereign is compelled to remain a spectator of the show from the windows of Buckingham House? I believe this assembly and the country will equally revolt at such a proposition."

It was not till towards the close of the debate that Burke attempted to take part in the discussion: nor, such was his unpopularity, did he succeed without considerable difficulty. "We have been asked," observed he, "from the treasury bench, whether we would wish to see the king a suppliant to parliament for

his throne? I reply, Yes; I consider parliament as the proper judge of kings, and it is necessary that they should be amenable to it. But I do not wish him to be a suppliant to his own menial servants who eat his bread, and receive his wages." — "The first indispensable preliminary to his majesty's resumption of the royal authority, is that *the sanity should not be doubtful*. It would form matter of awful responsibility, to bring forward the person of a monarch who might become the tool of a faction. The disorder with which he is visited resembles a vast sea that has rolled in, and then at a low tide has rolled back, leaving a *bold and barren shore*. I have visited the dreadful abodes in which are confined these unfortunate beings. An author of no ordinary authority, when describing the uncertainty of the symptoms that indicate sanity, declares that many of the patients who had remained a month after their apparent recovery, before they were pronounced free from all complaint, had relapsed on the very last day previous to their intended liberation. The consequences were of the most disastrous kind. Some of these wretched individuals, after an assumed restoration of reason, have proceeded to acts of sanguinary violence." Strong marks of disapprobation, with cries of *Order*, issuing from the ministerial benches at this part of his speech, "I wish, Mr. Speaker," resumed Burke, "to observe the utmost delicacy; but delicacy is only a subsidiary virtue, and ought always to be subordinate to truth, where the latter is of paramount importance. Towards the other sex we cannot preserve too much delicacy; yet are there numerous occasions in which it must be sacrificed. Child-birth, more especially where a kingdom is at stake; divorce bills, trials for rapes, proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts;—on all these, a total disregard is necessarily exhibited for delicacy. I readily admit that the king's resumption of power, *if his cure prove effectual and permanent*, will be a most auspicious event; but its effects must be proportionably dreadful should a sudden relapse take place."

I have attempted to state with precision the purport of Burke's observations, as, independent of the curious nature of

the subject, it may probably form the last occasion that I shall have to mention that illustrious person in the course of these memoirs. After the debate of the 11th of February, Burke retired from the house of commons, or took no part in the discussions that arose there during a considerable time. Finding that all his opposition only produced great odium to himself, while the king, contrary to Dr. Warren's predictions, advanced rapidly to the complete resumption of his mental powers, Burke abandoned a theatre on which he could no longer perform a part useful to his friends or to the common cause. In truth, he had incurred, by his line of conduct, severe, but perhaps unjust censure: for it is impossible to deny that a most striking analogy exists between the two cases of Charles the Sixth and of George the Third, as Burke more than once asserted; though the admirable provisions of the British constitution preserved us from experiencing the calamities by which France was desolated under that unhappy reign. Nor did Burke by any means exaggerate the misfortune of a partial restoration of reason, if it had taken place in 1789, as actually happened twenty-two years later, in the spring of 1811. George the Third, during successive weeks, then seemed to have nearly or fully recovered his faculties; and he displayed in his conversations with the ministers the utmost anxiety, as well as impatience, to resume his sceptre. What a collision might—nay, must have arisen between Pitt and Fox, if the king, at the time of which I now treat, had only enjoyed gleams and intervals of sanity! But other circumstances contributed to silence Burke. On the 11th of February, his majesty's disorder had evidently subsided; and Warren himself, who remained so long incredulous, at length signed upon that day a most favourable report. Such progress, indeed, had he made towards a perfect cure, that on the morning of the very day in question, Pitt had been allowed for the first time to visit the sovereign since the beginning of his malady. He went down alone to Kew, was introduced by Dr. Willis, remained with his majesty about fifteen minutes, conversed with him on ordinary

topics, of course avoiding political subjects, and found him collected on every point.

Before I take leave of Burke, whose name fills so conspicuous a place in the annals of George the Third during more than thirty years, let us cast a farewell glance on him at this period of his life. Never throughout his splendid parliamentary career,—and splendid it unquestionably was, though passed almost wholly on the opposition bench,—had he sunk so low in popular estimation as in 1789! He no longer contended against a king and a minister engaged in a civil war, which produced annually new disgraces and defeats. On the other hand, Burke felt himself declining in years and in health. His circumstances were very embarrassed; his son, whom he fondly cherished, was destitute of any provision or fortune; and his own temper had become sharpened by long adversity: while his sanguine expectations of filling the pay-office a third time, under the approaching regency, had become suddenly overclouded. Old age impended, with its infirmities and diseases. From this seemingly hopeless situation he was soon extricated by the French revolution; of which event, and its consequences to Europe, he early took a very different view and formed a very different estimate, from Fox.

His speeches and literary productions in opposition to the inroads of popular violence, anarchy, and subversion in France, dissolving the ties which had so long united him with Fox, naturally led him over to Pitt. I was present in the house of commons on that evening when Burke, after producing from under his coat the revolutionary dagger, and renouncing all further connexion with his old political friends, crossed to the treasury bench, where he squeezed himself in between Dundas and Pitt. It formed the most interesting and affecting scene that I witnessed during the time that I remained in parliament: Fox weeping throughout the whole transaction, his emotions, as often as he rose to speak, impeding his utterance. Burke, on the contrary, who shifted his place more than once before he finally passed over to the government side of the house, never shed a tear, nor even manifested any

sentiment of concern. Abhorrence of the revolutionary doctrines, as he esteemed them, which Fox had professed on different occasions, seemed to have steeled Burke's breast against all impressions or recollections of former times. Indeed, his whole deportment resembled the wild and troubled movements of a man disordered in mind, rather than the sober, reflective determination of a statesman. So great an accession of moral strength to administration was justly appreciated by the sovereign and by the minister. Two pensions, amounting together to three thousand six hundred pounds a year, were bestowed on him, *each for three lives*, as his remuneration. I believe he obtained for them by sale near six-and-thirty thousand pounds. Honours and distinctions followed. Not, indeed, titles or decorations, but the most flattering testimonies of notice and of royal favour. George the Third accompanied him from one end to the other of Windsor Terrace, covering with attentions and expressions of regard the champion of order, monarchy, and good government. Thus secured by the bounty of the crown from pecuniary difficulties, did that distinguished individual shortly afterwards finish his days!

11th — 13th February. — No attempt to answer Burke was made by any member of administration; but some coarse personal jests or sarcasms on his visits to the receptacles for insane patients, to which he had alluded in his speech, were thrown out by Sir Richard Hill, from the treasury bench. Sheridan, after observing that as the *bill* was drawn up, the king's recovery would not be notified to parliament in any shape, even though the two houses should be actually assembled when it took place, moved an *amendment* to Pitt's proposition. Its object was to compel the privy council to take care that the instrument announcing his majesty's recovery should be submitted to parliament previous to its transmission to the lord mayor, or its insertion in the Gazette. On a division, government negatived it by a majority of sixty-eight, the respective numbers being 181 and 113. It formed the last effort of opposition against the *bill*, which was read a third time on that night.

Next day, Pulteney moved a clause

for limiting to the term of *three years* the provision which imposed restrictions on the regent's power of creating peers. The chancellor of the exchequer, who well appreciated the value of Pulteney's support, not only concurred with him in sentiment, but reiterated, with testimonies of high approbation, all Pulteney's opinions relative to the duration of the restrictions. "I thank Heaven, however," added he, "that I have every day stronger reason to believe his majesty's illness will not be protracted to any distant period!" In fact, on that very morning the *report* of his physicians had pronounced him to be in "a progressive state of amendment." Sheridan moved, that instead of *three years*, the words "one year" should be inserted in the blank; but knowing the inutility of dividing the house, he allowed the clause to be filled up with the former term. The *bill* then passed; and on the 13th of February, Pitt, attended by many of his friends, carried it up to the bar of the house of lords.

13th — 18th February. — Fox returned at this time from Bath, as much apparently amended in his health as he was sunk in his expectations of again entering the cabinet. Little more than three weeks earlier when he left London, the king, according to appearances, seemed to be in an almost hopeless state of lunacy. Before the middle of February, his prompt and complete restoration to sanity of mind was universally as well as confidently anticipated. How often must Fox have deplored his recall from Italy, at a moment when he already touched the land of arts, and was preparing to visit *the three gems of Europe!* — gems which he was never again permitted to see. His whole residence in London had been a "phantasma," injurious to his health, and terminating in disappointment. Already various individuals either of high rank, or holding offices of trust, or distinguished by the king's personal favour, were admitted to see and converse with him. Moore, archbishop of Canterbury, a dull, but a worthy and respectable prelate, was among the first; and on the following day, Pitt, together with the new Speaker of the house of commons, had an interview of some length with his majesty. Even the Earl

of Chesterfield and the Duke of Richmond were allowed to wait on him; but it was not thought proper to introduce into his presence the Prince of Wales or the Duke of York.

With the chancellor he held long and repeated conversations, Willis being usually, but not invariably, present on these occasions, when only topics of ordinary discourse were agitated. With the queen and his daughters he passed much time. His appetite, sleep, and memory all returned; while his pulse, which had risen to one hundred and twenty pulsations in a minute during the severe accesses of his disorder, fell gradually to its usual standard. He was not left in ignorance that Warren, throughout his whole distemper, had augured ill of his recovery; and that, when the other medical attendants perceived amendment, Warren either did not, or would not, co-incide in opinion with them. As early as the 11th of February, when that physician arrived at Kew and entered his apartment, the king held out his arm; adding, "Feel my pulse, Dr. Warren. How does it beat? And how many strokes did it beat three days ago? I think there is some amendment. Is there not?" — Warren admitted it, and fully confirmed his conviction of the fact by the "bulletin" which he signed on that day; but it was not until the 17th of the month that he certified under his hand the king's being "in a state of *convalescence*."

Meanwhile the house of peers proceeded in the *Regency Bill* with as much despatch as if the malady had not manifested any symptoms of abatement; but the interest which under opposite circumstances would have attended their deliberations, became much diminished in consequence of the recent change that had taken place at Kew. No debate of importance arose in the early stages of the measure, till the 18th, when Lord Rawdon, after expatiating with force relative to the clauses which conferred on the queen a control over the royal household, moved the limitation of her majesty's authority to such part of the establishment "as should be deemed necessary to attend on the king during his illness." Lord Stormont on this occasion exhibited his accustomed powers of

argument and eloquence. "The ministers," said he, "when they institute a feeble government, know not the extent or magnitude of the evils that they originate. I fear not, my lords, an open, bold ambition. But I dread that *dark and secret ambition, which, working under ground and undermining all who opposed it, may cripple the power which it dares not avowedly combat in open day.* The patronage of the household extends over offices exceeding one hundred thousand pounds a year in value."—"I have ever understood that *the king is the fountain of office, as of honour.* This *bill* makes the *queen* the fountain of office. But the present administration subvert every barrier of the constitution."

"It has been observed," continued Lord Stormont, "that the queen can have no political views. I well know how much she is entitled to veneration. But her advisers, who possess power without responsibility, may misguide her. Artifice and cabal will find their way into her presence; for I know of no quality in the air of Kew which has power to expel or to remove the vermin that invariably infest courts."

Lord Hawkesbury, who might possibly find some of the sentiments in this speech calculated to afford him subject of reflection, rose in reply. So did Lord Sydney, who denied that the operation of the *bill* would weaken the new government. "Let us," exclaimed he, "consider who the regent is! A prince of Wales of high character, of captivating manners, greatly beloved, and in the flower of youth. The restrictions imposed, it is well known, are only provided for the period of his majesty's incapacity. Do we recollect the present situation of the sovereign? He has been already declared *convalescent* in a *report* signed by *Dr. Warren*, and his testimony, I presume, will not be called in question." A division taking place, Lord Rawdon's amendment was rejected by twenty-three votes, the respective numbers being 89 to 66; and a warm discussion then arose on the question of adjournment. Ministers, anxious to stop further proceedings, at a moment when the king might again be speedily brought forward in his regal capacity, proposed to "re-

port progress;" but the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Stormont, and various other peers, opposed it with the utmost vehemence. When the "*Irish propositions*," said they, "were discussed within these walls, we continued here till *two* in the morning. And are we now, at *half-past eight*, to be told of the lateness of the hour? No man who considers the deep importance and urgency of the present business can deny that it calls for despatch. If therefore ministers postpone it, they must be responsible to their country for the consequences." Notwithstanding these reclamations, an adjournment finally took place.

19th February.—On the following day, it having been determined in cabinet to arrest the further progress of the *Regency Bill* in the upper house, the chancellor took his seat on the woolsack. Then rising before the order could be read for renewing the debate of the preceding evening, he observed that since his majesty had been pronounced by his physicians in a state of *convalescence*, the accounts of his progressive improvement had almost hourly received confirmation. "The recent intelligence from Kew," continued Lord Thurlow, "is so favourable, that I conceive every individual present will coincide with me in thinking it would be indecent to continue the proceedings in which we are engaged, when the principle of the *bill* itself may probably be completely done away." Having then congratulated the audience and the country on the auspicious opening prospect, he submitted to the peers the propriety of an adjournment until the ensuing Tuesday, the 24th of the month. No opposition whatever was experienced, and only two individuals expressed any opinion on the occasion. The first was Lord Stormont. After protesting that the communication just made gave him the liveliest joy, "Although regencies," added he, "are expedients required by necessity under peculiar exigencies, yet every man must feel how great is the calamity of their existence. With respect to the present *Regency bill*, I consider it as an aggravation of our national misfortunes. I rejoice therefore, personally, if I should be delivered from the severe duty, which the urgent nature of the case, and that

motive alone, could have induced me to undertake. Yet, even under the embarrassing restrictions imposed, I am convinced that the Prince of Wales would have exhibited an earnest of that wisdom and exertion which may be expected from him when in the course of nature he shall ascend the throne. My eyes, it is reasonable to suppose, will be closed long before that day arrives: but there are lords now present who may live to witness it. They, I have no doubt, will experience the benefit, and will acknowledge the truth, of my prediction." We must candidly admit that during eight or nine years the *regent's* administration did not in any degree disgrace Lord Stormont's augury. But what sentence will posterity pass upon the king, for his treatment of the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick, from the instant of his ascending the throne? The second and last person who addressed the house was the Duke of York. Having declared the high satisfaction which he felt at the favourable account given, and his perfect concurrence with the *motion* for adjournment, he subjoined; "I should have derived the greatest pleasure from making the same communication, if I had been enabled to do it from any authentic information." Impressed with the exhilarating reports circulated, I esteemed it my duty yesterday to request admission to his majesty's presence. From reasons which might be considered as justifiable, I was denied that satisfaction. I cannot have had any communication with my royal brother on a subject so unexpectedly agitated; but the knowledge which I possess of his sentiments enables me to assert, that his gratification at this auspicious intelligence will be, if possible, even higher than my own. It must liberate him from the embarrassments in which he would otherwise have been placed, and which no motive could have impelled or induced him to encounter, except a strong sense of his duty to the country." When the house of commons met on the day ensuing, Pitt, without assigning the slightest reason for his conduct, or giving any explanation whatever, instantly moved an adjournment to the 24th of February. Vyner, affecting surprise at so singular a proceeding when no part

of the public business was yet brought forward, added: "I can, nevertheless, imagine the cause; and if I am well founded in my conjecture, it is a most joyous cause to this house, as well as to the kingdom. Yet I cannot help wishing that we might enjoy the gratification of hearing it stated from the chancellor of the exchequer, in order to be enabled to communicate it with confidence to our constituents." Almost any other minister than Pitt would have made some reply, if not disclosure, in compliance with Vyner's invitation; but he, on the contrary, entrenching himself in silence, the question of adjournment was put, and carried without one dissentient voice.

24th February. — Nor was he more communicative when the house met again, though before that day the king had nearly emancipated himself from all medical attendance. The chancellor, however little distinguished by the general suavity of his manners or temper, acted very differently towards the peers. He thought it proper to premise, before he moved for an adjournment to the 2d of the ensuing month, that every information received from Kew confirmed the probability of his majesty's speedy and complete recovery. Amidst the silence which followed, the Duke of Norfolk rising, observed that notwithstanding the want of any regular evidence to contradict the testimony of the physicians who had been formally examined, yet the chancellor enjoying the honour of being personally admitted into the royal presence, his statement carried with it irresistible authority. "Nevertheless," continued the duke, "I could wish to learn what is the present aspect of the king's health; what steps are intended to be pursued after the proposed period of adjournment, if the sovereign, continuing to advance in progressive amendment, shall nevertheless be then unable to resume his regular functions. Lastly, will another examination of the physicians take place?" To the first of these inquiries the chancellor gave a satisfactory reply. "As far," answered he, "as my judgment enables me to form an opinion, the posture of his majesty's mind appears to be clear and distinct. During the recent interviews

which I have had with him in obedience to his commands, I have remained in his presence at one time for an hour and a quarter. On this very day I passed a full hour with him. Throughout both these audiences I found his intelligence perfectly sound, inasmuch that I consider him to be capable of conversing on any subject." Evading the duke's subsequent questions, "Whatever measures might be hereafter proposed," he said, "must be founded on the state of his majesty's health, and could not therefore as yet be accurately stated." An adjournment followed.

24th — 28th February. — While all public business was thus suspended, the king continued to make the most rapid and uninterrupted advances to perfect recovery. As early as the 25th of the month, Warren had signed a *report* declaring that "he appeared to be free from complaint; and two days afterwards, orders were issued to discontinue the "bulletins." His majesty even resumed his accustomed intercourse with Pitt by letters, manifesting in them, as well as in every other act, a composed mind. He might indeed be said to have recommenced the exercise of his regal functions, as on the last day of February he signed a commission filled up at the treasury, and transmitted to Kew for that purpose. Perhaps in such a proceeding there was something informal, if not illegal; no parliamentary proof existing of his restoration to sanity since the last examination of the physicians. But, as no legislative act had received the royal sanction declaring him suspended from the exercise of the sovereign authority, ministers, conscious of the general wishes of the nation, ventured to pass the strict limits of law. Numerous individuals distinguished by the king's regard or partiality, among whom were Lord Hawkesbury, Sir Joseph Banks, and West the celebrated painter, obtained access to him: but he did not as yet think proper to admit into his presence either the Prince of Wales or Duke of York.

A circumstance which took place likewise at this time tended still more to widen the breach. The two Irish houses of parliament having, in opposition to all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant, and

certainly with more precipitation than wisdom, addressed the Prince of Wales to take on him the regency of that kingdom, *during the king's malady, without restrictions*, sent over a deputation to London for the purpose of announcing it to his royal highness. At their head were placed the Duke of Leinster and Earl of Charlemont, who arrived in the English capital on the 25th of February, the very day when his majesty was declared "free from complaint." On the 27th, precisely as the medical reports were suppressed on account of the king's *complete recovery*, these delegates presented the address of the Irish parliament to his royal highness at Carlton House. He made them a grateful and appropriate answer. But it was thought that the members of the deputation would have acted more judiciously, if, on finding the king recovered, they had written to their constituents at Dublin, demanding new instructions. The Duke of York entertained them at his residence in Whitehall on the day of presenting the address. This dinner was followed by a superb banquet given at Carlton House, where not only the Dukes of York and of Cumberland, assisted, but at which were likewise present, with the principal opposition peers, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Francis, Courtenay, and Lord John Townsend, then one of the members for Westminster. Fox had previously made his appearance in the house of commons. After passing a few weeks very joyously and convivially in the metropolis, the Irish delegates returned home. If they had arrived a month earlier, their appearance and mission would have produced no ordinary effect; but, coming after the king's recovery, and nevertheless persisting to prosecute the original purpose for which they were sent, so strange a mode of proceeding excited many animadversions, not unaccompanied with ridicule.

As soon as the king resumed his ordinary occupations, he passed a great part of his time in the perusal of the recent debates that had arisen in both houses. The *divisions*, accompanied with the printed lists of the members who respectively voted upon each side, formed likewise an interesting subject of his attention. I know that, after maturely re-

viewing them, he said: "The conduct of two individuals in the house of commons affects me with much surprise; the one, that he should have supported me; the other, that he deserted me. I mean Mr. Dundas in the first, and Sir Charles Gould in the second instance." However interested or relaxed Dundas's political principles might be supposed, yet the superiority of his judgment kept him firm to Pitt. From the opposite party he could not hope for employment. He consulted, therefore, his interest and his ambition, not less than his honour and his character, in standing or falling with his friend the minister. Sir Charles Gould found himself in a different predicament. He was then only a knight, having received the distinction in 1779, as the representative of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, when that naval officer was decorated with the order of the *Bath*. Mr. Gould being bred to the law, at an early period of life made proposals to Mr. Morgan of Ruperra, in the county of Glamorgan, for the hand of one of his daughters. "I have," answered he, "two girls. One is handsome; the other, not so well endowed by nature. In order to repair that deficiency, I mean to give her fifteen hundred pounds as a marriage portion. To her sister I shall only give one thousand. Which of them would you wish to have?" "Allow me to inquire," replied Gould, "which is the eldest?" "The plain girl," rejoined he. "Then, if you please, sir," said Gould, "I'll have *her*."

The marriage was accomplished, the bride having at the time three brothers, two of whom I personally knew in parliament. They nevertheless all died without leaving issue; and Gould, in right of his wife, inherited the immense estates situated at Tredegar, at Ruperra, and in other parts of South Wales, which at this hour exceed forty thousand pounds per annum. Not long after the king's accession, in 1762, Gould had been made judge advocate general of the forces; a post which he held nearly four-and-forty years. His inclinations, his principles, and his official employment, all impelled him to support administration. But he was brought into the house of commons as member for the

county of Brecon by the *Morgan* interest; and Pitt having offended that family in order to oblige the Duke of Beaufort, Gould, who beheld himself the probable eventual heir to their vast property, quitted the minister on some questions to follow his brother-in-law into opposition. Such was the secret history of his defection, at which the king expressed so much astonishment. Gould, when he obtained the *Morgan* estates, assumed at the same time their name; both of which have descended to his son. But the father never could succeed in attaining the grand object of his ambition, a British peerage. Pitt created him, indeed, a baronet in 1792, and subsequently raised him to a place in the privy council. He supplicated, implored, offered to resign his employment of judge advocate general, and exerted during many successive years every effort in order to conciliate the minister. Pitt remained, however, inflexible, and Sir Charles died a commoner in 1806, as his son continues in 1820.

1st—9th March.—Both houses still adjourning from time to time in order to allow a sufficient interval for the confirmation of his majesty's recovery, Pitt, on the 2d of March, at length briefly adverted to the fact, as forming a motive to postpone during a few days the resumption of public business. The Prince of Wales and Duke of York were finally permitted to wait on the king; but their reception, as might be expected, was cold, grave, and formal, admitting no explanations whatever of their past conduct. Four pages of the back-stairs, two of whom were Germans, the other two English, suspected of divulging or transmitting information to Carlton House during the critical periods of the king's malady, received their dismissal. So did the Marquis of Lothian, as colonel of the first regiment of Lifeguards; and the Duke of Queensberry, as one of the lords of the bedchamber. Yet even in these acts his majesty manifested a mind exempt from, and superior to, any vindictive sentiment. The Duke of Queensberry's large property in England, as well as in Scotland, rendered him indifferent to the loss of his place, in a pecuniary point of view: but Lord Lothian could ill afford such a defalcation from his income. Aware of the circumstance, the

king, while he removed the marquis from a situation near his own person, nevertheless bestowed on him another regiment; compensating the difference between it and the former by an annual allowance out of the privy purse. General Burgoyne and Fox did not less inveigh with the utmost acrimony against the treatment of Lord Lothian, as a shameless act of ministerial vengeance and oppression. Taking advantage of the army estimates being moved in the house of commons some few days afterwards, Fox exclaimed, "The language of ministers to military officers evidently is, 'You may vote against government, you may oppose the interests of the king, and you may do both without incurring punishment; *but you shall not support the interests of the Prince of Wales.*'" No word was uttered by Pitt in reply.

If the fact relative to the Marquis of Lothian strongly proves the placability of George the Third's temper, the particulars that I am about to recount will equally attest the enlargement and serenity of his mind. During the first days of March, being at Kew, accompanied only by one of his equerries, while walking through the apartments of the palace, the astonished eyes of the equerry were involuntarily arrested by a *strait waistcoat* that lay on a chair. Hastily averting his view from an object which recalled images so painful, he endeavoured to conceal his embarrassment. But the king, who perceived it, and who well knew the cause, turning to him, said, "You need not be afraid to look at it. Perhaps it is the best friend I ever had in my life." The gentleman in question was Mr. Robert Greville, brother to the late Earl of Warwick, who related it to Sir John Macpherson. Nearly at the same time, before the king quitted Kew to remove to Windsor, he received information that a *poor-house*, or hospital, was constructing at Richmond. Without previously giving notice of his design, attended only by Major Price, his equerry in waiting, he entered the building, and inspected every part of it; not omitting the rooms destined for the reception of lunatics, which he examined with minute and particular attention. Having gratified his curiosity, he left the hospital; observing that he derived great pleasure from seeing so

comfortable an asylum, and such excellent accommodations, provided for persons labouring under the misfortune of insanity. After his complete recovery, on returning to Windsor, the windows of his apartments at the lodge, which had been sailed down during the first paroxysms of his malady in order to guard against any sudden act of frenzy, — by a censurable negligence of the domestics still remained in the same state. The king, not aware of the circumstance, attempted to throw up one of the windows. Finding it fastened, the cause was explained to him. He expressed neither emotion nor irritation on the occasion.

10th March. — At length, after repeated adjournments, the two houses met for the despatch of business. The speech, which the chancellor pronounced in his majesty's name, was evidently drawn up in terms calculated to obviate opposition, and, if possible, to produce unanimity. In it the sovereign returned "his warmest acknowledgments for the proofs of affectionate attachment exhibited to his person, the zealous concern shown for the honour and interests of his crown, together with the security and good government of his dominions." No eulogiums, either on ministers, or on their late measures, were introduced. Earl Gower, eldest son of the Marquis of Stafford, and who not long afterwards succeeded the Duke of Dorset as ambassador at the court of France, moved the address to the throne in the lower house. He performed it with brevity, avoiding cautiously every topic likely to excite a difference of sentiment. Mr. Yorke, now Earl of Hardwicke, who seconded the motion, did not think it requisite to exert equal circumspection. He ventured to observe, that "the house might find subject of congratulation in having proceeded with more caution than expedition:" adding, that "it must be to them a source of exultation to perceive that his majesty was able, on resuming the duties of his office, not only to approve, but likewise to applaud their proceedings." These expressions, which implied the strongest approbation of Pitt and his colleagues, did not escape Fox's admiration, though he declared that they should not prevent him from concurring in an unanimous vote.

"I do not believe, however," continued Fox, "that the king intended to express any such opinion of the late parliamentary proceedings as has been intimated; because the speech is always considered, not as his, but as the minister's speech. It is therefore altogether improbable that he would make it the vehicle of applauding his own measures. I entertain likewise too high an opinion of his majesty's regard for justice, to suppose him capable of deciding between two parties without previously hearing both; and I am sure that, down to the present time, no opportunity has offered itself for giving any such explanation. Nevertheless, I will not be prevented from joining in the general joy on the present auspicious occasion." Pitt, unwilling, no doubt, to disturb the unanimity of the house, remaining silent, the address was voted without a dissentient voice. Lord Graham then moved a congratulatory address to the queen. Fox remarked, that his only objection arose from its being unusual; adding, that when Margaret Nicholson made an attempt on the person of the king, no such testimony of respect or loyalty was proposed to be given to her majesty. "If, however," added he, "all Europe has admired the queen's conduct during the late afflicting malady, there is likewise another person whose conduct has equally excited universal admiration, and whose character has acquired additional splendor in the eyes of all mankind. Should her majesty be addressed, I can perceive no reason why an address ought not to be presented to *the Prince of Wales*." The minister, who had hitherto resisted every provocation to mix in the debate, now rose, without however any avowed intention of contesting Fox's principle. He did not, he asserted, believe that a *difference of opinion existed relative to the virtues of the heir-apparent*, nor had he the slightest objection to address that illustrious person: but he could find no precedent for it. To queens, there were numerous instances on the journals of the house. As a proof of his assertion, he produced an address carried up to Queen Anne, on her husband Prince George of Denmark's recovery from sickness. Fox tacitly concurred in this example; though he

might have replied that Anne reigned in her own right, not as a queen consort. The two cases were therefore widely different. He preferred, however, acquiescence.

In the house of peers — (where two speeches were pronounced; the first, by the Earl of Chesterfield; the other, by Lord Cathcart; throughout every word of which, court adulation borrowed the language of gratitude to the Supreme Being for restoring to England her sovereign); — one, and only one, difficulty was suggested respecting the propriety of their parliamentary proceeding. Earl Stanhope, a man who at every period of his life, whether as a commoner or as a peer, displayed the same ardent, eccentric, fearless, indefatigable, and independent character, stood forward to state his doubts on the principle, as well as the propriety, of the intended address to the throne. "A bill," observed he, "is actually in progress, which contains a clause specifying the precise manner in which the king is to resume the reins of government on his recovery. The queen and her council are empowered to judge, and to decide, when this act may take place. Now, the two houses having in the first instance ascertained, by the testimony of the physicians, the royal incapacity; and having next specified the mode and channel through which the nation may be satisfied of the sovereign's complete restoration; *is the present measure strictly parliamentary?* I have full confidence of the fact of recovery; but it is essential that we should act in consonance to *order*." The chancellor, who probably was not prepared for such an objection from such a quarter, made nevertheless a prompt and ingenious, if not a solid reply. "No declaration of the two houses could," he said, "deprive the king of the *right* to govern: nor could any clause interrupt his re-assuming his *power*, on the total cessation of his disorder." Alluding to the *Regency Bill* with a sort of repugnance, as a measure which he wished to be buried in oblivion, he denied that either the *bill* itself, or the *clause* inserted in it, was founded on the testimony of the physicians. "Parliament," he asserted, "had better proof of his majesty's illness; namely, having neither met the two

houses in person, nor issued a commission to execute the duty." These arguments, though coming from the wool-sack, made no impression on Lord Stanhope. He retained and repeated his assertions; adding, nevertheless, "I am a friend to ministers, and do not mean any insinuation prejudicial to them. My intention is only to put them on their guard." I was of opinion at the time, and I remain so, that, as a matter of parliamentary order, Lord Stanhope was right in his positions. No other peer however supporting him, the address both to the king and queen passed unanimously, as it had done in the commons.

These legislative deliberations were followed on the same night by the most brilliant, as well as the most universal exhibition of national loyalty and joy, ever witnessed in England. It originated not with the police, nor with the government, but with the people, and was the genuine tribute of their affection. No efforts of despotism could, indeed, have enforced it. London displayed a blaze of light from one extremity to the other; the illuminations extending, without any metaphor, from Hampstead and Highgate to Clapham, and even as far as Tooting: while the vast distance between Greenwich and Kensington presented the same dazzling appearance. Even the elements seemed to favour the spectacle: for the weather, though rather cold, was dry. Nor were the opulent and the middle orders the only classes who came conspicuously forward on this occasion. The poorest mechanics contributed their proportion; and instances were exhibited of cobblers' stalls decorated with one or two farthing candles. Such was the tribute of popular attachment manifested in March, 1789, towards a sovereign who only seven years earlier, in March, 1782, after losing a vast empire beyond the Atlantic seemed to stand on a fearful precipice! But it would be unjust not to admit that the virtues of his character derived a lustre from the wise or fortunate selection of his minister; from the recent severe affliction that he had himself undergone; and from the change of administration which his son mediated to accomplish, as soon as he should be

invested with the regency. That measure itself, however necessary its adoption had been under the existing circumstances that produced it, and however deeply it then occupied the public mind, seemed now to disappear from recollection like a phantom. Every part of the public business, which during several months had been postponed or suspended in consequence of the king's incapacity, was immediately brought forward; and as early as the 16th of March, Sir George Yonge, secretary at war, presented the army estimates in the house of commons. The opposition, whose vision of power had been so unexpectedly and improbably dissolved, again reduced to their former numbers, beheld Pitt resume the helm of state with augmented popularity, amidst the general applauses of the country.

It is at this point of time that I conclude my memoirs. Many motives, personal as well as public, prevent me from prolonging them, though I continued to sit in parliament near five years afterwards, down to February, 1794. I am already entered on my seventieth year; but if I cannot therefore describe my time of life in the language of Umbricius,

"*Dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,*"

I can at least say with him,

———" *Pedibus me
Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.*"

I am not, however, on that account less mindful of Horace's

" *Solve senecentem.*"

Other reasons prompt me here to lay down my pen. After the restoration of George the Third to health, another order of things seems to date; revolutionary France occupying the principal attention of Europe from 1789 to 1815. At the moment of finishing this work, I am deeply sensible to its numberless deficiencies; some arising, no doubt, from my want of ability; more, as my enemies may perhaps assert, from want of informa-

tion. My best excuse is Pope's; who says,

"If Queensberry to strip there's no compelling,
'Tis from her handmaid we must take a Helen."

With Lord Clarendon and Burnet, I well know that I can enter into no competition, in the great component materials of contemporary history. Their rank, offices, and facility of access to the highest sources of knowledge, place them far above all rivalry on my part. Yet upon two points closely connected in themselves, and which ought to form the basis of historical composition,—I mean truth and impartiality,—I may challenge perhaps a superiority even to *them*. How, in fact, could Lord Clarendon divest himself of his partiality to Charles the First: or the Bishop of Salisbury lay aside his attachment to William the Third? I stand in no such predicament relative to George the Third, or to George the Fourth. From the former prince I received few or no benefits, though I supported him in parliament, and out of parliament, during some of the most critical periods of his reign. Nor do I owe greater obligations to his successor, though peculiar circumstances led to his conferring on me the rank of a baronet. The services that I rendered Pitt, to some of which I have had occasion to allude in former parts of these memoirs, far outweigh, even in the estimation of his friends, any favours that I ever received from him. With Fox I never had any political connexion, and rarely voted with him, either in or out of office, during nearly fourteen years that I remained in the house of commons. Regarding both those illustrious men through the medium of time, I contemplate them only as objects of investigation, wholly divested of partiality or of enmity. Conscious that I stand on the verge of life, and that I must render an account at the bar of that Power from whom I received my being, of all that I have *written*, as well as of all that I have *done*, I can offer no homage to Him except truth; and to posterity, my greatest, if not my only recommendation, must consist in my impartiality.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS AND PAPERS RESPECTING THE QUEEN OF DENMARK.

FROM THE BARON DE SECKENDORF.

No. I.

UN mot pour vous, mon très-cher. Tout va bien : on espère même que la Princesse* se retirera à neuf heures, alors Sa Maj^{te} pourra vous parler jusqu'à 11 heures, à son aise. Vous pouvés lui dire tout ce que vous avés sur le cœur. Le mauvais tems m'annonce l'impossibilité de me trouver demain matin au rendezvous : ainsi, ayés la grace, étant d'ailleurs destiné d'être mouillé, de passer à huit heures chés moi. Ordonnés les chevaux à neuf, et partés sous la garde de Dieu. Bon soir.

Je retourne le chiffre, dont j'ai pris copie. Rapportés-moi demain tout ce que vous avés encore de papiers ou d'ailleurs.

Vous verres la Reine précisément à neuf heures.

BARON DE S—F.

Z—ll, 24 Mars, 1775.

No. II.

MON très-cher ami, — La mort également douloureuse et rapide de mon incomparable maîtresse renverse tout d'un coup l'édifice de notre prospérité. Que nous sommes malheureux, et que sa perte est grande pour nos amis ! Lepy a été incessamment informé par moi de cette triste catastrophe. Le paquet dont se trouvoit chargé le courrier a été renvoyé sans être décacheté au S^r Abel par Alis, et j'ignore entièrement ce qu'auroit été la résolution qu'il comptoit donner aux amis de Montpellier.

* Hérésitaire de Brunswic.

† La Reine de Danemarck, Caroline Matilde.

Alis m'a promis de faire en sorte que toutes les dépenses faites par eux et par vous seroient remboursées par Abel le plus tôt que possible ; et sitôt que j'ai des nouvelles sâres à cet égard, vous en serés instruit. En attendant, je vous prie de dire ceci à Lepy. Il est juste que personne perde son argent.

Que deviendrons-nous à cette heure, mon très-cher ami ? Resterés vous à Londres, ou feres-vous le voyage que vos parens avoient projeté ? Puis-je me flatter de vous revoir jamais ? Grand Dieu, quelle désolation en si peu de momens ! Je ne pourrai jamais me remettre de ce coup. Votre dernière lettre parvint encore à la chère défuncte.

Adieu, mon très-cher ami. Je ne cesserai de ma vie de vous aimer, et de conserver la mémoire de votre attachement sincère pour la précieuse Agujari.

Ce 16 May 75.

'Tout à vous.

BROCARD.

From Zell. From the Baron de S—k—f. immediately after her majesty's death.

N. W. W. J.

No. III.

VOTRE bien bonne et aimable lettre du mois passé est entré mes mains, et j'ose vous dire qu'elle m'a été dans mes amertumes netuelles d'une d'autant plus grande consolation, que je sais quelle est l'honnêteté de votre ame et la candeur de votre façon de penser. L'incluse a été non seulement remise d'abord à Alis, qui, pour plus de sûreté, ne vous fera réponse, qu'avec le courier ordinaire d'Hanovre ; mais je tiens sa promesse sacrée, de s'intéresser vivement pour vous auprès le S^r

Abel : il faut absolument que celui-ci aye soin d'un serviteur si zélé de sa sœur, qui, de son vivant, étoit si fort éloigné de tout ce qui s'appelle intérêt ou récompense. Et d'ailleurs, Lepy et ses consortes renoncent et refusent restitution des fraix quelconques ; ils n'exigent que de vous voir placé. Comment le séries-vous, mon très-cher et digne ami, selon vos vœux ? Ayés la confiance en moi de me le dire. Apparemment c'est à Londres même, dans quelque bureau d'un secrétaire d'état ? Car pour être employé dans les pays étrangers, il faut, je crois, savoir beaucoup de langues étrangères. Vous continuerez de m'adresser vos nouvelles à Zelle ; car tant que le Roi ne se déclare pas sur notre sort, il faut y rester tranquillement, et cela pourroit, dit-on, bien durer encore quelques mois. Toutefois, mon cher, vous saurez dans quel trou du monde me trouver.

Comme vous me demandés quelques particularités de la mort de celle qui faisoit nos délices, et que nous ne voulons jamais cesser de pleurer amèrement, je ne-saurois mieux vous en informer, que par la copie d'une lettre qui fut envoyée par une de nos dames à Copenh. quelques jours après ce décès si infortuné pour nous. Du reste, les gazetiers en Allemagne, France, et en Hollande ont parlé de ce triste évènement d'une façon très-touchante, et rendant tous les regrets et respects imaginables aux cendres de cette chère Princesse. Oh leurs ennemis, qui ne cessoient point de la persécuter, méritoient bien que le bruit de l'empoisonnement devint plus général ; car au bout du compte, c'est la douleur et leurs cabales qui l'ont tué.

Le billet cy-joint vous informera ce que les états veulent faire en honneur de sa mémoire, et vous serez aussi très-flatté de cette marque non-équivoque du zèle et de la vénération de tout un peuple. Cette annonce paroîtra dans toutes les gazettes d'Allemagne, de France, et des Pays Bas. Nous désirons, mon cher, que vous la faires traduire en bon Anglois, et ayés soin que cela soit aussi inséré en plusieurs feuilles publiques, chez vous, en Ecosse, Irlande. Quant à l'anecdote que j'ai l'honneur de vous communiquer, il n'est pas possible de la lire sans pleurer. On nous sollicité de la

publier aussi en Angleterre. Cela sera encore vous, mon bon ami, qui la fera paroître dans quelques journaux, sous titre, *Trait de Tendresse Maternelle*. Mais comment traduire bien et que le sens n'y perde rien, les quatre vers ? Eh bien ; je vous recommande avec instance ces deux entreprises, vous suppliant de m'en faire en tems et lieu le rapport. Marie Mancini* n'a pas été ici, ni dans la maladie, ni après la mort. Je ne la connois pas assez pour juger sa sensibilité à l'occasion d'un évènement si triste ; mais si on en est susceptible, ne faut-il pas se faire le reproche d'avoir aggravé par sa conduite le poids des adversités sous lequel la chère Agujari gémissoit ? Ah, mon ami, que la souvenir de sa perte me sera ineffaçable ! que je crains par-la bouleverser entièrement le système de ma prospérité ! La chère défunte restera enterrée à Zelle aux caveaux de Duc : c'est apparemment par une économie mesquine, qui se manifeste d'ailleurs en tout ce que les Excellences de ce pays font, qu'on ne veut pas la transporter à Hanovre. Savés-vous bien que les gazettes disent, qu'après que les enfans royaux étoient déjà en grand deuil, qu'on donna à Copenhague un bal à la cour. N'y a-t-il donc aucune âme honnête de gazetier à Londres, qui venge une conduite si scandaleuse ?

Oh, mon ami, si j'étois susceptible de l'ombre de joie, j'en aurois eu vivement, en ouvrant le denier paquet de livres qui furent envoyés d'Angleterre à la chérissime Agujari, mais qu'elle ne vit plus ; et y trouvant "Cursory Remarks made in a Tour, by N. Wra———" j'en commencerai aujourd'hui la lecture, moitié en le dévorant, parceque c'est le stil de celui que je ne finirai de ma vie à chérir. De grace n'oubliez pas à me marquer quand vous quittez l'Angleterre, et où vous allés. Je suis *usque ad cineres* entièrement le vôtre.

BROCARD.

Ce 20 Juin 75.

No. IV.

Je suis en possession, mon bon, cher et bien-aimé ami, de vos lettres du 30 Juin, 10 Juillet, et je viens recevoir

* La Princesse Héréditaire de B——c, sœur de la Reine Matilde, et de Sa Majesté Britannique.

celle du 21 Juillet *aujourd'hui* — jour, après celui du 10 May, un des plus malheureux, des plus tristes pour moi ; car c'est aujourd'hui que toute notre cour se sépare, que les dames partent, que je suis sur le point d'aller m'enterrer à une campagne à quelques miles d'ici pour attendre encore quelle sera ma destinée. Je comptois de-là vous répondre avec autant de circonstance que possible ; mais comme vous me dites être sur le point de votre départ, je me hâte de vous dire encore ce peu de lignes, car mes chevaux sont déjà devant la voiture. Il m'est incompréhensible, mon cher, de ce que vous n'avez point reçu par le courrier d'Hannovre les nouvelles d'Alis. Il n'y a que cinq jours qu'il fut ici, et qu'il m'assura non seulement qu'il vous avoit écrit, mais que le rapport à Abel étoit parti par la même occasion, conformément à ce que vous aviez bien voulu nous manifester de vos intentions. Il est d'ailleurs si fort homme de parole et exact, que je ne puis douter un moment que tout s'est exécuté à la ligne. Or, mon ami, s'il est possible encore, ne hâtes pas trop de quitter la patrie ; voyons du moins ce que Abel repondra à Alis ; je le saurois au retour du courrier, et je vous informerai incessamment, car je ne quitte pas encore le pays, et vous pouvez continuer à m'adresser vos lettres à Zelle ; en revanche je vous conjure de me donner une direction ultérieure où vous trouver, ou à qui de vos amis à Londres je puis adresser mes lettres, car il me paroît absolument impossible de renoncer au commerce littéraire avec vous : mon cœur vous chérit et vous estime ; et n'avons-nous pas été liés par des nœux que ni le tems ni la vie peut dissoudre ? Tous les amis de mon incomparable Agujari me resteront éternellement en mémoire, et il n'y a que dans l'autre monde où nous serons tous ensemble heureux. Jugés par ce que je viens de vous dire, si le silence de Lepy et ses compatriotes, qui garde vis-à-vis de moi, tout comme vis-à-vis de vous, ne me doit être que de plus sensible ? Encore Lundi passé je lui ai écrit : je l'ai conjuré de me répondre, je me suis offert à une entrevue partout où il le souhaiteroit, mais encore point de réponse ; et cependant on n'entend pas une syllabe de quelque aventure sinistre arrivée.

Cette conduite est donc pour se désespérer ; cependant nous ne voulons pas le condamner, avant que de savoir leurs raisons. Vous aurés appris peut-être qu'Abel fait administrer les biens de la chère défunte, jusqu'à ce que les enfans soyent majeurs. On dit, qu'aussitôt que l'inventaire sera fait, qu'on chargera moi de cette administration ; occupation qui me sera précieuse et chère, parceque je puis rester par-là dans une espèce de connexion avec les amis de la Agujari, et me flatter de voir, parler et connoître ses enfans. Et puis, je resterai dans ce pays-ci. Vous serés informé de tout, mon cher, pourvu que vous daignés me nommer le canal par où je vous retrouve.

L'article de la gazette a été non seulement tout à fait conforme aux vœux généraux de notre province et de votre ami en particulier, mais écrit avec une élégance, force et délicatesse Cicéronienne, qu'il a été lu, traduit, excerpté, etc. On fait imprimer à cette heure, *Les Dernières Heures* de notre chère défunte : quoique l'original est en Allemand, et qu'il sera difficile de le traduire bien dans une autre langue, je souhaiterois pourtant vous l'envoyer tel qu'il est ; faites le vous l'expliquer, et vous fondrés en larmes. En attendant, acceptés la silhouette d'une personne qui nous sera sacrée, vous la reconnoîtrés facilement ; il est triste pour nous qu'il n'en existe point de portrait. Adieu, mon cher ; je crois du moins pas avoir manque de répondre aux points les plus essentiels de vos chères missives. Il faut absolument que je finisse—mon cœur est navré de la plus profonde douleur, et je ne peux plus. Adieu encore une fois. Avant que de partir, votre adresse, ne l'oubliez pas.

Zelle, ce 1 Août 75.

Entièrement le vôtre,
BROCARD.

No. V.

La vôtre du 11 Août, mon bon ami, toute chère et précieuse qu'elle m'est, parceque elle me vient de votre part, m'a doublement affligé et me pénètre de douleur, vu que par le voyage que vous allés entreprendre je me sens arracher vos nouvelles et les informations de votre sort, et que d'un autre côté vous me faites connoître les peu d'empressements d'Abel de vous récompenser le zèle et

vos peines du tems passé. Alis, toujours coupable d'avoir négligé et oublié sa réponse qu'il vous devoit, vient pourtant m'assurer le plus légalement du monde (car je suis allé moi-même à Hanovre pour le pousser et lui en faire des reproches) qu'il vous avoit recommandé par le dernier courier à son maître avec toute l'énergie possible, mais qu'il n'avoit donné aucune réplique à cet égard : il ajoute, qu'il doute qu'on fera d'abord quelque chose pour vous, vu qu'une grace pareille intrigueroit le public, nommément d'où elle tiroit sa source ; il espère cependant qu'avec le tems on parviendra à son but ; il m'a juré, que vous ne seriez pas oublié par lui, quand même éloigné de votre patrie. Il se peut bien que les malheureuses circonstances dans lesquelles se trouvent actuellement les choses renversent toutes autre méditation, et empêchent Abel de songer aux graces et récompenses même les plus légitimement méritées ; mais toutefois la reconnaissance des grands est presque une chimère. Personne de ceux qui ont appartenus à la chère Agujari ont lieu de s'en louer : ils ne moureront pas de faim avec ce qu'on leur assigné pour pension, mais c'est aussi tout. La pension de Brocard est des plus modiques ; on ne lui a pas même offert une place quelconque dans le service, et quoique on l'a à la fin chargé de l'administration dont vous êtes instruit, tout ce qu'il en a de profit, inclusivement sa pension, ne va pas au-delà de 110 guinées. Comment peut-on vivre de cela dans un poste un peu éminent ? Mais nonobstant de cela il est bien aise d'en être chargé ; il obtient par là un titre de rester dans le pays, de continuer les relations intimes avec le pauvre Lepy et ses amis abandonnés, et de se faire connoître en tems et lieu à la jeune famille. Si donc, mon digne ami, vous voulés daigner me donner quelquefois de vos nouvelles, et j'ose vous conjurer à ne me point refuser cette unique grace, adressés-les toujours à l'endroit où j'avois le bonheur de faire votre connoissance. Que ces jours meseront toujours mémorables et en même tems dououreuses ! Souvent je vous ai encore bien vivement devant mes yeux ; et le tout n'a été pourtant qu'un songe. Aussi puis-je vous assurer que la playe du malheur que j'ai reçue me fait encore sentir

sa douleur comme si je n'en avois été blessé que depuis hier, et il me semble que le tems perd son droit et ses peines avec moi.

Avés-vous à la fin reçu des nouvelles de nos amis ? Ils m'en ont donné il n'y a pas long-tems : le rideau est tombé, il s'en trouvent encore désolés. J'espère qu'on pourra arranger entre Lepy et moi un rendezvous ; je languis après cette connoissance. Il ne me reste, mon tresscher et digne ami, que de vous souhaiter le voyage le plus fortuné du monde ; et de vous assurer, qu'en cas que Abel continue d'être ingrat et insensible aux récompenses qu'il vous *doit*, selon toutes les loix naturelles et positives, je ne me tranquilliserai pas, jusqu'à ce que j'aie pu en trouver ou chés lui, ou dans l'administration, ou dans la jeune famille, qui assurément, sera disposée de mieux reconnoître les sacrifices qu'on a faites pour leur M * *.

Adieu encore une fois ; il me coûte une peine infinie de m'arracher de la conversation avec vous ; mais j'espère que cela ne sera pas pour long-tems, car assurément vous voulés bien me donner de vos nouvelles et de vos addresses ultérieures.

Ce 1 Septemb. 75.

NO. VI.

POURRIÉS-VOUS bien douter un seul moment, mon bien cher et estimable ami, que je fus comblé de satisfaction et saisi de la joie la plus vive, lorsque il m'arrivoit le plaisir inattendu de votre affectueuse lettre du 18 courant ? Oh non, vous n'en doutés pas, vous me rendés, pleinement justice sur l'inviolabilité et la ferveur de mes sentimens pour vous ; vous ne craignés pas, que le tems, l'éloignement et le silence affoiblira des affections qu'un tems plus heureux que celui d'â-présent contracta, et dont la base étoit zèle, respect et estime mutuelle. Recevés donc mille et mille remerciemens de ma part, d'avoir voulu incessamment après votre retour à Londres penser à moi et me gratifier de vos précieuses nouvelles. Je me hâte de vous donner les miennes par le premier courier ; et comme je devois d'ailleurs écrire ce matin à Alis, qui se trouve depuis 4 semaines sur ses terres en Franconie (dont il ne retourne qu'au mois d'Août), j'ai saisi

cette occasion pour appeler à notre secours son intercession auprès d'Abel, pour le faire réagir en votre faveur, et ressusciter une affaire que votre absence a peut-être fait languir. N'importe que cela ne soit pas d'abord décidé; à force de lever sa voix, ce que je ne cesserai jamais de faire tant que je suis entre les vivans, il viendra sûrement un tems où on récompensera un zèle, un désintéret, un mérite semblable au vôtre. Le plaisir que votre retour aura occasionné à Fierville et ses consorts est assurément d'une nature qui vous flâtera, et pourra vous prouver qu'ils vous chériSSent. Imaginé-vous, mon ami, qu'ils se sont formés l'idée que je n'étois pas à Zell, mais chés moi en Franconie, ce qui nous empêcha de lier connoissance personnelle; mais à l'heure qu'il, nous sommes convenus Lepy et moi d'un rendezvous, et je me flatte que cela aura lieu en peu de jours. Combien de questions fera-t-on mutuellement ! avec quel attendrissement parlera-t-on de ce que nous avons perdu et dont la perte est irréparable ! Car, mon ami, quant à moi, au lieu que le tems ait diminué ma douleur, il y a des jours où je la sens plus vivement, dans une plus grande étendue qu'immédiatement après le malheur que nous pleurons. Cela est, sans doute, moins étonnant, parce que je m'occupe à toute heure avec des objets qui me ramènent à ce souvenir lugubre. L'artiste Saxon a mis actuellement la main au monument que les états du Duché de Lunebourg et Zell font ériger dans le Jardin François (où jadis nous promenâmes à la mémoire de notre chère et bonne Reine : tout l'ouvrage (qui sera d'un beau marbre blanc) ne s'achèvera qu'en deux ans d'ici ; n'importe. Le cercueil, qu'on fait en partie ici, en partie à Hannovre, sera, sans être magnifique, de toute beauté. En outre, très-cher ami, nous avons à la fin attrapé un image en cire, qui lui ressemble comme deux gouttes d'eau : si le courrier d'Hannovre, qui va tous les quartiers à Londres, ne part pas avant que je puisse attraper une empreinte, vous aurés de ma part ce cher image, et en ferés le pendant de celui que vous avés déjà. Votre charmante, docte et instructive description du Nord a été avidement lue par toute l'Allemagne, admirée, approuvée,

et nous en avons une traduction, qu'on achète partout. L'original n'a-t-il pas été aussi traduit en France ? je n'en doute pas. Toutefois, l'article de la malheureuse catastrophe de 1772 a fort estomaché la cour de Copenh . . . et j'ai entendu, sans savoir pour bien sûr, qu'on a voulu les confisquer dans les états du Danneمارc. Tant mieux ; avec certain, qu'on rencontre dans vos récits la pure vérité.

Me voilà, mon très-cher ami, à la fin d'une bien longue lettre. Si je suivais mon penchant de m'entretenir avec vous, peut-être seréss-je obligé de lire encore quatre pages : je finis donc par vous demander en grace decontinuer à me donner de vos chères et précieuses nouvelles, car je tiendrai à vous et pour la vie et pour la mort.

BROCARD.

Zell, ce 29 Juin 76.

No. VII.

Zell, ce 15 Sept. 1776.

Je vous écris, mon très-cher, digne et estimable ami, cette lettre, et qui fait réponse à la bien-chère du 30 Juillet, quelques semaines peut-être avant qu'elle, partira d'ici, et sera par conséquent un peu fort vieille au moment qu'elle aura le bonheur d'être remise entre vos mains. Je veux m'expliquer plus clairement. Le courrier ordinaire d'Hannovre en doit être pour cette fois le porteur, parce que je veux y joindre certain image chéri, dont je vous parlois dans ma précédente, et dont l'heureuse arrivée me fera plaisir, parce que vous y metrés du prix, et semblés être sensible à cette petite marque de mon souvenir et zèle, qui est bien le moindre de ceux que je désire tous les jours ardemment de vous donner en chaque rencontre. Comme il ne part qu'au commencement du mois prochain, et que je ne puis plus remettre mon voyage pour la Saxe et la Franconie au-delà du 15 du courant, je laisse aujourd'hui ce petit paquet entre les mains de mon commissionnaire d'ici, afin qu'il l'envoie à Hannovre le jour du départ du courrier. Ce même homme a le plein pouvoir de recevoir toutes les lettres à mon adresse ; et celles dont vous, cher et bien-aimé, daignéréss me ravir, ne manqueront jamais de me parvenir promptement et avec exactitude : car il vous

plaira pourtant de me tenir parole et de continuer notre correspondance. Elle fait partie essentielle du peu de bonheur réel qui est mon partage dans ce monde, sera et dans le bruyant des cours et dans la retraite les délices de mon ame et un besoin que je ne saurois plus manquer.

Alis a été sommé par moi ces jours passés, afin qu'il retourne de vous rappeler, dans les dépêches qu'il a coutume de donner au courrier ordinaire, au souvenir d'Abel. A la fin, nous parviendrons pour tant de faire prêcher sur l'inactivité et l'oubli qu'on marque à votre sujet, et qui, je vous l'assure, dans des momens de réflexion, et où je récapitule votre zèle, vos mérites, votre désintéressement dans un tems plus heureux, vos peines, fatigues et même vos dangers, me rongent le cœur et m'attendrissent jusqu'aux larmes. J'ai remis à Alis un extrait très-circonstancié et détaillé de votre dernière lettre, lequel le mettra absolument au fait de la position où vous vous trouvez vis-à-vis de quelques ministres d'Abel, et les intentions et faveurs de la haute noblesse, de sorte que par-là même Alis trouve un prétexte plausible de plaider votre cause.

Vous avez deviné juste, mon ami, en supposant que mon entrevue avec Lepy seroit touchante : elle l'a été à tous égards, et j'ai été vivement affecté lorsque le moment arriva de m'arracher de ses bras. Elle se fit à trois postes d'ici à l'inçu de tout le monde, parce que je n'avois pas même un domestique avec moi, et jusqu'à cette heure rien en a transpiré. Nous nous sommes rencontrés le soir à 9 heures, point couchés de toute la nuit, et séparés vers les 8 heures du matin. Il est sûrement un homme très-estimable, qui mérite qu'on le chérit. Vous êtes entré pour beaucoup et bien souvent dans notre conversation, mon ami. J'ai donné ma parole de venir au Février ou Mars, tems vers lequel je serai de retour à Zell, leur rendre la visite de quelques jours, dans la ville qui leur est la plus proche ; car ils ne sont pas gens à écrire beaucoup, à ce qui me semble.

Je languis après le moment que vos nouvelles lettres sur l'histoire de la France, écrites pendant les momens de loisir de votre voyage, paroissent au jour ; et je suis assés peu modeste de vous les

démander avec la plus vive instance d'abord que le courrier ordinaire retourne à Hannover. Pour plus de sûreté, faites une enveloppe à ma lettre avec l'adresse, — *A Monsieur Mäntel, valet de chambre de feu S. M. la Reine de Dannem. à Zell.* On m'a aussi parlé dernièrement d'une brochure qui vient de paroître à Londres au sujet de notre chère et respectable défuncte protectrice, qui a pour titre, *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Queen* : quoique l'authenticité de ces lettres est incontestablement fautive, je serois pourtant bien aise de les posséder, vû que je forme collection de tout ce qui a rapport à sa mémoire et à l'événement douloureux de sa mort. Oserai-je donc, mon très-cher et bien-aimé ami, vous supplier de vouloir bien, par le courrier ordinaire, me faire avoir la dite brochure ? Je serai en sorte que le prix de son achat vous soit remboursé à Londres.

Et de cette façon je serois donc pour aujourd'hui au bout de ma lettre. Si je voulois y joindre tout ce que mon cœur sent pour vous, les vœux que je ne cesse et que je ne cesserai de ma vie de faire pour votre bien-être et prospérité, et les assurances du zèle et inviolable dévouement qui m'anime quand il s'agit de vous, je prendrois une autre feuille et courerois risque de tomber dans les rédités et de vous déplaire par-là. D'ailleurs, les momens du jour du départ sont, comme vous savés, un peu turbulans. Vivés donc, cher ami, heureux et content ; vous ne sortirez jamais de mon cœur et souvenir. N'oubliez pas celui qui est à vous

Usque ad mortem.

P. S^m. — Encore un mot, mon cher ami, et même dans le moment où je mets pied dans la voiture pour partir. J'ai reçu ce matin une lettre d'Alis, où il me dit, qu'il vous avoit recommandé dernièrement et à une occasion désirée : que cependant il croyoit et vous conseilloit même de présenter une requette au R. d'y demander une place dans un département de quelque secrétaire d'état, et de nommer les Lords Barrington et Nugent vos protecteurs.

Adieu, mon cher : agissés de cette façon, s'il faire se peut, je suis tout à vous.

No. VIII.

Zelle, ce 25 Février, 1777.

D'où prendrai-je, mon bien-cher, mon digne et estimable ami, toutes les expressions de la joie et de la vive reconnaissance qui ont pénétrées mon ame à la réception de vos trois chères lettres du 30 Juillet, 8 d'Octobre et 29 de Novembre de l'année passée ? Mais comment vous dépeindrai-je ma surprise de voir par la dernière, que vous n'ayés point reçu, par la voye du quartier courrier, qui partit d'Hannovre environ le 25 Octobre 1776, ma missive du 15 Sept. avec le P. S^{um} de la même date, et une petite boîte marquée M. N. W. dans laquelle se trouvoit le portrait en cire de feu notre incomparable protectrice ? Permettés, cher ami, que je vous mette, tant que possible est, au fait des évènements qui ont mis un si long et pénible intervalle dans notre correspondance. Dieu veuille que vous rétrouviés encore mes dites lettres et le portrait !

Je reçus votre chère lettre de Londres, Jermyn Street, du 30 Juillet, par la poste ordinaire, et assés vite, e'est à dire le 6 d'Août. Ne connoissant une voye plus sûre et commode de répondre et d'y joindre la boîte en question que celle du courrier d'H——, je dresse (parce que j'étois nécessité d'entreprendre le 15 Sept. un voyage en Saxe) et l'une et l'autre quelque tems d'avance, la date du 15 de Sept. : et comme Alis me marque, un jour de poste avant mon départ, qu'il vous avoit nommé et recommandé de nouveau à Abel, j'y joins deux mots dans un P. S^{um}, remets le tout entre les mains du fidel valet de chambre de la chère Agujari : celui-ci le garde jusqu'au moment que le courrier veut se mettre en route, le lui envoie directement avec une lettre de sa part, dans laquelle il recommande ce paquet pour vous, comme un effet de valeur et d'un grand prix ; reçoit de lui-même l'assurance qu'il en auroit le plus grand soin.

Le 24 Octobre le même valet de chambre, mon commissionnaire institué, m'envoie en Saxe votre chère lettre du 8 Octobre, qui étoit arrivée par la poste. Je la mets dans mon bureau, n'y fait point de réponse, parce que je voulus attendre la vôtre, que je me flattois recevoir par le courrier retournant. En at-

tendant les choses restent là ; mon homme me mande, qu'apparemment Mr. Wr—— n'avoit pas ou le tems d'm'écrire ou quoi ; je commençois à m'inquiéter, mais pour y voir bien clair, je ne voulus rien faire qu'après être de retour moi-même. Trois jours après celui ci (et il avoit lieu le 12 du courant), Alis me fait remettre par mon caissier, qui avoit été pendant mon absence à Han . . . chés ses parens, la vôtre du 29 Nov. Sa prudence étoit louable : mais cela ne diminuoit point ma surprise sur ce que vous n'ayés rien reçu. Dès-lors je fis incessamment écrire au dit courrier, nommé Ulenbecker, et il répond hier :

“ Qu'il avoit porté la lettre et la dite boîte dans plus que quatre caffés où vous aviés autrefois coûtume d'aller et de vous trouver ; qu'à la fin il avoit appris que vous étiez faire un voyage dans le pays ; en quoi il avoit été d'autant plus confirmé, qu'il s'étoit trouvé nombre de lettres à votre adresse, avec lesquelles il avoit aussi déposé la boîte, c'est à dire, à la maison où les lettres d'Allemagne sont portées et arrivent, et qu'elle s'y trouveroit encore.”

De grace, mon cher ami, hâtes-vous de vous en informer ; ayés recours à la bonté de Mr. Hintüber. Pour votre légitimation, je joins l'original de la réponse du courier donnée au valet de chambre Mäntel. S'ils ne se trouvent point, je ferai punir ce misérable d'importance, quoique cela ne peut en rien diminuer la sensible douleur que ce revers me causeroit.

Allons à cette heure à répondre en détail sur vos deux chères lettres du 8 d'Octobre et 29 Nov.

Si Fierville et Lepy vous ont marqués dans leurs lettres leur étonnement et douleur sur l'inactivité et le silence d'Abel au sujet de votre emplacement comme une juste récompense qui vous est due, jugés quelle est l'amertume et l'inquiétude de mon cœur, et comme il est vivement affecté par la position actuelle d'un ami au bonheur duquel je porte mes vœux et mes attentions presque plus qu'au mien même, et que je voudrois savoir aussi heureux qu'on peut l'être dans ce monde ci-bas ! Je souffre plus que tout autre, ayant été témoin oculaire de la prudence, de l'infatigabilité et du zèle ardent, qui vous enflammoient à

rendre service et à vous vouer aux intérêts d'une personne dont les manes me sont sacrés, et par l'enlèvement de laquelle j'ai vu écrouler le bâtiment de ma fortune, et celle d'un nombre de mes amis chéris et estimables. Depuis je vous ai appris à connoître du côté brillant d'un esprit bien cultivé, de savoir et de plus belles connoissances, et toutes ces belles qualités, ce mérite ne peut point vous conduire à la lice d'un emplacement aussi modeste et modique que vous la demandés ? Cela desespère. Mais malgré ces obstacles, il est dans mon cœur une voix qui me dit qu'avec le tems tout ira bien. C'est aussi de quoi Alis m'assure par une de ses lettres du 14 du courant. Il ne semble point vouloir approuver l'idée dont vous avés fait part à lui et à moi dans la dernière missive ; n'est à dire, de remettre à Abel dans une petite cassette cachetée le cours et la nature de votre négociation au suget de l'Agujari. Il trouve celle de présenter par le Lord Nugent, ou quelque autre protecteur, une requête à Abel, et d'y demander simplement une place dans un bureau d'état plus naturelle et moins épineuse ; et je crois qu'il a raison, car le prétexte de vous donner une charge est peut-être ce qui l'embarrasse ; mais il le trouveroit dans la requête et dans l'intercession de celui qui la lui remet. D'un côté cependant je ne vois pas bien clair. Il n'est qu'une voix au suget de la probité, de la justice et de la candeur d'ame d'Abel : cesseroit-il d'agir par ces sentimens uniquement vis-à-vis de vous ? Seriés-vous le seul d'avoir de le plaindre à si juste titre ? Il faut donc qu'il aye encore de bien fortes raisons pour rester inébranlable contre les sollicitations d'Alis. Mais pourquoi ne les manifeste-il pas ? Cela ne pourroit pas le compromettre — pas être au-dessous de son rang. Pourquoi pas dire, de quelle façon on doit s'y prendre ? Oh si jamais j'apprends que vous avés obtenu votre but, je respierai plus à mon aise ; j'érigerai à Abel dans mon cœur un autel, auquel la plus vive reconnaissance fera mon sacrifice quotidien.

Alis vous aura expliqué lui-même et plus au long ce qu'il y a encore à faire et ce qu'il en pense. Foible comme je suis, sans influence, sans le moindre soutien, étranger moi-même et au caprice

d'une fortune bien modique, je ne puis faire pour mes amis que des vœux ; mais ils sont d'autant plus ardens et sincères : je mesure d'après leurs peines et leurs satisfactions les miennes.

Aujourd'hui je compte notifier à Lepy mon retour. Nous étions convenus que je viendrois cet hyver moi-même à Avignon, mais mon retour retardé a tout anéanti : la saison est déjà trop avancée, et je crains qu'il n'en sera rien. En outre, la commission dont vous me savés chargé exige nécessairement ma présence ces jours-cy.

Au reste, je ne crains pas que nos lettres sont interceptées ; cependant je me sers aujourd'hui de la nouvelle adresse.

Aurai-je encore les *Mémoires des Rois de la France de la Race de Valois* ? Vous seriés bien bon et aimable à me les envoyer si l'occasion s'en trouve.

De grace, marqués-moi quel peut être l'auteur des *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Queen, interspersed with Letters written by herself*. London, J. Bew, 1776. Il est plus que zélé, dit-on, pour nous, mais le stile et les matériaux ne doivent pas être des plus épurés et solides.

Adieu, mon très-cher, mon bien-aimé ami, mon digne W^r. Si les battemens de cœur pourroient être entendus à cent lieues de distance, vous vous convainqueriés par vous-même que le mien est en agitation quand je vous nomme, quand je m'occupe de vous. Adieu donc. Pas même la mort nous séparera.

NO IX.

SEROIT-il bien possible, mon bien-aimé et digne ami, que l'irrégularité dont je me rends coupable dans notre correspondance, diminue et absorbe les sentimens de bonté et de l'amitié précieuse que nous nous s'étions réciproquement voués pour le reste de nos jours ? Vous n'en êtes pas capable ; et moi, je vous aime, je vous estime trop, pour que mon cœur vous oublie, si même ma plume trouve si rarement le loisir de m'entretenir à vous. Quoique toujours bien portant et en possession de votre chérissime lettre du 11 Mars depuis le 18, j'ose avouer que nombre de petites absences, et d'autres excursions en affaire, m'ont privé du bien doux plaisir de vous faire parvenir quelques nouvelles de ma part. Mais acte-

ellement il me tarde d'avoir des vôtres, et surtout d'être informé, si depuis le long intervalle de notre silence, il ne s'est rien changé dans votre sort, et si vous n'avez fait aucune démarche pour accélérer les vœux que vous aviez formés. Alis s'étoit proposé à deux ou trois reprises de venir pour quelques jours nous voir, mais il n'en a rien fait ; mes intentions de m'expliquer vis-à-vis de lui sur votre sujet sont par-là frustrées, et me laissent les regrets, que selon toute apparence le Ciel me prive du bonheur d'avoir contribué par mon zèle et dévouement au moindre soutien de vos vœux. Si cependant je pourrais être persuadé, qu'indépendamment de la petite charge que vous ambitionnés à si juste titre, et dont la difficulté de l'obtenir me paroît une énigme inexplicable, vous auriez de quoi vivre conformément à votre rang et à la situation qu'un homme de votre mérite peut exiger de la Providence, je serois bien plus tranquille à votre sujet. Par des expériences que j'ai faites dans le petit cercle de ma destinée, et les principes qu'on se forme au bout d'une étude du monde et des sorts des hommes comme ils sont communément, je pretends, qu'à tout égard on n'est pas malheureux si le Ciel nous laisse suivre nos penchans dans une sorte de retraite, ignorés de la multitude, estimés et distingués de ceux qui se donnent la peine de nous apprécier au juste, et doués de quelques talens, par lesquels nous sommes à même de faire tout le bien qu'on nous demande, à prêter de l'assistance à ceux qui nous appellent à leur secours, et d'emporter de ce monde le témoignage d'avoir été honnête et toujours prêt de servir au prochain si on étoit capable. Or, mon ami, dites-moi si votre fortune suffit pour vous fournir le nécessaire pour vous laisser vivre avec décence et à votre aise, en cas que les vœux que nous formons venoient à manquer ? Je commence petit-à-petit à me former pour l'avenir un plan de vivre qui répond à-peu-près aux idées avec lesquelles je voudrais vous familiariser ; et quoique je suis bien plus âgé que vous, et vous doués d'un plus grand fonds d'activité que moi, il me semble qu'avec certaines restrictions elles sont praticables pour toute époque de la vie humaine.

Quelle joie pour moi, mon très-cher et digne ami, de vous revoir un jour, ou ici,

ou, ce qui me feroit bien plus de plaisir, à une campagne près de Leipzig dans la Haute Saxe, où je projette de m'établir pour toujours, si une fois la commission de laquelle vous me savés chargé a cessée de se trouver entre mes mains. Pour me familiariser peu-à-peu avec la verdure et l'air champêtre, j'ai quitté ma maison en ville et ai pris une bien belle et grande dans les extrémités des fauxbourgs, qui a un assés vaste jardin, dont l'entretien et les plantations m'occupent et me font plaisir. Il se trouve que c'est celle que notre ami Lepy et son frère possèdent ici. Je reçois de tems en tems des nouvelles de celui-ci, quoique il ne parle point du tout de ce qui se passe au Nord, et de deux objets qui nous y intéressent le plus. Il a deux graves procès contre un fripon de fermier, qui plaide ici aux tribunaux de justice, et m'a fait son homme de sollicitation ; de quoi je suis bien aise, étant par-là en état de lui être bon et utile à quelque chose.

Le cercueil de feu la chère maîtresse, qui sera fait de bois de mahogany et décoré de bronzes dorées, n'est point achevé ; d'autant plus belles et magnifiques seront les décorations : dommage que le tout sera fourré dans un caveau, qui est rempli, et où à peine le grand jour entre. Le monument que les états font ériger se trouve de même encore entre les mains de l'artiste, et je doute, qui pourra être posé dans un an. Adieu, mon bien cher et estimable ami. Vous adresserés toujours vos lettres à L— : je vous serre à mon cœur et suis *usque ad mortem*

Votre dévoué et inviolablement
attaché ami.

Z. ce 1 Juillet 77.

No. X.

NAMES BETWEEN MONS. DE S—K—F AND ME.

The K. of E. . . .	Abel
The K. of D. . . .	Bach.
The Q. C. M. . . .	Agujari
— Juliana	Sestini.
The Pr. F—o	Millico.
The Pri—sse Fr—o . .	Syrmen.
Lic—n	Alis.
B—w	Lepy.
Sch—n	Grenier.
Tex—r	Fierville
Schaques	Heinel.

K—r B—r . . .	Valois.
P. of He—c . . .	Molé.
Eichstet . . .	Vestris.
W—ll . . .	Le Kain.
S—k—f . . .	Brocard.
Le Vieux C—e Al—	Moulin.
Fe—d Al— . . .	La Motte.
Pergolese . . .	Rantzeu.
Lord Su—k . . .	Colli.
Diedenhof . . .	Wolf.
Beringshold . . .	Conjolini.
Da Capo . . .	{ Ami de Ber-
	{ ingshold.
Metastasio . . .	{ Ami de Die-
	{ denhof.
Handel . . .	Gouldsberg.
Marie Mancini . . .	La Prin ^{ce} Her.
Vauglas . . .	P. of Bevern.
Cop—n . . .	Montpellier.
Lo—n . . .	Sud.
Al—a . . .	Toulon.
Ha—h . . .	Avignon.
Re—rg . . .	Lyons.
Z—l . . .	Bourdeaux.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BARON DE
BULOW.

No. I.

Le Roi donne son plein consentement. Tout est prêt pour mon retour, mais l'argent manque. Le Roi ne donnera rien. Il faut en trouver, et m'envoyer. J'attends avec impatience votre réponse. Adieu, mon cher ami!

N. WRAXALL.

6 Decembre 1774.

Londres.

A Mons le Baron de B—w.

No. II.

(" Most secret, and most important !")

MONSIEUR,

La nouvelle la plus malheureuse du monde m'avoit mis dans un tel état d'anéantissement, qu'il n'a été jusqu'ici pas possible de vous dire un mot.

Occupé avec Grenier à délibérer sur les moyens les plus prompts pour exécuter le plan, et rempli de nouvelles espérances non équivoques, fixant pour ainsi dire, malgré le silence opiniâtre de Abel, le jour, le moment tant désiré, je reçois une lettre de Brocard. Je l'ouvre avec précipitation, dans l'idée d'y trouver les

choses les plus agréables ; mais, au contraire, la première ligne annonce l'arrêt du destin le plus cruel. Je ne dirai rien de ce que je sentis dans un moment aussi inattendu, puisque je suis sûr que vous vous en faites une idée exacte par la situation dans laquelle vous vous serez trouvé vous-même en apprenant notre malheur. C'en est donc fait de notre bonheur ! Il s'est enfui pour toujours. Nous n'avons pas dû être heureux, nous n'avons pas dû le rendre les autres ! Il ne nous reste aucun espoir. Nous rentrons dans le néant dont nous voulions sortir. Mais que ce fantôme de bonheur envolé ne nous emporte par votre amitié et attachement. Comptés jusqu'à la fin de mes jours sur le mien. Mes amis vous assurent la même chose. Nous vous devons trop pour devenir ingrat ; tout qui dépendra de nous pour vous le témoigner ne sera jamais négligé. Parlés et disposés de ce qu'il y a en notre pouvoir. Si vous avés eu encore des desepences, dites-le-moi, et j'en ferai mon rapport. Continués surtout, je vous en conjure, dans quel coin du monde que vous vous trouverés, de me donner de vos nouvelles.

Private } Dans votre lettre du 21, vous
affaires- } dites que vous avés eu la bonté
de vous informer d'un carosse coupé pour la ville, et que vous en avés trouvé un très-bon. Je vous suis infiniment redevable de votre amitié, et j'espère que Fierville vous aura marqué ce dont je l'ai chargé, et que vous aurés eu la bonté d'arrêter le dit carosse. Je vous enverrai au premier jour l'argent nécessaire : comptés là-dessus, et pardonnés que j'ai tardé jusqu'ici. Faites-moi la grace de m'envoyer le carosse le plus tôt possible, et ayés celle de m'acheter aussi deux harnois pour deux chevaux. Je connois votre bon goût, et me réjouis de recevoir un joli équipage anglois. J'aime tout ce qui est de ce pays-là, de cœur et d'ame, et voudrois moi-même en être.

Avés-vous eu la bonté d'avoir eu soin de cette pièce détœffe ? Sera-t-elle bientôt teinte, et arrivera-t-elle bientôt ?

Ne pourriés-vous pas me faire l'amitié de me donner une bonne adresse à quelqu'un à Londres, qui voudroit faire des commissions, et exécuter celle que je lui demanderois quand j'aurois besoin de quelque-chose ? Il faudroit que ce fût

un homme entendu et sûr, qui ménagerait mes intérêts, et à qui je pourrais payer des provisions pour sa peine. Par ce moyen on peut avoir de votre pays tout ce qu'on veut : on le reçoit bon, et non pas si cher que quand on l'achète des marchands d'ici.

A l'écriture de celle-ci vous ne me reconnoîtrez pas : mais mes sentiments vous diront qui je suis, et que je vous suis attaché pour la vie.

Le 22 de Mai.

Donnés-moi bientôt de vos nouvelles, et dites-moi si vous n'avez rien entendu de Abel, et comment il a reçu la triste nouvelle.

"From the Baron de B——, only a few days after the Queen of D.'s death. Most important!"

LETTERS FROM THE BARON DE LICHTENSTEIN.

No. I.

A Londres, ce 1^{er} Janv. 1775.

MONSIEUR,

JE viens de recevoir dans ce moment la lettre ci-jointe et je ne manque pas de vous la faire parvenir tout de suite sous votre adresse que vous avez eu la bonté de donner avant votre départ d'ici.

Mes correspondants sur l'affaire en question ne m'ont dit jusqu'ici, autre chose, sinon qu'on avoit reçu la nouvelle du consentement et de l'approbation sur le projet que vous savés, monsieur, avec beaucoup de joie et de satisfaction, et qu'on m'écrirait plus amplement sur ce sujet par l'occasion du courrier qui arriveroit à Londres à-peu-près vers le mi du mois de Janvier. J'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

H. I. B. DE L.

No. II.

J'AI reçu, monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avez l'honneur de m'écrire en date du 14 de Mars. Je suis très-fâché que mes occupations et mon emploi à Hannover ne me permettent pas de m'arrêter ici jusqu'au tems de votre retour pour

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avoir la satisfaction d'apprendre le succès de votre voyage, n'en ayant pas eu, comme vous vous imaginés, des nouvelles par la personne en question. En attendant, j'ai donné l'avis à l'endroit nécessaire de votre arrivée prochaine. Vous trouverez ci-jointe l'adresse de la personne à laquelle on veut que vous remettiez vos lettres dont vous pourriez être chargé. Je dois vous dire de n'être pas surpris si vous ne recevez point de réponse. On l'adressera à moi. Des raisons que vous savés, c'est à dire qu'on ne donnera rien d'écrit de sa main touchant cette affaire, ne permettent pas d'agir autrement. Si on ne change pas de sentiment, et si on ne vous fait pas dire par celui auquel vous donnerés vos lettres, d'attendre ici, je ne vois pas d'autre expédient, que de retourner dans une quinzaine de jours et de venir me trouver à Hannover, où je compte d'être infalliblement vers la fin du mois d'Avril.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la considération la plus distinguée, Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur.

A Londres, ce 24 de Mars, 1775.

B. L.

Adresse de la personne à laquelle Mr. Wr. remettra des lettres :

Monsieur de Hinuber, Jermain-street, St. James.
("Received in London the 4th of April, 1775."
N.W.W.)

No. III.

A Hannover, ce 9^{me} Janvier, 1777.

MONSIEUR,

AYANT perdu, ou plutôt brûlé, avec tous les papiers relatives à l'affaire en question, l'adresse que vous m'aviez donnée à Londres, pour vous faire parvenir avec sûreté mes lettres, je n'ai pu hazarder de répondre à l'honneur de votre dernière du 29 Novemb. par la poste ordinaire. J'ai préféré, monsieur, d'attendre le départ du courrier d'aujourd'hui, le porteur de celle-ci, qui ne manquera pas de faire les recherches nécessaires pour trouver les moyens de vous la remettre en mains propres.

Convaincu comme je le suis du zèle, du parfait dévouement et du désintéressement, autant que du succès heureux, avec lequel vous avez servi dans cette affaire difficile et épineuse, je ne saurois assés vous marquer mes regrets de vous savoir encore jusqu'ici sans aucune récompense.

Persuadés-vous, monsieur, que j'ai fait tout mon possible pour vous la faire avoir, et que je tenterai par de nouvelles représentations à contribuer d'accélérer cette récompense juste et due à vos peines et services.

Quoique je ne désapprouve nullement le projet que vous avés formé de vous remettre au souvenir du Roi par l'envoi du mémoire dressé sur les circonstances de la négociation dans laquelle vous étiez employé, j'ose vous prier de remettre cette dernière tentative encore pour quelque tems, et d'attendre la réponse de Mr. de S—ff, sur la lettre que vous m'avés envoyée pour la lui faire tenir : Commission dont je n'ai pu m'acquitter, Mr. de S—ff se trouvant absent de Zelle depuis 3 mois : mais sachant qu'il doit nécessairement être de retour vers la fin de ce mois, vous pouvés compter, monsieur, que vous aurés infailliblement a réponse dans le courant du mois de Février, et avec elle, les avis de l'effet de ma dernière lettre à sa majesté sur ce sujet.

Il ne me reste qu'à vous souhaiter tout le bonheur que vous mérités, et de vous assurer de la part sincère que je prendrai, si mes vœux pour votre fortune et contentement se réalisent. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec les sentimens de la considération la plus distinguée, Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

BARON DE LICHTENSTEIN.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE QUEEN OF DENMARK.

No I.

Copie.

Zelle, ce 15 Mai, 75.

La maladie épidémique qui nous menaça n'existe plus ici ; en ville elle n'a point été du tout, et au chateau elle n'a emporté qu'un page et notre chere Reine, qui fait à si juste titre l'objet de nos plus sinceres régrets ; et cela est général. Sa cour, qui l'idolâtroit, est vraiment désolée, malgré la ferme persuasion que notre respectable maître aura soin d'eux, mais c'est pour elle-même qu'on la regrette, et vous ne sauriez vous imaginer l'affliction et la consternation qui se répandit dans toute la ville lorsqu'on la reçut en danger. Elle l'étoit du premier moment qu'elle tomba malade par

le jugement de notre habile médecin Leyser ; elle s'en aperçut d'abord elle même, et lui dit en propres termes : " Vous m'avez tiré deux fois depuis le mois d'Octobre de deux maladies assez sérieuses, mais de celle-ci vous n'en viendrez point à bout : " et elle ne dit que malheureusement trop vrai. La fièvre du premier moment étoit d'une violence prouvée par 131 *Pulsschläge* dans une minute, et les deux derniers jours l'on ne pouvoit plus les compter. Leyser demanda Zimmermann d'Hannovre, qui vint à son secours, mais sans effet. Le *Friesel* sortit, mais avec des taches qui denotoient une fièvre pourprée, et c'est aussi à cette malheureuse maladie et aux décrets d'une Providence immuable que nous devons sa perte. Après avoir souffert en Chrétienne avec une patience et une resignation parfaite et presque sans exemple, gardé connoissance, marqué comme de coutume les plus tendres et gracieuses attentions pour ses dames d'honneur qui la soignoient dans sa maladie, et parlé jusqu'au dernier moment, elle a fini sa carrière d'une façon qui a édifié et pénétré d'admiration tous les assistans. Elle a vu notre digne Surintendant-general Jacobi et le Ministre Lehzen, qui ne l'a pas quitté et à qui elle a quasi dicté ce qu'il devoit lui lire à plusieurs reprises et entre autres choses ce beau Cantique de Gellert *über die Liebe der Feinde—Nie will ich dem zu schäden suchen*—en repetant souvent le 5^{ème} vers. En un mot, ces dernières heures, où les masques de tous les humains tombent, sa fermété vraiment stoïque avec laquelle elle paroissoit soutenir les revers douloureux d'une infortune si éclatée, la magnanimité de toutes les vertus humaines, peut-être la plus difficile à pratiquer envers ses adversaires, qui ne cessoient point de la persecuter, joint à la conduite irréprochable qu'elle a mené pendant tout le tems que nous avons eu le bonheur de la posséder, nous persuadent, Mr., de la malignité des ennemis que cette auguste princesse a eu. Elle leur a pardonné, et il faut que nous le fassions aussi, en souhaitant qu'ils le reconnoissent pour se convertir ; et il n'y a qu'une voix générale pour se convaincre que si cette jeune Reine étoit tombée en des bonnes mains, et moins exposée et abandonnée aux pièges qu'on

lui dressa dès son arrivée à Copenhague, dans un âge où l'expérience ne pouvoit que lui manquer, elle auroit fait, et par son cœur et son esprit si bien orné, les délices de tout un peuple.

A cause d'une nécessité absolue il a fallu déposer son corps après deux fois 24 heures dans le caveau des Ducs de Zelle, jusqu'au tems que le Roi d'Angleterre règle la pompe de ces funérailles. Cela s'est fait avec fait avec beaucoup d'ordre et de décence par le Grand Maréchal de Lichtenstein. Aux sermons à l'église et à la lecture de la *Abdankung* toute la ville a fondu en larmes depuis le premier jusqu'au dernier. Son affabilité et sa douceur lui avoient gagné les cœurs même du plus petit peuple. Les Juifs ouvrirent d'abord leur temple pour les prières publiques, et dans les rues l'on n'entendoit que des gémissemens et des invocations pour le rétablissement *unsrer guten und lieben Königin*. Les Etats du Duché de Lunebourg assemblés à Zelle conjointement avec d'autres corps de la magistrature ont envoyé des lettres de condolence au Roi, remplis des expressions qui marquent leur vive douleur, celle du peuple, et la consternation s'est manifestée dans toutes les classes des habitants de ces contrées.

NO. II.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.

SIR, — Conscious of my own incapacity to draw a portrait so masterly and difficult as that of the late Queen Caroline Matilda of Denmark, I waited in the expectation that some more able and eloquent pen would have attempted it. But few persons in this kingdom were in any degree acquainted with her life or actions while she resided in Copenhagen; perhaps still fewer had the honour to know that exalted sufferer during the latter years which she spent in retreat at Zell. To this unacquaintance with her Majesty's person may, I doubt not, be imputed the universal silence respecting her; and it is from the appearance of no other writer in so noble a cause that the present attempt to present her real character to the English people must derive its excuse.

Sacrificed in the first bloom of life,

and decked with the fillets of royal misery, she was sent, an inexperienced victim, to a court the most despicably dissolute and debauched in Europe. The man to whom she was wedded, — I mean, the present King of Denmark, — was a compound of insanity and brutality. In the frequent paroxysms of debility or frenzy to which he was subject, he resembled the unhappy Charles the Sixth of France; in the intervals of riot and intemperance he seemed to emulate Alphonso the Sixth of Portugal. Surrounded with spies and emissaries who interpreted the most trifling levities of youth into enormous crimes, the young and unguarded Queen could not long remain in such a court without giving her enemies too favourable an opportunity to effect her fall. They succeeded, and induced the wretched King to become the engine of their malevolence, by signing the order for her imprisonment. The interposition of the British court saved her from farther violence, and conducted her to an asylum in the Electoral dominions of Hanover. Here she appeared in her true and native character. Divested of the retinue and pomp which on the throne of Denmark veiled her, in a great degree, from the inspection of nice observers, the qualities of her heart displayed themselves in her little court at Zell, and gained her universal love. Her person was dignified and graceful: she excelled in all the exercises befitting her sex, birth, and station; she danced the finest minuet in the Danish court, and managed the horse with uncommon address and spirit. She had a taste in music, and devoted much of her time, while at Zell, to the harpsichord. The characteristic style of her dress was simplicity, not magnificence; that of her deportment, an affability which, in a personage of such high rank, might be termed extreme condescension. Her talents were liberal and diffusive: she conversed with the most perfect facility in French, English, German, and Danish; and to these extraordinary attainments she added a thorough knowledge of the Italian, which she studied and admired for its beauty and delicacy. Her manners were the most polished, soft, and ingratiating; and even the contracted state of her finances could

not restrain that princely munificence and liberality of temper which made her purse ever open to distress or misery. Though the natural *enjouement* and gaiety of her disposition impressed those who only saw her in the circle, with the idea of tranquillity, of happiness; yet it cannot be doubted that the series of cruel and unmerited sufferings she underwent impressed her mind very deeply, and perhaps slowly conduced to produce those attacks of sickness which in the end proved fatal. Banished with every circumstance of indignity from the throne of Denmark, she yet retained no sentiment of revenge or resentment against the authors of her fall, or against the Danish people. Her heart was not tinctured with ambition, and she looked back to the diadem which had been torn from her brow with a calmness and a superiority of soul which might have made a Philip the Fifth or a Victor Amadeus blush. It was not the crown she regretted: her children only employed her care. The feelings of the Queen were absorbed in those of the mother; and if she wept the day when she quitted the island of Zealand, it was because she was then bereft of those dear objects of her maternal fondness. Two or three months before her death, she showed with transports of joy to Madame d'O——, her first lady of the bedchamber, a little portrait of the Prince Royal her son, which she had just received. It happened that this lady, some few days after, entered the queen's apartment at an unusual hour: she was surprised at hearing her Majesty talk, though quite alone. While she stood in this attitude of astonishment unable to retire, the Queen turned suddenly round, and addressing herself to her with that charming smile which she alone could preserve at a moment when her heart was torn with the most acute sensations, "What must you think," said she, "of a circumstance so extraordinary as that of overhearing me talk, though you find me perfectly alone? — but it was to this dear and cherished image I addressed my conversation. And what do you imagine I said to it? Nearly the same verses which you applied not long ago to a child sensible to the happiness of having found her father; verses," added she, "which I changed after the manner

following." The verses are French, and too delicate to admit of a translation.

"*« Eh ! quid donc, comme moi, goûteroit la douceur
De t'appeller mon fils, d'être chère à ton
cœur !
Toi, qu'on attache aux bras d'une mère sen-
sible,
Qui ne pleure que toi, dans ce destin ter-
rible. »*"

Madame d'O—— could not speak: she burst into tears, and, overcome with her own emotions, retired hastily from the royal presence.

When she was first apprehended to be in danger from the disorder which seized her, anxiety and consternation were spread through her whole little court, which idolized her; but when she expired, no language can express the horror and silent grief visible in every apartment of the palace. Leyser, the physician who attended her Majesty during her whole illness, dreaded the event from the first moment. She saw it, and, impressed with a presentiment of her approaching death, which proved but too true, "You have twice," said she, "extricated me from very dangerous indispositions since the month of October; but this exceeds your skill: I know I am not within the help of medicine." Leyser desired that the celebrated physician Zimmermann might be called in from Hanover. He was so; but her Majesty's illness, which was a most violent spotted fever, baffled every endeavour. At the beginning her pulse beat a hundred and thirty-one strokes in a minute, but during the two last days it was impossible to count them. She bore the pains of her distemper with exquisite patience, and even showed the most delicate and generous attentions to her maids of honour who waited by her. Her senses, speech, and understanding, she preserved to the last moment; and only a short time before her death expressed the most perfect forgiveness of all those enemies who had persecuted and calumniated her during life. Monsieur de Lichtenstein, Grand Maréchal of the Court of Hanover, presided at the funeral rites, which were conducted with a pomp suited to her regal dignity. Her Majesty's body was interred with her ancestors the Dukes of Zell. The streets and the great churches were

thronged with crowds of people, drawn by the sincerest grief and condolence, to behold the mournful obsequies of their benefactress pass along in silent state. It was a scene the most affecting and awful to be imagined: nothing was heard but groans, invocations to Heaven, interrupted by sobs and tears, through every quarter of the city. The death of this amiable princess most strikingly reminds one of that of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, in the last century. They were both eminent for their accomplishments of mind and person; they equally constituted the brightest ornament of the

courts in which they resided; they were both torn away in the pride of youth by violent and short distempers, and in both were some suspicions of unnatural means, commonly received. But the most striking proof of the love and attachment borne to the Queen, and of the impression which her virtues had made among all ranks of people in the country where she died, is the resolution which the states of Lunenbourg framed at Hanover on the 10th of last month.

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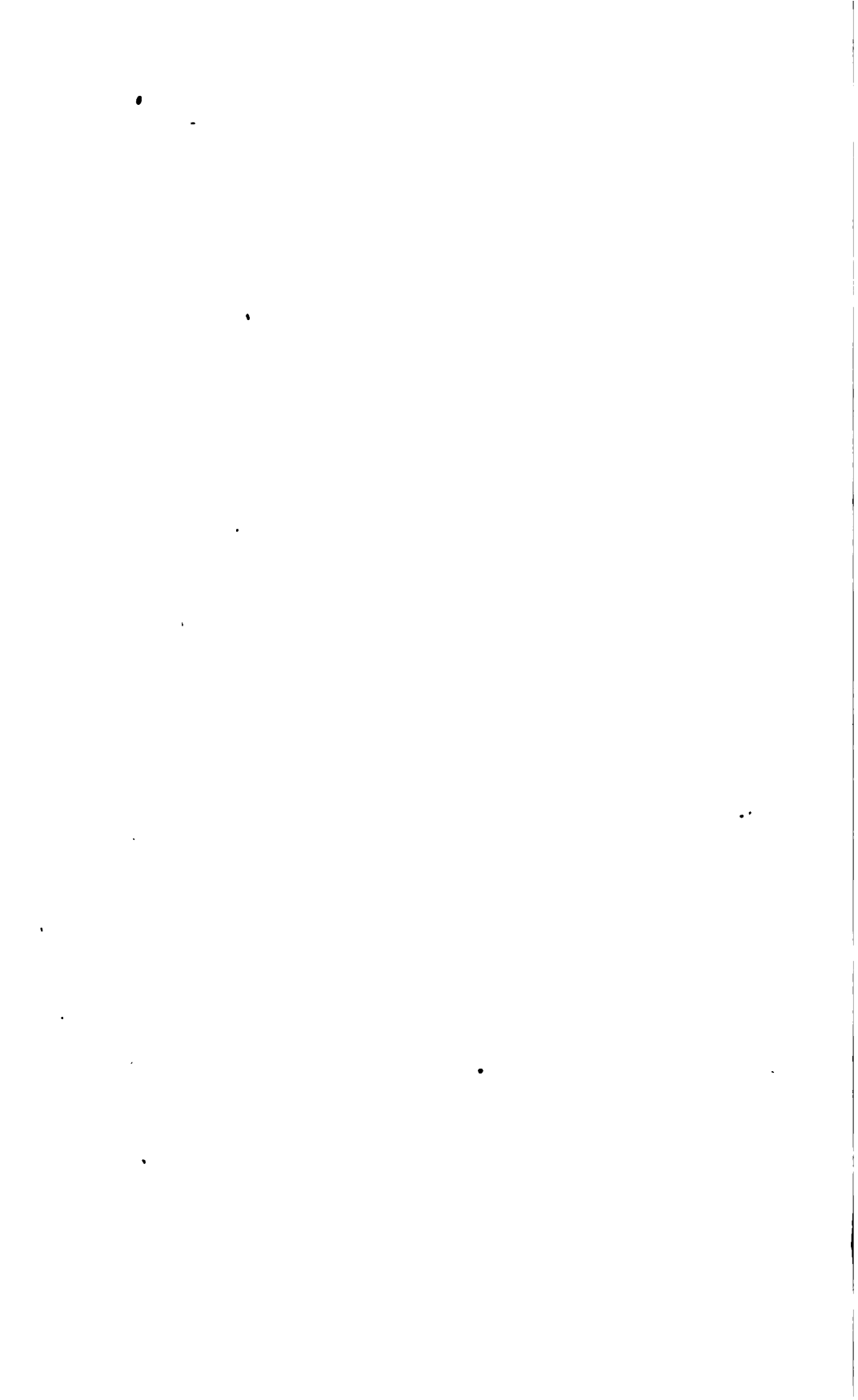
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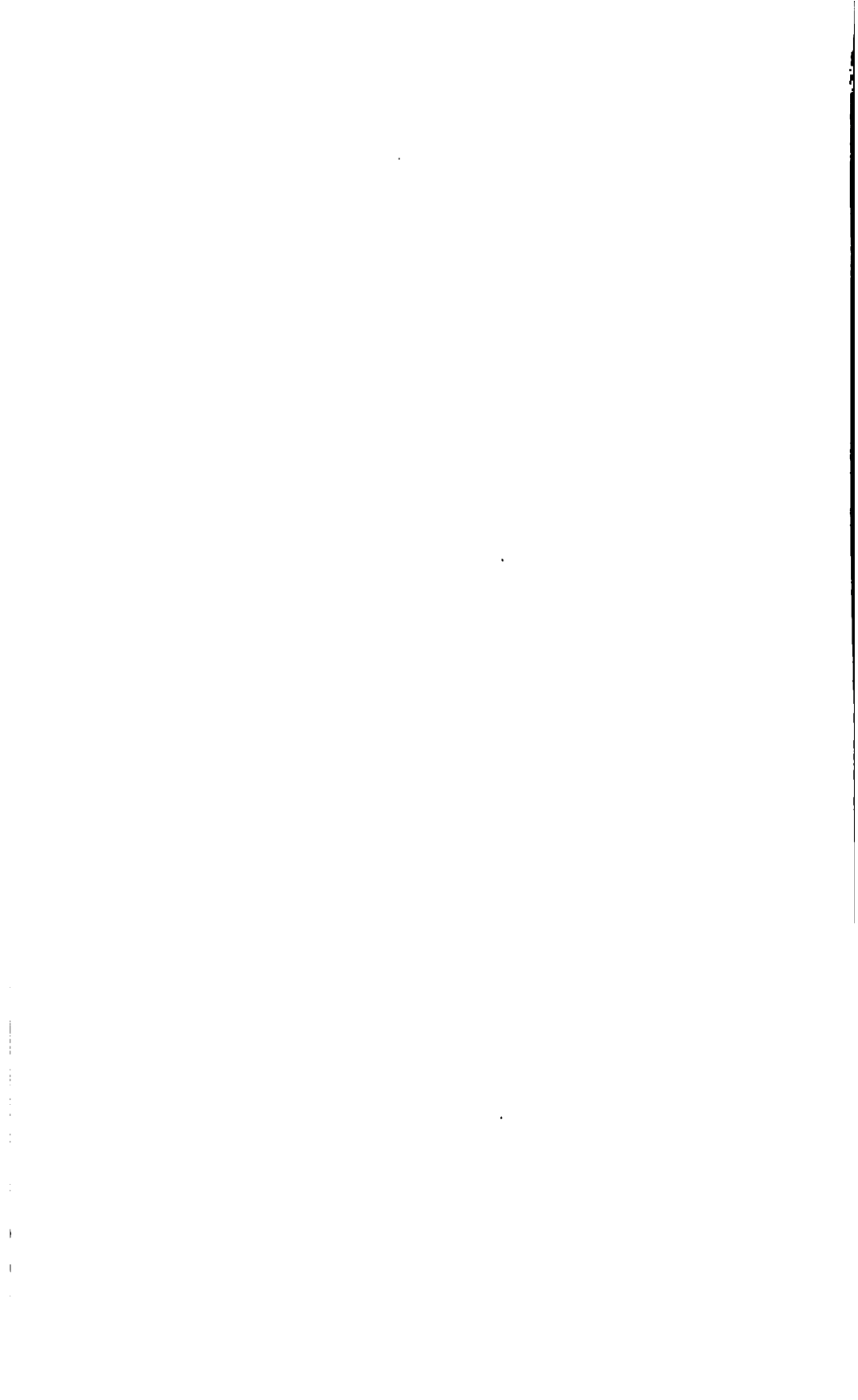
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